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THE
ILLUSTRATED
HISTORY OF THE BIBLE:

FROM
THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

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TO
THE CLOSE OF THE APOSTOLIC ERA.
BEING
A FULL AND COMPLETE ACCOUNT
OF THE
EVENTS NARRATED IN THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

BY
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DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE," "STUDENTS' HISTORIES," ETC., ETC.

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TO WHICH IS ADDED
THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF THE DISPERSION, FROM THE TAKING OF
JERUSALEM BY TITUS, DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME;

ABRIDGED FROM "MILMAN'S HISTORY OF THE JEWS."

17
EDITED BY
REV. ARTHUR P. HAYES.

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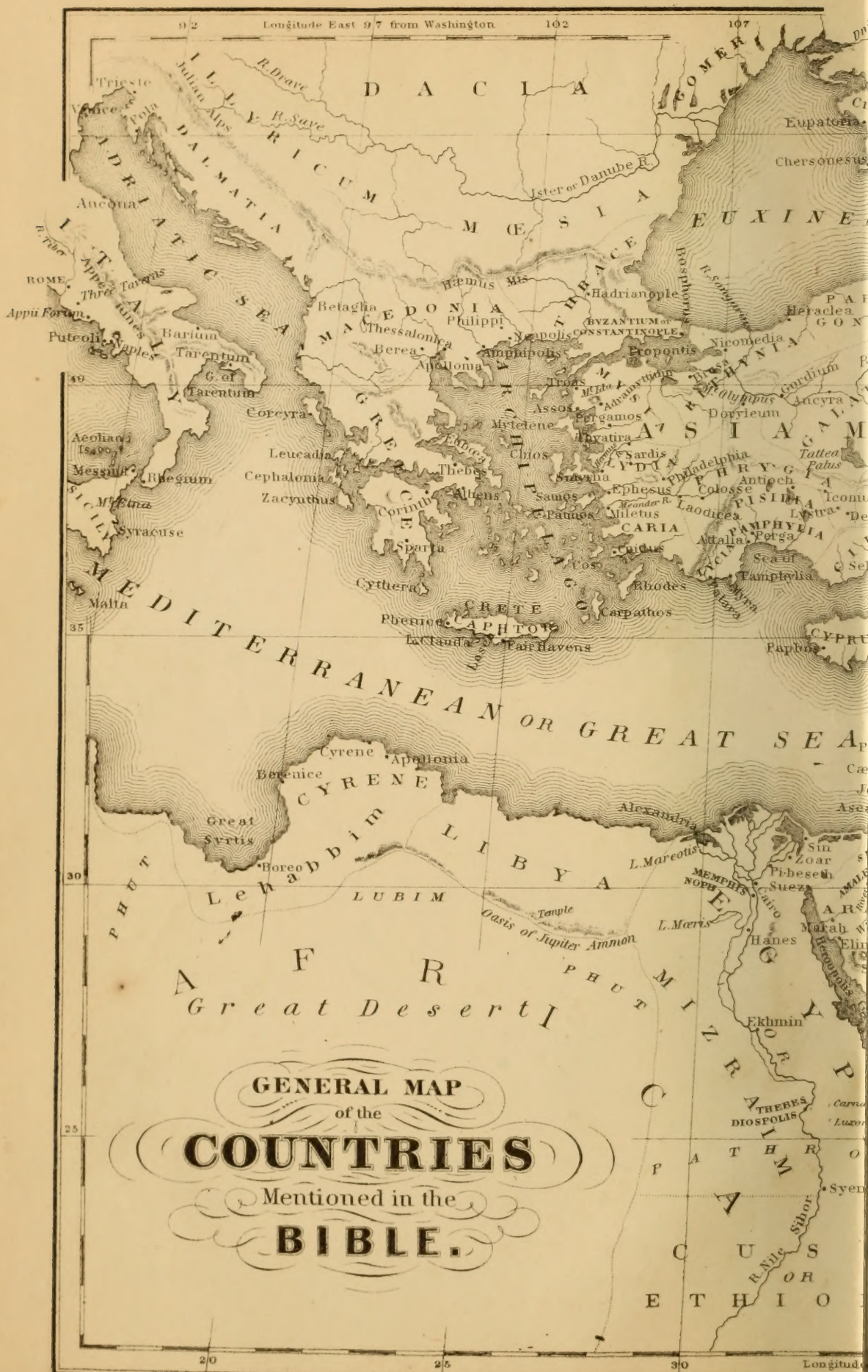
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PREFACE.

THE study of the Sacred Scriptures is not only a recognized duty on the part of Christian men and women, but it is also a source of great pleasure. The general reader, however, must find many difficulties in his perusal of the inspired narrative. The history of the Israelites is so interwoven with that of other nations, that a knowledge of the history of the ancient world is absolutely essential to the proper understanding of the Bible story. In order to gain this information, it becomes necessary to resort to other works, and this requires much time and study. The ordinary reader of the Bible is cut off from such sources of knowledge, and finds himself utterly unable to comprehend some of the most interesting portions of the sacred story. Only a comparatively few persons of leisure and learning have access to these sources of knowledge.

Of late years, the great interest manifested, and the great progress made in Bible studies, have rendered it necessary, that some general and comprehensive work on the subject shall be offered to the public; that there shall be within reach of the Bible Student some manual which, while relating the full and entire story of the Scriptures, shall also present the history of other nations, an account of their manners and customs, and a description of the countries adjacent to the Holy Land (or in which the Chosen People at any time dwelt), in so far as such information is necessary to an intelligent understanding of the sacred narrative. Such a book, it is confidently asserted, is offered to the American public in the present volume.

The Author, Dr. Smith, is well known throughout the world for his Classical and Biblical learning, and it is believed that he is the best qualified writer now living for the task which he has undertaken.

The Old Testament story is told clearly and comprehensively, and a full and valuable explanation of the laws and customs of the Israelites is appended at the close of the volume. The geography of the Holy Land forms an interesting feature of the work.

The history of the Maccabæan Wars, and of the period intervening between the close of the Old Testament dispensation and the beginning of the New, will be found not only interesting but valuable, enabling the reader to connect the two portions of the Bible intelligently and satisfactorily.

The New Testament history embraces not only a clear, harmonized account of our Lord's Ministry, as related by the four evangelists, illustrated by all needful collateral information, and free from speculative discussions; but pains have been taken to simplify all chronological difficulties, and to meet by a plain statement of facts, the obstacles which superstition, on the one hand, and skepticism, on the other, have thrown in the way of the seeker after truth.

The history of the Apostolic era presents a completeness not previously attained in any similar work. The method in which Paley led the way of using the Epistles of St. Paul, not only to supply the incidents omitted in the Acts, but to set the Apostle's spirit and character in a vivid light, has been followed throughout. Similar use has been made of the Epistles of Peter, John, and James; and this section of the work is completed by a summary of all that is really known both of the Apostles and of the persons associated with them in the history. The unity of this part is preserved by bringing it down to the destruction of Jerusalem; and that catastrophe, which is elsewhere related as an historic event, is here exhibited in the light of our Lord's great prophecy, as the epoch of His coming in the full establishment of the Christian Church.

MAP OF THE HOLY LAND

in the
TIME OF DAVID

THE TWELVE TRIBES.

- I. Judah.
- II. Simeon.
- III. Benjamin.
- IV. Dan.
- V. Ephraim.
- VI. Manasseh.
- VII. Issachar.
- VIII. Zebulun.
- IX. Asher.
- X. Naphtali.
- XI. Gad.
- XII. Reuben.



The narrative of the secular history of the Jews is then resumed, from the death of Herod the Great, and brought down to the present time. These concluding chapters of the work have been condensed from Dean Milman's magnificent "History of the Jews."

The whole work has been carefully revised, and prepared for circulation in this country; and though the notes and references of the English edition have been generally omitted, enough have been retained for the substantial assistance of the reader, and the value of the text has been in nowise impaired. It is believed that in its present form the book will best meet the wants of Bible readers in this country, and that it will be of service to them at every stage of their devotional readings.

To those engaged in teaching the truths of religion—to teachers in the Sabbath Schools, of Bible classes, of secular schools—it will be found of unusual value for the simple and ready instruction which it contains. It appeals to no sect, but is addressed to the whole Christian Church—to all who "profess the faith of Christ crucified;" and it is believed that it will meet with a ready and cordial welcome from all. That it will contribute its share to the advancement of the Gospel, and to the firmer grounding of the truths of Christianity in the hearts of its readers, is most earnestly hoped.

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May 1st, 1871.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. The Crucifixion.....	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
2. General Map of the Countries mentioned in the Bible.....	PAGE 3
3. Map of the Holy Land in the time of David.....	5
4. Map of the Holy Land in the time of Christ.....	6
5. Garden of Eden.....	23
6. The Sacrifice of Abel.....	28
7. Jabal's Tents and Cattle.....	29
8. The Ark.....	36
9. The Dove.....	39
10. The Bow of Promise.....	40
11. The Tower of Babel.....	46
12. Abraham's Encampment.....	52
13. Abimelech restoring Sarah.....	54
14. A Pillar of Salt.....	61
15. Hagar and Ishmael.....	62
16. Abraham and Isaac.....	64
17. Abraham and the Sons of Heth.....	65
18. Rebekah and Eliezer.....	66
19. Isaac meeting Rebekah.....	67
20. Burial of Abraham.....	69
21. Esau going for Venison.....	71
22. Jacob obtains the Blessing.....	72
23. Jacob's Vision.....	72
24. The Veil.....	74
25. Jacob fleeing from Laban.....	75
26. The Heap of Witness.....	76
27. Rachel's Tomb.....	78
28. Joseph and his Brethren.....	80
29. Joseph's Dream.....	81
30. Joseph sold by his Brethren.....	83
31. Joseph treats his Brethren roughly.....	85
32. Putting the Cup in Benjamin's Sack.....	87
33. Joseph's Forgiveness.....	88
34. Egyptian Mummies.....	91
35. Embalming the Body of Joseph.....	97
36. Luxor, from the River Nile.....	100
37. The Pyramids of Egypt.....	100
38. Israelites laboring in Egypt.....	101
39. Finding of Moses.....	102
40. Moses' Rod turned into a Serpent.....	107

MAP OF THE
HOLY LAND
in the
TIME OF CHRIST.

Scale of Eng. Miles.
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41. Ancient Statues of Memnon, in the Plain of Thebes.....	108
42. Portico of an Egyptian Temple.....	110
43. The Plague of Hail.....	116
44. The Locust.....	117
45. Unleavened Bread.....	119
46. Map showing the Wanderings of the Israelites.....	122
47. The Edge of the Wilderness....	124
48. The Pillar of Fire.....	125
49. The Camp of Israel.....	127
50. Moses receiving the Tables of the Law.....	130
51. The Wilderness of Sinai.....	133
52. The Tabernacle.....	135
53. The Molten Calf.....	136
54. The Holy Place.....	138
55. South-East View of the Tabernacle.....	139
56. The Coverings.....	140
57. Emblems on the Standards of the Tribes.....	142
58. Consecration of Aaron and his Sons.....	143
59. The Wilderness of Sin.....	146
60. Grapes brought back by the Spies.....	151
61. The Israelites defeated by the Canaanites.....	153
62. Aaron's Rod that budded.....	156
63. First Fruits.....	160
64. National Sin-offering.....	161
65. The Brazen Serpent.....	163
66. The Scape Goat.....	165
67. The High-Priest.....	168
68. Sin-Offering of the Poor.....	169
69. Balaam and Balak.....	171
70. Gathering Manna.....	173
71. Mount Lebanon.....	182
72. The Dead Sea.....	185
73. View of Nablus and Mount Gerizim from the North-West.....	186
74. The Syrian Ox.....	187
75. The Syrian Goat.....	189
76. The Wild Ass.....	191
77. Jordan.....	192
78. Mount Tabor.....	193
79. House on the Wall of a City.....	196
80. Rahab concealing the Spies.....	197
81. Plain of Jericho.....	200
82. Panoramic Plan of the Country of the Tribes of Issachar, Ephraim, Manasseh, Dan and Benjamin, in Palestine.....	204
83. Panoramic Plan of the Country of the Tribes of Judah and Simeon.....	207
84. Panoramic Plan of the Country of the Tribes of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Manasseh, in Palestine.....	209
85. City of Refuge.....	213
86. Joshua's Covenant with Israel.....	216
87. Ruth and Naomi.....	225
88. Ruth gleaning in the Field of Boaz.....	226
89. Gideon's Fleece.....	234
90. Jephthah met by his Daughter.....	241
91. Samson's Riddle.....	248

92. Dagon	252
93. Dedication of Samuel.....	255
94. The Singers of the Temple Service.....	256
95. Samuel and Eli.....	257
96. Moab.....	259
97. Samuel anointing Saul	264
98. David keeping his Father's Flocks.....	270
99. Samuel anointing David.....	273
100. The Sweet Psalmist.....	275
101. A Slinger.....	278
102. Shew-Bread	283
103. Skin Bottles.....	288
104. An Eastern Tent.....	289
105. Hebron.....	293
106. Map of Ancient Jerusalem	297
107. Jerusalem in the Time of David, as seen from the South.....	300
108. David brings up the Ark of God to Jerusalem.....	303
109. The Ark.....	305
110. The Laver	307
111. David's Tower at Jerusalem.....	309
112. Altar of Burnt-Offerings.....	312
113. Altar of Sacrifice.....	314
114. Ancient Musical Instruments.....	316
115. The Valley of Jehoshaphat.....	321
116. David pardons Absalom	323
117. Tomb of Absalom in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.....	327
118. Death of Absalom.....	328
119. Furniture of the Temple.....	328
120. David's Return to his Kingdom.....	331
121. Isometrical Elevation of Solomon's Temple.....	342
122. The Brazen Laver.....	345
123. The Molten Sea.....	347
124. The Golden Lamp-Bearer.....	348
125. Altar of Incense.....	350
126. Fire from Heaven at the Dedication of the Temple.....	351
127. Ruins of Tadmor.....	354
128. Tyre.....	356
129. Eastern Casement	359
130. Defeat of the Israelites by the Children of Judah.....	362
131. Ruins of the Golden Gate at Jerusalem.....	363
132. Samaria.....	371
133. Elijah fed by Ravens.....	376
134. Elijah's Sacrifice	377
135. The Shunammite's Son.....	378
136. Elijah casting his Mantle on Elisha	380
137. Mount Carmel	383
138. Moses before Pharaoh's Daughter.....	390
139. Enthronement of Joash.....	400
140. Joash shooting Arrows from a Window at the Command of Elisha.....	404
141. Israelites carried Captive.....	421
142. An Assyrian King.....	425
143. Pool of Hezekiah.....	428
144. Ancient Sundial.....	430

145. Moloch	432
146. Specimens of Ancient Writings on Sticks.....	435
147. Jewish Captives in Babylonia.....	444
148. Babylonish Conquerors putting out the Eyes of Zedekiah.....	451
149. Jeremiah mourning over Jerusalem.....	452
150. Zedekiah before the King of Babylon.....	452
151. Camels	454
152. Ancient Babylon	459
153. Cyrus entering Babylon	463
154. Lions of Syria.....	468
155. Tomb of Cyrus.....	471
156. Priests blessing the People after the Restoration of the Temple Services.....	472
157. Tomb of Esther and Mordecai.....	479
158. Walls of Jerusalem	482
159. Street in Jerusalem.....	483
160. Mount Zion.....	489
161. Royal Palace at Nineveh.....	492
162. The High-Priest in Full Dress.....	494
163. The Breastplate of the High-Priest.....	495
164. Shekel of the Sanctuary.....	500
165. Cedars of Lebanon.....	507
166. Ancient Jewish Shields and Spears.....	512
167. Ancient Swords.....	513
168. Leather Cuirass.....	514
169. Burnt Sacrifice at the Feast of the Dedication	515
170. Coat of Mail	516
171. Battle of Adasa.....	519
172. Judas Maccabæus and his Warriors.....	520
173. Sitting under the Vine.....	525
174. Gaza.....	537
175. Trumpets	539
176. Asmonæan Coins.....	541
177. The Palm Groves of Jericho.....	544
178. The Race.....	554
179. Outer Court of the Temple.....	560
180. "Behold the Lamb of God.".....	569
181. Bethlehem.....	576
182. Simeon and Anna in the Temple.....	579
183. Nazareth.....	583
184. Jesus disputing with the Doctors.....	584
185. Lazarus at the Rich Man's Gate.....	591
186. Fountain of Cana	597
187. Ancient Banquet.....	599
188. The Woman of Samaria.....	608
189. Lepers worshipping Christ	619
190. Sidon	625
191. The Disciples plucking Corn	628
192. Jesus teaching on the Mount.....	631
193. Coast of Tyre and Sidon.....	637
194. Christ eating Bread with the Publicans	639
195. Sea of Galilee from the North-West Coast ; with Magdala and Tiberias.....	641

196. Peter Saved by Jesus.	645
197. The Good Shepherd.....	657
198. Mary hath chosen that Good Part.....	658
199. Christ raising Lazarus.....	660
200. Christ weeping over Jerusalem.....	666
201. Mount of Olives.....	674
202. Gethsemane.....	681
203. Christ before Pilate.....	687
204. The Ascension.....	704
205. Peter and John healing the Lame Man.....	710
206. Ancient Harbor of Cæsarea.....	723
207. Tarsus.....	726
208. Conversion of Saul.....	732
209. Damascus.....	735
210. House with a Parapet.....	745
211. Antioch.....	748
212. Ancient Writing Materials.....	750
213. Ancient Book and Stylus.....	751
214. Paul and Barnabas at Antioch.....	753
215. Court of an Eastern House.....	759
216. Eastern Divan.....	769
217. Smyrna.....	772
218. St. Paul in the Stocks at Philippi.....	776
219. The Acropolis at Athens, as it was.....	781
220. Corinth.....	792
221. The Syrian Fox.....	807
222. Paul parting from his Disciples.....	818
223. Paul before Agrippa and Festus.....	825
224. Ancient Ships.....	832
225. Chart of part of the Coast of Malta.....	836
226. Ruins of the Coliseum, at Rome.....	840
227. Stairs of the Modern Capitol at Rome.....	849
228. Colossæ.....	865
229. Christian Women making Garments for the Poor.....	891
230. Thyatira.....	901
231. Wine Press.....	905
232. Ancient Tables.....	912
233. Laodicea.....	915
234. Timothy's Instructors.....	921
235. Tiberias and Lake, looking to the North-East.....	938
236. Roman Soldier.....	943
237. Jerusalem and its Valleys.....	948
238. The Catapult, a Machine for throwing Heavy Darts.....	960
239. Battering Ram and Tower.....	969
240. Despair of the Defenders of Jerusalem.....	978
241. Coin, struck by the Emperor Vespasian, commemorating the Conquest of Judæa.....	981
242. Jews' Wailing-Place.....	988
243. Capernaum.....	994

CONTENTS.

PART I.

THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY. FROM THE CREATION TO THE
RETURN OF THE JEWS FROM CAPTIVITY.

BOOK I.

FROM ADAM TO ABRAHAM. THE PROBATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.
A. M. 1—2008. B. C. 4004—1996.

CHAPTER I.

MAN'S PROBATION AND FALL.

Purpose and scope of Scripture history—The universe created by God at a definite time—The order of the Creation—The rest of the seventh day—The Sabbath—Primeval state of man—Marriage—Paradise—Naming of the animals—Language—Spiritual perfection—The temptation and fall—Effects of the fall—God's judgment on the man, the woman, and the serpent—The name of *Eve*—Institution of the sacrifice—Dispensation of mercy—Birth of Cain and Abel—The murder of Abel—The punishment of Cain—His descendants—The race of Seth—Character of Enoch—His translation—Methuselah—Epoch of his death 21

CHAPTER II.

THE TIMES OF NOAH AND THE DELUGE. A. M. 1056—2006. B. C. 2948—1998.

Significance of Noah's name—State of the antediluvian world—The Sethite and Cainite races intermixed—Their progeny and the *Nephilim*—Interval of divine forbearance: God's resolve to destroy the world; but to preserve the race of man for a new dispensation—Noah and his family—The Ark prepared—Noah enters the Ark—The Flood: its duration and subsidence—Question of a universal or partial Flood—In any case universal so far as man was concerned—Noah leaves the Ark—His sacrifice and God's blessing—The *Noachic precepts*—The Covenant with Noah: *God's covenant of forbearance*—Noah's blessing on Shem and Japheth and curse on Ham—His death 35

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTITION OF THE NATIONS. FROM THE DELUGE TO THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM. A. M. 1656—2008. B. C. 2348—1996.

The peopling of the earth—Tripartite division of the nations from a centre in Armenia—Interpretation of the record in Genesis x.—The three great families: (i.) of Japheth; (ii.) of Shem; (iii.) of Ham—The city and tower of Babel—The confusion of tongues and dispersion from Babel—Nimrod's empire 43

BOOK II.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF JOSEPH, OR THE PROBATION OF THE CHOSEN FAMILY. A. M. 2008—2369. B. C. 1996—1635.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY AND CALL OF ABRAM TO HIS 99TH YEAR, AND THE CHANGE OF HIS NAME. A. M. 2008—2106. B. C. 1996—1898.

God's choice of a family—Genealogy of Terah—Birth of Abram—First call of Abram at Ur—Removal to Haran—Death of Terah—Abram's second call—His journey to Canaan and abode at Sichem—His removal to Bethel—Retreat to Egypt, and return to Bethel—His separation from Lot, and abode at Mamre, near Hebron—The third giving of the promise—The war of Sodom—Abram's rescue of Lot—MELCHIZEDEK—The promise of a son—The *faith of Abraham*—The COVENANT made with him—Promise respecting his descendants and their land—Hagar the Egyptian—Birth of Ishmael—Completion of the promise—The names of Abram and Sarai changed—Covenant of Circumcision—The birth of Isaac foretold..... 49

CHAPTER V.

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC. FROM THE CHANGE OF ABRAHAM'S NAME TO HIS DEATH. A. M. 2107—2182. B. C. 1897—1822.

New relation of Abraham to God—Divine visit to him at Mamre—Destruction of the cities of the plain—Rescue of Lot—Moab and Ammon—Abraham at Beersheba—His relations with Abimelech—Birth of Isaac—Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael—Offering of Isaac on the mountain of Moriah—Death of Sarah—The burying-place of Machpelah—The marriage of Isaac and Rebekah—Birth of Esau and Jacob—Death and burial of Abraham—Death of Ishmael 59

CHAPTER VI.

ISAAC AND JACOB. FROM THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC. A. M. 2182—2288. B. C. 1822—1716.

Isaac at Lahai-roi—Esau sells his birthright—Isaac and Abimelech at Gerar—The blessings of Jacob and Esau—Moral aspect of the transaction—Jacob's danger from Esau, and flight to Padan-aram—His marriage to Leah and Rachel—His family—His service with Laban—His prosperity and departure—Mahanaïm—His prayer and wrestling at Peniel—His meeting with Esau—Abode at Shechem, and removal southward—Death of Rachel—Jacob at Mamre—Death and burial of Isaac 69

CHAPTER VII.

THE DESCENT INTO EGYPT. FROM THE SALE OF JOSEPH TO THE DEATH OF JOSEPH. A. M. 2275—2369. B. C. 1729—1635.

Joseph's early life—His two dreams—Hatred of his brethren—They sell him into Egypt—Joseph in Potiphar's house—Imprisonment of Joseph—Pharaoh's cup-bearer and chief cook—Their dreams interpreted by Joseph—Pharaoh's two dreams—Joseph made ruler of Egypt—His name *Zaphnath-paaneah*—His marriage, and his two sons—His government of Egypt—The seven years of plenty and the seven years of famine—Joseph's brethren in Egypt—God's purpose in Israel's removal to Canaan—Jacob and his family go down to Egypt—Their numbers—Their interviews with Pharaoh and settlement in Goshen—Jacob's last years—His desire to be buried with his fathers—His blessing on Joseph and his sons—His prophetic address to his twelve sons, and their blessings—The twelve tribes now constituted—Death, embalmment, and burial of Jacob—Joseph's kindness to his brethren—Joseph's last prophecy and injunction—His death and burial—Death and burial of the other patriarchs—Interval between Joseph and Moses—Chronology of the pilgrimage in Canaan and Egypt..... 80

BOOK III.

FROM MOSES TO JOSHUA. THE EXODUS OF THE CHOSEN NATION, AND THE GIVING OF THE LAW FROM SINAI. A. M. 2404—2553. B. C. 1600 (cir.)—1451.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EGYPTIAN BONDAGE AND THE MISSION OF MOSES TO THE EXODUS. A. M. 2404—2513. B. C. 1600 (cir.)—1491.

The people of Israel oppressed—The birth and education of Moses—His choice to suffer with his people—His flight from Egypt and residence in Midian—God appears to him in the burning bush—The mission of Moses and Aaron to Israel and Pharaoh—Moses returns to Egypt and meets Aaron—Their reception by the people—Their first appeal to Pharaoh—Increase of the oppression—The renewal of Jehovah's covenant—The conflict with Pharaoh—The Ten Plagues of Egypt—Institution of the Passover—The death of the first-born of Egypt, and the exodus of the Israelites..... 99

CHAPTER IX.

THE MARCH FROM EGYPT TO SINAI. A. M. 2513-4. B. C. 1491-0.

General view of the journey from Egypt to Canaan—Its three divisions: (i.) from Egypt to Sinai; (ii.) from Sinai to the borders of Canaan; (iii.) the wandering in the wilderness and the final march to Canaan—From Egypt to the Red Sea—Point of departure—Rameses—Succoth—Etham—Pi-hahiroth—Passage of the Red Sea—Wilderness of Shur—Thirst—Marah—Elim—Encampment by the Red Sea—Wilderness of Sin—Hunger—The Manna—Revival of the Sabbath—Dophkah, Alush, and Rephidim—The water from

the rock—The battle with Amalek in Rephidim—*Jehovah-Nissi*—Doom of Amalek—Visit of Jethro—Appointment of assistant judges—Wilderness of Sinai—Encampment before the Mount—Preparation—The people's place among the nations—Their covenant with Jehovah—God's descent on Sinai—The Ten Commandments—Other precepts given to Moses as Mediator—Promises—The angel Jehovah their Guide and Captain—Sinai and the Mount of the Beatitudes—The law given by angels—The covenant recorded and ratified by blood—The elders behold God's glory—Moses in the Mount—Idolatry of the golden calf—Intercession of Moses—The tables of the Law broken—Punishment—Fidelity of Levi—Self-sacrifice of Moses—Type of the offering of Christ—God speaks with him before the people, and shows him his glory—Moses's second abode in the Mount—The tables renewed—The veil over his face—The Tabernacle prepared and set up—Consecration of Aaron and his sons—The glory of God upon and in the Tabernacle 121

CHAPTER X.

THE ADVANCE FROM SINAI, AND THE WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS. A. M. 2514—2522. B. C. 1490—1452.

Numbering of the people—Order of the camp and march—Numbering of the first-born and of the Levites—Other events at Sinai—Purification of the camp—Order of Nazarites—Second Passover—Nadab and Abihu—The blasphemer stoned—Departure from Sinai—The route from Sinai—Entrance designed by way of Hebron—Wilderness of Paran—*Taberah*—*Kibroth-Hattaavah*—Quails—Pestilence—Appointment of the seventy elders—Their gift of prophesying—*Hazeroth*—Sedition of Miriam and Aaron—Testimony to the meekness and fidelity of Moses—*Kadesh-barnea*—The spies sent out—Their return and report—Rebellion of the people—Fidelity of Caleb and Joshua—Defeat of Israel by the Amorites, Canaanites, and Amalekites—Beginning of the thirty-eight years' wanderings—Their direction and object—The Sabbath-breaker stoned—Rebellion and fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with 250 princes—The plague stayed by Aaron—The blossoming of Aaron's rod—The charge of the sanctuary given to the Levites 141

CHAPTER XI.

FINAL MARCH FROM KADESH TO THE JORDAN. DEATH OF MOSES. A. M. 2552—2553. B. C. 1452—1451.

Last encampment at Kadesh—Death of Miriam—The sin and sentence of Moses and Aaron—A passage refused through Edom—March from Kadesh to Mount Hor—Death of Aaron—March down the Arabah and round Mount Seir—The fiery serpents and the brazen serpent—Arrival at the brook Zered—March through the desert of Moab—Territories of Moab and Ammon—Conquests of Sihon and Og—Defeat and destruction of Sihon and Og—Last encampment on the plains of Moab—BALAK and BALAAM—New Census—Consecration of JOSHUA—Slaughter of the Midianites—Settlement of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh east of Jordan—Final address of Moses—The Book of Deuteronomy—The *Song of Moses*—The *Blessing of Moses*—His view of the Promised Land—His death and burial—Character of Moses 158

BOOK IV.

JOSHUA TO SAUL; OR TRANSITION FROM THE THEOCRACY TO THE MONARCHY. A. M. 2553—2948. B. C. 1451—1095.

CHAPTER XII.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

Names of the land—Its size—Its position on the map of the world—Its mountainous character—Divided by Mount Carmel—Plain of Esdraelon—Exact limits of the Holy Land—Galilee, Samaria, Judæa—The water-shed of the country, and the valleys on each side—Aspect of the south country (Judæa)—Aspect of Judæa in ancient times—Aspect of the central country (Samaria)—Aspect of the northern country (Galilee)—Habitations of the Israelites on the hills—The maritime plains—The Philistine Plain and the Plain of Sharon—The Philistine Plain continued independent of the Israelites—The port of the Israelites—Joppa—The Jordan—Appearance of the country to the Israelites. 180

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONQUEST AND DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND. B. C. 1451—1426.

Joshua the leader of Israel—Two spies sent to Jericho and saved by Rahab—Passage of the Jordan—Circumcision and Passover at Gilgal—Cessation of the Manna—State of the country—Jehovah appears to Joshua—Jericho taken and devoted to Jehovah—The curse on the city and the blessing on Rahab—Sin of Achan and capture of Ai—Results of the first campaign—The blessing and the curse at Shechem—Treaty with the Gibeonites—Confederacy of five kings against Gibeon—Battle of Beth-horon—Conquest of the South—Confederacy of the North under Jabin—Conquest of the whole land—Considerable exceptions—Division of the land—Possessions of the tribes—Lot of Joshua—Cities of refuge and of the Levites—Altar of the two-and-a-half tribes—The schism healed—Last exhortations of Joshua—The Covenant renewed at Shechem—Deaths of Joshua and Eleazar—Burial of Joseph's bones—Bright period of national fidelity. 195

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EARLIER JUDGES TO DEBORAH AND BARAK. B. C. 1426—1256.

Difficulties in the history of the judges—The Books of Judges and Ruth—General character of this period—Efforts to drive out the heathen nations—Scenes of idolatry and wickedness: (i.) The story of Micah and the Danites; (ii.) Extermination of the Benjamites—Story of Ruth and Boaz—The Fifteen Judges—Servitude to Cushan-Rishathaim—OTHNIEL, the first judge—Oppression by Eglon, king of Moab—EHUD, the second judge—SHAMGAR, the third judge—Tyranny of Jabin and Sisera—DEBORAH and BARAK jointly as fourth judge—The Song of Deborah. 218

CHAPTER XV.

THE JUDGES, FROM GIDEON TO JEPHTHAH. B. C. 1256—1112.

Oppression of the Midianites—Call of GIDEON, the fifth judge—The Angel Jehovah—Gideon overthrows the Altar of Baal—Surnamed JERUBBAAL—Gideon musters Israel—The signs of the fleece—Choice of 300 men—The

trumpets, lamps, and pitchers—Slaughter of Midian in Jezreel—Pursuit beyond the Jordan—Fate of Succoth and Penuel—Gideon refuses the crown—Makes an Ephod—ABIMELECH murders Gideon's sons and becomes king at Shechem—The parable or fable of Jotham—Revolt against Abimelech—Destruction of Shechem—His death—Erroneously ranked as the *sixth judge*—TOLA and JAIR the seventh and eighth judges—Oppression of the Philistines and Amorites—Rise of JEPHTHAH, the ninth judge—Embassy to Ammon—Jephthah's vow—The Ammonites subdued—The fate of Jephthah's daughter—Massacre of Ephraim—*Shibboleth* and Sibboleth—Death of Jephthah—IBZAN, ELON, and ABDON, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth judges..... 232

CHAPTER XVI.

THE JUDGES—ELI, SAMSON, AND SAMUEL. THE PHILISTINE OPPRESSION. B. C. 1161—1095.

Chronology of the period, and relation of Eli, Samson, and Samuel to each other—State of Southern Palestine—Eli, high-priest and judge—Rise of Samson and Samuel—Birth of Samson, the Nazarite—His first exploits and establishment as judge—The gates of Gaza—Delilah—Captivity and death of Samson—Parentage and birth of Samuel—His dedication to God—Wickedness of Eli's sons Hophni and Phinehas—A prophet sent to Eli—The call of Samuel—His establishment as a prophet—The first two battles of Ebenezer—Death of Eli and his sons—Capture of the Ark—"Ichabod"—The Ark among the Philistines—Its return to Beth-shemesh and Kirjath-jearim—Third battle and victory of Ebenezer—End of the Philistine oppression—Judgeship of Samuel and his sons..... 245

BOOK V.

THE SINGLE MONARCHY. B. C. 1095—975.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF SAUL AND EARLY HISTORY OF DAVID. B. C. 1095—1056.

End of the Theocracy—The people desire a king—Saul—His character and family—His visit to Samuel, designation, anointing, and the signs of God's favor—His election as king by lot, acceptance by the people, and inauguration in the kingdom by Samuel—His relief of Jabesh-gilead from Nahash the Ammonite—Second inauguration of the kingdom, and retirement of Samuel, at Gilgal—Saul's second year—The "War of Michmash." with the Philistines—The first case of Saul's disobedience, and the first sentence of rejection—Jonathan surprises the camp of the Philistines—Their rout, and Saul's foolish vow—Jonathan saved by the people—Other enemies subdued—Saul's kingdom fully established—His family, guards, officers, and regal state—Second period of Saul's reign—His mission against Amalek, disobedience, and final rejection—Samuel's last parting with Saul, and mourning for him—Samuel sent to Bethlehem to anoint DAVID, the son of Jesse, as the first true king of Israel—His lineage, character, and early life—Sources of information—The war of Ephes-dammim with the Philistines—David's visits to the camp—His character for courage and prudence—He soothes Saul's madness with his harp—Slays Goliath, and becomes Saul's armor-

bearer—Beginning of his friendship with Jonathan, and of Saul's jealousy—David marries Michal, and becomes captain of the body-guard—Saul's open plots against David's life—David's flight to Ramah, to Achish, to the Cave of Adullam, and to the wilderness—His visit to Nob, and Saul's slaughter of the priests—Saul's pursuit of David—Their two interviews—Death of Samuel—The story of Nabal, and David's double marriage to Abigail and Ahinoam—His final flight to the Philistines, and settlement at Ziklag—Gathering of the Philistines at Jezreel—Saul and the witch of Endor—David returns from the Philistine camp and avenges the sack of Ziklag—Battle of Mount Gilboa—Death of Saul and his sons—David's lamentation for Saul and Jonathan 262

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF DAVID. B. C. 1056—1015.

David, king of Judah, at Hebron—Ish-bosheth proclaimed king of Israel by Abner—Civil war—Deaths of Asahel, Abner, and Ish-bosheth—David king of all Israel—His army at Hebron—He takes Jerusalem—Alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre—Forms a harem—Victories over the Philistines—Removal of the Ark from Kirjath-jearim—Death of Uzzah—Second removal from the house of Obed-edom to Zion—Psalms on this occasion—Divine service arranged—The building of God's house postponed by divine command—Messianic Psalms—David's victories over the Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, and Edomites—Israel reaches its fullest limits—Character and constitution of the kingdom: (i.) The Royal Family; (ii.) Military Organization; (iii.) Civil Administration; (iv.) The Religious Institutions—David's prophetic character—Psalmody—Levites—Double High-priesthood—Courses of the Priests—Order of Prophets—David's kindness to Mephibosheth—Touching story of Rizpah—War with the Ammonites and Syrians—Victories of Joab and David—Siege of Rabbah—David and Bathsheba—Murder of Uriah—Mission of Nathan—David's repentance—Death of David's child—Birth of Solomon—Final conquest of Ammon—SECOND PERIOD OF DAVID'S REIGN—Family troubles—Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom—Rebellion of Absalom—He is crowned at Hebron—David's flight from Jerusalem—The priests and Ark sent back—Ahithophel and Hushai—Ziba and Shimei—Absalom at Jerusalem—David at Mahanaim—Disappointment and death of Ahithophel—Absalom pursues David—Battle in the wood of Ephraim—Death and burial of Absalom—David's lamentation—His return to Jerusalem—The farewell of Barzillai—Discord of Judah and Israel—Rebellion of Sheba—Joab kills Amasa—Death of Sheba—War with the Philistines—David's Psalm of Victory—THIRD PERIOD OF DAVID'S REIGN—The numbering of the people, and the three days' pestilence—The place of the sanctuary determined—Preparations for its building, and designation of Solomon—Rebellion of Adonijah—Proclamation of Solomon—David's last congregation—His final charge to Solomon—Fate of Adonijah, Abiathar, Joab, and Shimei—David's last words, death, and burial—His character 296

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON. B. C. 1015—975.

Character of Solomon's reign—His marriage with Pharaoh's daughter—Alliance with Hiram—The High Places retained—God appears to him at

Gibeon—His choice of wisdom—The Judgment of Solomon—Solomon's court and revenues—His personal qualities—His knowledge, writings, and conversation—The *Proverbs*—Building of the Temple—Arrangements with King Hiram—Materials for the house—Hiram the architect—Description of the edifice—Dedication of the Temple—The prayer of Solomon—Completion of Solomon's buildings—God's second appearance to him—His works in the provinces—Conquest of Hamath—Building of Tadmor—Solomon's commercial enterprises—Voyages to Tharshish and Ophir—His works in gold, ivory, etc.—Visits of foreign kings—The Queen of Sheba—Solomon's declension—His tyrannical government and idolatries—Troubles from Hadad, Rezon, and Jeroboam—Prophecy of Ahijah—Last days of Solomon—Book of *Ecclesiastes*—Death and burial of Solomon—Records of his reign..... 340

BOOK VI.

THE DIVIDED MONARCHY. THE CAPTIVITY AND THE RETURN.
B. C. 975—400.

CHAPTER XX.

THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL. FROM THE DIVISION OF THE MONARCHY
TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF AHAB. B. C. 975—884.

Kingdoms of Judah and Israel—Their respective characters—Superiority of Judah—Accession of REHOBOAM—Assembly of Shechem—Revolt of the Ten Tribes under Jeroboam—Judah and Benjamin adhere to Rehoboam—War forbidden by the prophet Shemaiah—Government of Rehoboam—Religious declension—Jerusalem taken by Shishak—Death of Rehoboam—Reign of ABIJAH, second king of Judah—Defeat of Jeroboam—Prosperity of Judah—JEROBOAM I., king of Israel—Extent of the kingdom—Idolatry of the golden calves—The prophet at Bethel—Abijah, son of Jeroboam—The prophet Ahijah—NADAB, second king of Israel—His murder, and extinction of the house of Jeroboam—BAASHA, third king of Israel—The prophet JEHU—War with Judah and Syria—ELAH, fourth king of Israel—Murdered by Zimri—Extinction of the house of Baasha—ZIMRI, fifth king of Israel, reigns only seven days—Deaths of Zimri and Tibni, his competitor—OMRI, sixth king of Israel—Building of the new capital Samaria—Dependence of Israel on Syria—Wickedness and death of Omri—ASA, third king of Judah—Reformation of religion—Asa's great army—Defeat of Zerah the Ethiopian—The prophet AZARIAH—Second reformation—War with Baasha, and alliance with Benhadad I.—The prophet HANANI reproves Asa—Religious persecution—Death of Asa—JEHOSHAPHAT, seventh king of Judah—His piety and prosperity—Alliance with Ahab—AHAB, seventh king of Israel, and his wife Jezebel—Worship of Baal, and persecution of Jehovah's worshippers—ELIJAH the TISHBITE denounces a three years' drought—Elijah nourished at Cherith by ravens, at Zarephath by a starving widow—His appearance to Ahab, and contest with the prophets of Baal at Mount Carmel—Victory of Elijah—The people confess Jehovah—The prophets of Baal slain—Elijah's prayer for rain—Fury of Jezebel—Flight of Elijah to the Wilderness—His vision of Jehovah's glory—His mission to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha—The murder of Naboth,

and the judgment pronounced by Elijah—Wars of Ahab with Syria—Benhadad II. defeated at Samaria and Aphek—Expedition of Ahab and Jehoshaphat to recover Ramoth, in Gilead—The prophet MICAH—Defeat of the two kings, and death of Ahab—Jehoshaphat reproved by Jehu—His great reformation of Justice—War with Moab and Ammon—The prophet Jahaziel—Great victory of Berachah—Alliances with Ahaziah and Jehoram—Maritime enterprise of Jehoshaphat, denounced by the prophet ELIEZER—Death of Jehoshaphat—AHAZIAH, eighth king of Israel—Last appearance of Elijah—His Translation—Ministry of ELISHA—JEHORAM, ninth king of Israel—Allies with Jehoshaphat against the revolt of the Moabites—Miracle of Elisha, and defeat of Moab—Siege of Kir-haraseth and human sacrifice by the King of Moab—Elisha and the widow—The Shunammite woman—The healing of Naaman's leprosy—War with Syria—Elisha and the Syrians—The siege of Samaria miraculously raised—JEHORAM, fifth king of Judah—Marriage with Athaliah, daughter of Ahab—Idolatry and wickedness—Revolts of Edom, Libnah, the Philistines, and Arabians—AHAZIAH, sixth king of Judah—Elisha anoints Hazael, who murders Benhadad II.—Anointing and revolt of Jehu—Slaughter of Jehoram, Jezebel, Ahab's seventy sons, the princess of Judah, the worshippers of Baal, and Ahaziah—Usurpation of ATHALIAH, and murder of the royal family of Judah, except Joash, who is saved by Jehoiada—Restoration of Joash, and death of Athaliah—Extinction of the house of Ahab in both its branches of Israel and Judah..... 361

CHAPTER XXI.

THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL—CONTINUED, FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF AHAB TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES. B. C. 884-721.

State of the two kingdoms—ISRAEL: Fourth Dynasty; Tenth king, *Jehu*—Mentioned on an Assyrian monument—Eleventh king, *Jehoahaz*—JUDAH: Eighth king, *Joash*—The high-priest Jehoiada—Restoration of the Temple—Apostasy—The PROPHETS—Martyrdom of Zechariah—Syrian invasion of Judah—ISRAEL: Twelfth king, *Jehoash*—Death of ELISHA—JUDAH: Ninth king, *Amaziah*—Victory over Edom—Jerusalem taken by Jehoash—ISRAEL: Thirteenth king, *Jeroboam II.*—Political revival of the kingdom—The prophet JONAH—Fourteenth king, *Zachariah*—Supposed Interregnum—The prophet HOSEA—End of Jehu's dynasty—Fifteenth king, *Shallum*—Civil war—Fifth Dynasty—Sixteenth and Seventeenth kings, *Menahe*m and *Pekahiah*—First invasion of Israel by Assyria under Pul—Sixth Dynasty—Eighteenth king, *Pekah*—State of Israel as described by the prophets AMOS and HOSEA—JUDAH: Tenth king, *Uzziah*—His good reign and successful wars—Profanes the Temple and dies a leper—Eleventh king, *Jotham*—His piety and prosperity—Twelfth king, *Ahaz*—War with Syria and Israel—Elath taken by Syria—Jewish captives restored by Israel—Ahaz calls in Tiglath-pileser—Destruction of the kingdom of Damascus—Captivity of the Trans-jordanic and northern tribes—Ahaz goes to Damascus—His shameless idolatries—Thirteenth king, *Hezekiah*—Reform of religion—His great Passover—He destroys the Brazen Serpent—Defeats the Philistines—Revolts from Assyria—ISRAEL: Nineteenth and last king, *Hoshea*; the best of the kings of Israel—Symptoms of a revival—Revolts from Shalmaneser—First Assyrian invasion—Hoshea's secret league with Egypt, and imprisonment—Siege and capture of

Samaria—END OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL AND CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES—Geographical extent of the Captivity—Subsequent history of the captives—New colonization of Samaria.....	400
---	-----

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL TO END OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH. B. C. 721-586.

Progress of Assyria—Siege of Tyre by Sargon—His invasion of Egypt—Illness and recovery of Hezekiah—Embassy from Babylon—First Prophecy of the Babylonish Captivity—Sennacherib succeeds Sargon—Egyptian party in Judah denounced by Isaiah—Invasion of Sennacherib and submission of Hezekiah—War of Sennacherib with Egypt—Rabshakeh summons Jerusalem—Destruction of the Assyrian army—Death of Sennacherib—Prosperity and death of Hezekiah—MANASSEH, fourteenth king of Judah—Anti-religious reaction—Imprisonment of Manasseh by Esar-haddon at Babylon—His repentance and restoration—His probable relations with Egypt—His death—AMON, fifteenth king of Judah—JOSIAH, sixteenth king of Judah—Religious degradation of the people—Josiah begins to seek the Lord—Restoration of the Temple and Ark—Book of the Law discovered—The prophetess Huldah—Destruction of the idols—Gehenna—Isaiah's great Passover—Fall of Assyria, and rise of Media and Babylon—Rivalry of Babylon and Egypt—Expedition of Necho—Death of Josiah at Megiddo—The mystic battle of Armageddon—Revival of prophecy under Josiah: NAHUM, ZEPHANIAH, HABAKKUK, and JEREMIAH—The successors of Josiah but nominal kings—JEHOAHAZ, the seventeenth king of Judah, set up by the people, and deposed by Necho—"Cadytis" taken by Necho—JEHOIAKIM, the eighteenth king of Judah—Defeat of Necho by NEBUCHADNEZZAR—Jeremiah prophesies the seventy years' Captivity at Babylon—Story of the Rechabites—Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem—The <i>First Captivity of Judah</i> —DANIEL and his comrades—Public reading of Jeremiah's prophecies by Baruch—Rebellion and death of Jehoiakim—JEHOIACHIN, the nineteenth king of Judah—Set up and deposed by Nebuchadnezzar—The <i>Second and great Captivity of Judah</i> —Subsequent history of Jehoiachin and the line of David—ZEDEKIAH, the twentieth and last king over the remnant of Judah—Parties at Jerusalem—Jeremiah advises submission—The seditious false prophets—Predictions of the restoration of Israel and the fall of Babylon—EZEKIEL prophesies at Babylon—Zedekiah conspires with Egypt—Jerusalem besieged by Nebuchadnezzar—Advance and retreat of Pharaoh-hophra—Imprisonment of Jeremiah—Capture and destruction of Jerusalem—Exultation of the neighboring nations—Prophecy of OBADIAH— <i>Third Captivity</i> —Summary of the Captivities—The land left uncolonized—The remnant in Judæa—Gedaliah, Ishmael, and Johanan—Flight into Egypt under Johanan—Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt—His other conquests.....	424
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE CLOSE OF THE CAPTIVITY AT BABYLON. B. C. 586-536.

The captives at Babylon—Daniel and his companions—Nebuchadnezzar's dream—The Imperial statue—The fiery furnace—Nebuchadnezzar's hu-

miliation—His death—The successors of Nebuchadnezzar—Rise of CYRUS THE GREAT, and foundation of the Persian Empire—Coalition of Lydia, Egypt, and Babylon against Cyrus—Defeat of Cræsus—Cyrus attacks Babylon—Siege of Babylon—Belshazzar's feast—The city surprised and taken—End of the Babylonian Empire—Reign of "Darius the Median," probably Astyages—Daniel under Darius—The den of lions—Prophecies of Daniel: (i.) Dream of the *Image*; (ii.) Dream of *Nebuchadnezzar's madness*; (iii.) Dream of the *Four Beasts*; (iv.) Vision of the *Ram and He-goat*; (v.) Prophecy of the *Seventy Weeks*; (vi.) Vision of the Son of God, and *Prophecy of the Last Days*—Subsequent history and final desolation of Babylon..... 457

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE RESTORED JEWISH NATION AND CHURCH—FROM THE DECREE OF CYRUS TO THE CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON. B. C. 536-400 ?

The decree of Cyrus—Moral gains of the Captivity—Cessation of idolatry—More spiritual worship—Germs of new declension—Numbers of the first caravan—The new nation composed of all the tribes—Arrival at Jerusalem, and foundation of the Temple—Opposition to the building—Series of Persian kings—The work interrupted under the Pseudo-Smerdis, and resumed under Darius Hystaspis—The prophets HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH—Dedication of the second Temple—Accession of Xerxes, the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther—The feast of Purim—Esther not Amestris—Artaxerxes Longimanus—Commission of EZRA—The second caravan of returned exiles—Reformation by Ezra—Commission of NEHEMIAH—Building of the walls—Opposition of Sanballat and Tobiah—Nehemiah's Reformation—Completion of the wall—Reading of the Law by Ezra—Feast of Tabernacles—Day of Atonement—Covenant of the people—Peopling of Jerusalem—Dedication of the wall—Nehemiah returns to Persia—His second commission to Jerusalem—Misconduct of the high-priest and princes—Nehemiah's Second Reformation—Book of Nehemiah—Prophecy of MALACHI—Last days of Ezra, and works ascribed to him—The great Synagogue—The Old Testament Canon—The cxixth Psalm—Schism of the Samaritans, and their temple on Mount Gerizim..... 473

PART II.

THE APOCRYPHAL HISTORY. FROM THE RETURN OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

BOOK VII.

CONNECTION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT HISTORIES, AND SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF HEROD. B. C. 400-4.

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM NEHEMIAH TO THE PERSECUTION OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES. B. C. 400-168.

Interval of four centuries between the Old and New Testaments—Four periods: Persian, Greek, Asmonean, and Herodian—Judæa under the Per-

sians—The high-priests ELIASHIB, JOIADA, JONATHAN or Johanan—Murder of Joshua—JADDUA—Close of the Old Testament Canon—Alexander the Great—Rebellion of the Samaritans—ONIAS I.—Division of Alexander's Empire—Jerusalem taken by Ptolemy I.—Judæa subject to Egypt—SIMON I. THE JUST—The ideal of a high-priest—The New Synagogue—Antigonus Socho—ELEAZAR, under Ptolemy II. Philadelphus—Version of the LXX—MANASSEH—ONIAS II.—Offends Ptolemy III. Euergetes—Joseph, son of Tobias—SIMON II.—Wars of Syria and Egypt—Ptolemy IV. Philopator profanes the Temple—Antiochus III. the Great—Judæa becomes subject to Syria—ONIAS III., under Seleucus IV. Philopator—Legend of Heliodorus—Simon, treasurer of the Temple—Accession of Antiochus IV. Epiphanes—JASON and MENELAUS—Introduction of Hellenic customs—Death of Onias III.—Antiochus in Egypt—Tumult at Jerusalem—Expulsion and death of Jason—Antiochus storms Jerusalem and profanes the Temple—Fate of Menelaus—Sack of Jerusalem by Apollonius—Great persecution, conducted by Athanæus—Martyrdom of Eleazar and of the Seven Brethren—Death of Antiochus Epiphanes—Silence of the heathen historians on this period of Jewish history—Allusion to it by Tacitus—State of the Jewish nation, religious, political, and social—The antagonism of princes and priests—Of Hellenism and patriotism..... 493

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MACCABEÆN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE. B. C. 168-106.

The family of MATTATHIAS—His retirement from Jerusalem to Modin—He refuses to sacrifice, kills the royal officer, and flees to the mountains—Progress of the revolt, and death of Mattathias—JUDAS the MACCABEE succeeds his father, and defeats Apollonius and Seron—Measures of Antiochus Epiphanes—Great victories of Judas over Nicanor and Gorgias, Timotheus and Bacchides—Defeat of Lysias at Bethsura—Judas takes Jerusalem and purifies the Temple—"Feast of the Dedication"—Wars with the neighboring nations—Antiochus V. Eupator and Lysias invade Judæa—Capture of Bethsura—Eleazar Avaran crushed under an elephant—Treachery of Antiochus at Jerusalem—Accession of Demetrius I. Soter—Flight of Onias IV. to Egypt, and building of the Jewish temple at Leontopolis—ALCIMUS high-priest at Jerusalem—Armies sent to establish him—Decisive defeat of Nicanor at Adasa, the Jewish Marathon—Alliance of the Jews with Rome—Their defeat at Eleasa, the Maccabæan Thermopylæ—Death of Judas—JONATHAN Apphus, the Maccabee, succeeds Judas—Death of Alcimus and peace with Bacchides—War between Alexander Balas and Demetrius—Jonathan made high-priest—He defeats Apollonius—Fall of Alexander Balas—Demetrius II. Nicator assisted by Jonathan against Tryphon—Antiochus VI. Theos favors the Jews—Jonathan taken prisoner by Tryphon—His death—SIMON Thassi, the Maccabee, accomplishes the independence of Judæa—Usurpation of Tryphon in Syria—Murder of Antiochus Theos, and captivity of Demetrius Nicator in Parthia—Prosperity of Judæa—Treaties with Rome and Lacedæmon—Defeat of Tryphon by Antiochus VII. Sidetes—Last Syrian war against Judæa—Victory of Judas and John, the sons of Simon, over Cendebeus—Treacherous murder of Simon, with his sons Judas and Mattathias, at Jericho, by Ptolemy, son of Abubus—JOHN HYRCANUS, son of Simon, besieges Jericho—Cruelties

and escape of Ptolemy—Antiochus Sidetes takes Jerusalem and gains the surname of Eusebes—His death in Parthia—Complete independence of Judæa—John Hyrcanus conquers Idumæa and Samaria, and destroys the temple on Mount Gerizim—Quarrels with the Pharisees and favors the Sadducees—His death—Review of the Maccabæan contest in the light of patriotism and religion—Belief in the Resurrection and steadfastness to the Law—Literature and art—Maccabæan coins..... 511

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ASMONÆAN KINGDOMS. B. C. 106-37.

Change for the worse in Jewish history—ARISTOBULUS I. assumes the royal title—Conquest of Ituræa—Deaths of Antigonus and Aristobulus—ALEXANDER JANNÆUS—Judæa invaded by Ptolemy Lathyrus, and rescued by Cleopatra—Conquests and defeats of Alexander—His civil war, and dying reconciliation with the Pharisees—Honors to his memory—ALEXANDRA, with Hyrcanus II. as high-priest—Ascendancy of the Pharisees, undermined by a secret opposition—HYRCANUS II. is deposed by his brother Aristobulus—Defeat of the party of the Pharisees—ARISTOBULUS II.—Rise of ANTIPATER—Hyrcanus flies to Aretas, King of Arabia, who besieges Jerusalem—The paschal lambs—The prayer of Onias—Intervention of Rome—The Mithridatic War—Tigranes expelled from Syria by Lucullus—Antiochus XIII. deposed, and Syria made a Roman province—Pompey as arbiter between the Jewish princes—Resistance of Aristobulus—Pompey takes Jerusalem, profanes the Temple, and carries off Aristobulus to Rome—HYRCANUS II. restored to the high-priesthood—Revolt of Alexander put down by Gabinius—New Constitution—The five Great Sanhedrims—Escape and defeat of Aristobulus and Antigonus—New revolt and defeat of Alexander—Crassus plunders the Temple—The Great Civil War of Rome—Deaths of Aristobulus and Alexander—Hyrcanus ethnarch and Antipater procurator of Judæa—Family of Antipater—HEROD governor of Galilee—His early boldness—Death of Cæsar—Judæa oppressed by Cassius—Murder of Antipater and revenge of Herod—Unsuccessful risings of the stricter Jews—Herod marries Mariamne, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, and defeats Antigonus—Mark Antony makes Herod and Phasaël tetrarchs of Palestine—The Parthian Invasion—Flight of Herod—Death of Phasaël and mutilation of Hyrcanus—Nominal reign of ANTIGONUS—Herod named by the triumvirs King of Judæa—His war with Antigonus—Capture of Jerusalem—Execution of Antigonus—END OF THE ASMONÆAN DYNASTY.. 535

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HEROD THE GREAT. B. C. 37-4.

Government and policy of the Herodian family—HEROD THE GREAT—Massacre of the Sanhedrim—The high-priesthood—Aristobulus appointed and murdered—Herod and Cleopatra—The Battle of Actium—Herod and Octavian—Extent and divisions of Herod's kingdom—Domestic tragedies—Deaths of Mariamne and Alexandra—Government of Herod—His hellenizing practices—Building of the Antonia, of Sebaste, and of Cæsarea—Herod courts Augustus and Agrippa—His munificence—Rebuilding of the Temple—Family of Herod—Judicial murder of Aristobulus and Alexander

—Conspiracy and condemnation of Antipater—Herod's last illness—
Alarm at the birth of Christ—The massacre at Bethlehem—Execution of
Antipater—Death of Herod—Character of Herod—His place in Sacred
History 552

PART III.

THE NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY. FROM THE BIRTH OF JOHN
THE BAPTIST TO THE DEATH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

BOOK VIII.

THE HISTORY OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST; OR, THE
REVELATION OF THE GOSPEL. B. C. 5—A. D. 30.

CHAPTER XXIX.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF JOHN AND JESUS. B. C. 5—A. D. 26.

Beginning of the Gospel history according to the four Evangelists—St.
John's doctrine of the Word—St. Luke's beginning of the history—Zachar-
ias and Elisabeth—Mary and Joseph—The births of John and Jesus an-
nounced by the angel Gabriel—Salutation of Mary by Elisabeth—Birth
and youth of John the Baptist—Prophecy of Zacharias—The angel appears
to Joseph—The miraculous conception—Joseph and Mary go to Beth-
lehem—Birth of JESUS CHRIST—Adoration of the shepherds—The circum-
cision and presentation in the Temple—Simeon and Anna—Adoration of
the Magi—Massacre at Bethlehem—Flight to Egypt—Death of Herod and
accession of Archelaus—Return of the Holy Family to Nazareth—Jesus
in the Temple at the Passover at the age of twelve—His abode at Nazareth
till his thirtieth year—His life during this period..... 569

CHAPTER XXX.

OUR SAVIOUR'S EARLY MINISTRY, FROM THE PREACHING OF JOHN THE BAPTIST
TO CHRIST'S FIRST PASSOVER. A. D. 26-27.

State of Judæa at the appearance of JOHN THE BAPTIST—His preaching of
repentance, and his baptism—His addresses to different classes—The
Pharisees reject, the common people and Publicans believe him—The
baptism of Jesus; its significance—The descent of the Holy Ghost—Jesus
proclaimed the Son of God—The temptation of Jesus: its meaning, scene,
and incidents: parallel to Moses and Elijah in the desert—The ministry of
angels—John disclaims the Messiahship for himself, and proclaims Jesus
as the Lamb of God—Two of John's disciples follow Christ—Andrew, and
probably John—Andrew brings his brother Simon—Beginning of the
Christian Church—Call of Philip and Nathanael, or Bartholomew—Their
successive confessions of the Christ—Goes with his disciples into Galilee—
The Marriage Feast at Cana—Jesus and Mary—Our Lord's first miracle—
Essential character of miracles—Already familiar to the Jews—Tests laid
down by the Rabbis: satisfied in the miracle at Cana—Its effect on the

disciples—Social aspect of the miracle—Sanction of the ordinance of marriage, though himself unmarried—Christ's short abode at Capernaum—Conclusion of the more private opening of his ministry—Approach of the Passover..... 587

CHAPTER XXXI.

FIRST YEAR OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY. FROM HIS FIRST PASSOVER TO HIS SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM, PROBABLY AT THE PASSOVER. A. D. 27-28.

Beginning of Christ's Ministry at Jerusalem at the Passover—The *First Passover*—Christ purifies the Temple—Contrast with his last appearance there—The Jews demand a sign—His prediction concerning the Temple of his Body—His converts at this Passover; and his reserve in trusting them—Christ and Nicodemus—Jesus leaves Jerusalem for the country of Judæa, and gains converts, who are baptized by his disciples—John's final testimony to Christ—John rebukes Herod Antipas for Herodias's sake, and is cast into prison—Christ retires to Galilee—The Samaritan woman and her fellow-townsmen of Sychar—Jesus in Galilee—The prophet without honor in his own country—Difficulty as to the Gospel harmony at this point—Second visit of Jesus to Cana—His second Galilean miracle: healing of the courtier's son—*Beginning of the Gospel from Galilee*: its significance—Narrative of the first three Evangelists derived from Galilean sources—Their external means of information and their inspiration—Christ began by proclaiming the kingdom of heaven as *at hand*—Distinction between this and John the Baptist's preaching—He teaches in the synagogues—Proclaims himself at Nazareth as the Messiah—Rejected by his fellow-townsmen—Jesus at Capernaum—Ministry by the Lake of Galilee—Final call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John—A Sabbath in the synagogue at Capernaum—The demoniac healed—The devil confesses Christ, but is silenced by him—Healing of Peter's wife's mother—Miracles in the evening—Departure from Capernaum—Christ's *First Galilean Circuit*—Healing the leper—Jesus returns to Capernaum—Healing of the paralytic in the presence of the Pharisees and doctors—Christ claims the divine prerogative of forgiving sin—The call of Matthew—Various examples of Christ's miracles—The "Feast of the Jews" of John v.—Christ goes up to Jerusalem—Healing of the cripple at Bethesda—Charged by the Jews with Sabbath-breaking—His answer..... 600

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SEQUEL OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY IN GALILEE, FROM AFTER HIS SECOND PASSOVER, IN A. D. 28, TO NEAR THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, A. D. 29.

Return of Jesus from Jerusalem to Galilee—The plucking of the ears of corn on the Sabbath—The healing of the withered hand—Christ rebuts the charge of Sabbath-breaking—Plot of the Pharisees and the Herodians against him—He retires to the shore of the Galilean lake, and is followed by multitudes—His miracles prove him the servant of God predicted by Isaiah—Preparations for organizing the Christian Church—Choice of the Twelve Apostles—The Sermon on the Mount—Certain preliminary questions discussed—Unity of the discourse, and its identity in Matthew and

Luke—The Time and Scene—Mount of the Beatitudes—Choice of the Apostles—Characters of their office—Personal qualifications—The Lists of the Twelve Apostles—The SERMON ON THE MOUNT; the Law of the New Dispensation—Effect of the discourse—Jesus returns to Capernaum—Healing of the Centurion's servant—Raising of the widow's son to life—Last mention of John the Baptist—His message to Jesus—Christ's final testimony to John—Denunciation of the Galilean cities—Thanksgiving for that the Gospel is revealed to babes—Jesus, at a Pharisee's table, is anointed by a sinful woman—He forgives her sins, and rebukes the scornful Pharisees—The woman not Mary Magdalene—Distinction between this anointing of Jesus as the Christ, and his anointing for his burial by Mary of Bethany—*Second Circuit through Galilee*—The women who ministered to Jesus—His Miracles, Discourses, and Parables—He stills the Storm on the Lake of Galilee—The Gadarene demoniac—*Third Circuit through Galilee*—The Apostles sent forth—Their commission and success—Herod desires to see Jesus—Jesus followed to the sea shore by the multitude—First miracle of the loaves and fishes—Voyage of the disciples across the Lake—Jesus walks upon the water, and saves Peter—Many desert Jesus—Peter's confession—Jesus watched by emissaries from Jerusalem—He retires to Phœnicia and Decapolis—The Syrophœnician woman—Healing of the deaf and dumb—Second miracle of the loaves and fishes—Dispute with the Pharisees—Jesus ascends the upper Jordan to Cæsarea Philippi—Peter's full confession of Christ—The rock on which the Church is built—Christ predicts his Passion and rebukes the remonstrance of Peter—The Transfiguration—The demoniac child—Prayer and fasting—Renewed prediction of Christ's passion—His last return to Capernaum—The contest for precedence—Example of the little child—Christ's final departure from Galilee..... 626

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY. FROM THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, A. D. 29, TO HIS FOURTH PASSOVER, A. D. 30.

Approach of the *Feast of Tabernacles*—Jesus challenged by his brethren to show himself—His journey through Samaria, and rejection there—Commission of the Seventy Disciples—Expectation concerning Jesus—He appears in the Temple—Last day of the Feast—Christ the Living Water—The attempt to arrest him fails—Nicodemus in the Council—The woman taken in adultery—Controversy with the Pharisees—The witness to Christ—Attempt to stone him—The man born blind restored to sight—Christ the Light of the World—Character of the miracle—The man before the Council—His excommunication—The Pharisees blind in sin—Jesus Christ the Good Shepherd—Jesus at the *Feast of the Dedication*—The Jews attempt to stone him, and he retires to Bethabara—The interval here filled up by St. Luke—The Family at Bethany—The raising of Lazarus—A council held concerning Jesus—The prophecy of Caiaphas—Christ's death resolved on—He retires to Ephraim—His return toward Jerusalem—Denunciation of Herod—Lamentation for Jerusalem—Events and discourses in the progress through Peræa—He recrosses the Jordan to Jericho—Heals the two blind men—Conversion of Zaccheus—Christ arrives finally at Bethany six days before the Passover; and spends the Sabbath there.... 652

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PASSION OF OUR LORD. FROM PALM SUNDAY TO EASTER EVE, APRIL 1ST
TO APRIL 7TH. A. D. 30.

The first day of the Paschal Week—The Paschal Lamb selected—Christ fulfils the prophecy of Zechariah by entering Jerusalem—His reception by the people—Returns to Bethany—Cleanses the Temple—The barren fig-tree—The last great day of our Lord's teaching in the Temple—Devices to entrap him—The tribute money—The Sadducees and the Resurrection—The Pharisees and Scribes—The great Commandment—Jesus questions them—Denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees—Christ weeps over Jerusalem—Praise of the poor widow—Christ's final departure from the Temple—His prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the end of the world—Plot of the Jews to seize him—Treason of Judas Iscariot—Preparation for the Passover—The Last Supper—Jesus washes the disciples' feet—Christ's agony in the garden—Arrival of Judas and arrest of Jesus—Flight of all the disciples but Peter and John—Christ before the high-priest—Peter denies his Master—Christ before the Sanhedrim—He is taken before Pilate—His kingdom is not of this world—Pilate sends him to Herod—Herod mocks him—Pilate condemns Jesus to be crucified—Remorse and suicide of Judas—The Crucifixion—Scene at the cross—The penitent Thief—The death of Christ—His body given to his disciples—His burial—The guard at the tomb..... 664

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION OF CHRIST. FROM EASTER DAY TO ASCENSION DAY, APRIL 8TH TO MAY 17TH. A. D. 30.

First Day of the next week: the 17th of Nisan, Sunday, April 8th, EASTER DAY—Difficulties in the Harmony: (i.) The RESURRECTION OF CHRIST—Its time—The "three days" in the tomb;—(ii.) Visit of the women to the Sepulchre, which they find empty;—(iii.) Mary Magdalene carries the news to Peter and John;—(iv.) Vision of an angel to the women;—(v.) *First Appearance of Jesus*, to the women on their return;—(vi.) Peter and John go to the Sepulchre—Order of the grave clothes;—(vii.) *Second Appearance of Jesus*, to Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre;—(viii.) *Third Appearance of Jesus*, to Peter;—(ix.) His *Fourth Appearance*, on the journey to Emmaus;—(x.) His *Fifth Appearance*, to the assembled Apostles, except Thomas—Their commission and inspiration—Sunday, the 24th of Nisan, April 15th;—(xi.) *Christ's Sixth Appearance*, to all the Apostles—Confession of Thomas—The disciples depart into Galilee;—(xii.) *Christ's Seventh Appearance*, to the Apostles at the Lake of Galilee—Peter's avowal of his love: his new commission given, and his death foretold;—(xiii.) *Christ's Eighth Appearance*, to the great body of his disciples on the Galilean Mount—His great commission, and promise of the Holy Spirit;—(xiv.) *Christ's Ninth Appearance*, to James;—(xv.) *Holy Thursday*, the 3d of Sivan, May 17th—His *Tenth and Last Appearance*, to the Apostles at Jerusalem—Promise of the Holy Spirit—He leads them out to Bethany, and ASCENDS TO HEAVEN—The angels promise his second coming—The Apostles return to Jerusalem—St. John's conclusion of the Gospel narrative..... 697

BOOK IX.

HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES ; OR, THE FOUNDING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CHURCH IN PALESTINE TO THE DISPERSION OF THE CHRISTIANS FROM JERUSALEM. A. D. 30-37.

The *Acts of the Apostles* not a complete apostolic history—Its real purpose—Break between it and the earliest ecclesiastical history—The Primitive Church in its two sections, Galilean and Judæan—The 120 brethren at Jerusalem—Choice of Matthias to be an Apostle in place of Judas—The *Day of Pentecost*, or *Whitsunday*, 6th of Sivan, May 27th, A. D. 30—Descent of the Holy Ghost—Gift of the Spirit—The disciples speak with Tongues—Effects on the people—St. Peter's sermon—The 3000 converts—Practical reformation—State of the Primitive Church—Healing of the lame man at the Temple—St. Peter's second discourse—Peter and John before the Sanhedrim—Their dismissal—Thanksgivings of the Church and new effusion of the Holy Ghost—Community of goods—The sin and judgment of Ananias and Sapphira—Its effect upon the people—Imprisonment and deliverance of the Apostles—Their boldness before the Sanhedrim—The counsel of Gamaliel—Beginning of positive institutions in the Church—Dissension between the Hellenists and the Hebrews—Appointment of the Seven Deacons—Their zeal for the Gospel—Success of Stephen in controversy with the Hellenistic Jews—His defence before the Sanhedrim—His martyrdom, and Saul's share in it—General persecution, and dispersion of the disciples from Jerusalem—Diffusion of the Gospel—Three steps: Samaria, Ethiopian eunuch, Cornelius—Philip at Samaria—Simon Magus and Peter—The Ethiopian eunuch converted and baptized by Philip—Philip fixes his abode at Cæsarea—Position of the Christian Church at the death of TIBERIUS. 706

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL. A. D. 37-40.

Outline of St. Paul's life—His first appearance as a persecutor—Review of his life—Saul's birthplace and parentage—His Roman citizenship—His trade of tent-making—His education in Greek learning at Tarsus, and in Rabbinical lore at Jerusalem—His rigid Pharisaism and zeal for the Law—His persecuting spirit—His part in the martyrdom of Stephen and the ensuing persecution—His miraculous conversion—The visit of Ananias—Paul restored to sight and baptized—His conversion an evidence of the truth of Christianity—His designation to the Apostleship—His ministry at Damascus and retreat to Arabia—His escape from Damascus to Jerusalem—His reception by the Apostles and the Church—His relations to Peter—His vision in the Temple, and full commission to the Gentiles—The Churches of Judæa rest and prosper. 725

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GENTILES RECEIVED INTO THE CHURCH. FROM AFTER THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL TO THE DECREE OF THE FIRST COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM, INCLUDING THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY OF PAUL AND BARNABAS. A. D. 40—A. D. 48 OR 50.

St. Peter at Lydda and Joppa—Healing of Æneas and raising of Dorcas—Mission of St. Peter to Cornelius—The first Gentile converts—Nature of this transaction—It is confirmed at Jerusalem—The Gospel preached at Antioch—Mission of Barnabas—He seeks out Saul of Tarsus—Accession of Claudius—Herod Agrippa beheads St. James, and imprisons Peter, who is delivered by an angel—Death of Herod Agrippa I.—Paul's ministry in Syria and Cilicia—Barnabas and Saul at Antioch—The name of CHRISTIAN—Mission of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem—Paul's rapture and infirmity—The Church at Antioch—Saul and Barnabas separated for the mission to the Gentiles—Their first missionary journey—Preaching in Salamis and Paphos—Judgment on Elymas the sorcerer, and conversion of the proconsul Sergius Paulus—The name of PAUL—Voyage to Pamphylia—Passage of the Taurus—Desertion of John Mark—Apostleship of Barnabas—The Apostles at Antioch in Pisidia—Paul's discourse in the synagogue—Opposition of the Jews—The Gospel for the Gentiles—The Apostles driven from Antioch—Success and persecution at Iconium—Lycaonia—The miracle and discourse at Lystra—Derbe—Return of the Apostles—Ordination of Elders—Trouble with the Judaizing teachers—Appeal to the Church at Jerusalem—Decision of the Church—Return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, with Judas and Silas—Silas remains at Antioch—Christianity at Rome..... 744

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ST. PAUL'S SECOND, OR GREAT, MISSIONARY JOURNEY, AND THE ENTRANCE OF THE GOSPEL INTO EUROPE. A. D. 49 OR 51—53 OR 54.

Time and extent of the *Second Missionary Journey*—Quarrel of Paul and Barnabas—Paul accompanied by Silas—Visit to Syria, Cilicia, and Lycaonia—Timothy at Lystra—His ordination and circumcision—He goes forth with Paul and Silas—Journey through Phrygia and Galatia—Illness of Paul—His reception by the Galatians—The Churches of Galatia—Preaching in Bithynia and Asia divinely forbidden—St. Paul at Troas—Vision of the man of Macedonia—Luke joins the apostolic band—Voyage to Macedonia—Neapolis—PHILIPPI: its outer market and its Jewish oratory—Conversion of Lydia—The possessed damsel healed by Paul—Paul and Silas scourged and imprisoned—Conversion of the jailer—"Civis Romanus sum"—Release and departure of Paul and Silas—The Church of the Philippians—THESSALONICA, the Roman capital of Macedonia—Paul in the synagogue—Riot stirred up by the Jews—Departure of Paul and Silas—Teaching of St. Paul at Thessalonica—BERGÆ—Noble-mindedness of the Jews there—Tumult excited by Jews from Thessalonica—Paul leaves Bergæ, and sails to ATHENS—He waits for Silas and Timotheus—His emotions at the sight of the city—His disputes with the Jews and Greeks in the synagogue and the Agora—Character of the Athenians—Paul encountered by the Stoics and Epicureans—His *Discourse* at the Areopagus—Paul's

revelation of the UNKNOWN God, the Universal Father—Rebuke of idolatry—Preaching of repentance and judgment by him whom God hath raised—Interruption of the discourse, and departure of St. Paul—Athenian converts—CORINTH: its importance in the history of Paul—The old Greek city and the new Roman colony—Its population of Greeks, Romans, and Jews—Paul lives at Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla, working with his own hands—His reasons for this course—Paul visits the synagogue—Arrival of Silas and Timothy: Paul “constrained by the word”—His plain proclamation of Christ crucified—Rejected by the Jews, he turns to the Greeks—The *Epistles to the Thessalonians* written from Corinth—Paul’s autograph salutation, to prove his letters genuine, and to add emphasis to truth—Gallio proconsul of Achaia—Tumult of the Jews against Paul—Gallio’s impartial toleration—Paul’s vow at Cenchrea, before sailing with Aquila and Priscilla—His voyage to Ephesus, and visit to the synagogue—Aquila and Priscilla remain at Ephesus—Paul lands at Cæsarea, and goes up to Jerusalem—Connection of this visit with his future work—Contest with Judaizing teachers, and relief of Jewish Christians—Paul returns to Antioch: end of his *Second Missionary Journey*—Death of Claudius, and accession of NERO..... 767

CHAPTER XL.

ST. PAUL’S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY; HIS ARREST AT JERUSALEM AND IMPRISONMENT AT CÆSAREA. A. D. 54 TO A. D. 60.

Extent and duration of Paul’s *Third Circuit*—His constant conflict with the Judaizers—Paul in Galatia—The Judaizing teachers—The *Epistle to the Galatians* written from Ephesus—The Church of Ephesus—Apollos and the Twelve Disciples, who knew only the baptism of John—Apollos at Corinth—Paul’s arrival at Ephesus—He preaches in the synagogue, and is rejected by the Jews—Preaches in the school of Tyrannus—Spread of the Gospel through proconsular Asia—The special miracles of St. Paul, and his conflict with the magical arts—Defeat of the Jewish exorcists—Burning of the books—Paul prepares to leave Ephesus—Mission of Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia and Achaia—Change in the Apostle’s plan, owing to news from Corinth—State of the Corinthian Church—Paul’s *First Epistle to the Corinthians*—Sequel to Paul’s stay at Ephesus—The riot raised by Demetrius—Paul sets out for Macedonia—His labors at Alexandria Troas—Disappointed in not finding Titus there—He proceeds to Philippi and meets Titus—Paul’s *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*—Its relations to the missions of Timothy and Titus—The Apostle’s labors in Macedonia and Illyricum—His arrival at Corinth—The *Epistle to the Romans*—Paul’s views towards the West, now that his work in the East was done—Character of the Roman Church—Paul’s personal relations to the Church—Paul’s journey from Corinth through Macedonia—Voyage from Philippi after the Passover—A week at Troas, and a farewell Sunday—Death and restoration of Eutychus—Voyage to Miletus—Discourse to the Ephesian Elders—From Miletus to Tyre—A week at Tyre, and another Sunday farewell—From Tyre to Cæsarea—Philip the Deacon and his daughters—Prophecy of Agabus—Journey to Jerusalem—Paul’s reception by the Churches—Dangers from the Judaizers—Their calumnies—Paul joins four Nazarites in their vow—Is assaulted in the Temple and rescued

by the tribune Lysias—His defences to the people and before the Sanhedrim—Plot against his life—He is sent to Cæsarea—His defence before Felix and two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea—Felix superseded by Festus..... 795

CHAPTER XI

ST. PAUL'S FIRST IMPRISONMENT AT ROME. FROM HIS HEARING BEFORE FESTUS TO HIS RELEASE. A. D. 60-63.

Results of St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea—Arrival of PORCIUS FESTUS as procurator—Paul's first hearing—He appeals to Cæsar—Arrival of Agrippa and Bernice—Paul's *Defence before Agrippa*—Decision to send him to Rome—*The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*—Minute truthfulness of the narrative, as tested by recent investigations—Routes of maritime traffic—Paul's embarkation under the charge of Julius—His companions, Aristarchus and LUKE—The voyage commenced toward autumn—Intended course of the ship—*Cæsarea to Sidon*—Adverse winds—Voyage to *Myra*—Transference to the ship of Alexandria—From *Cnidus* into the open sea, then under the lee of *Crete*—*Fair Havens*—The season of navigation past—Unheeded warning of St. Paul—Attempt to run for *Port Phœnix*—The ship caught in a typhoon (*Euroclydon*)—*Clauda*—Preparations against the storm—*Undergirding*—The *Syrtes*—The ship drifts on the starboard tack—Her course and rate—The fortnight's drift in *Adria*—St. Paul's vision in the night—Promise of escape—Signs of land—Anchoring during the night—Paul's last encouragement—The dawn of day—Position of the ship in *St. Paul's Bay, Malta*—Running her on shore—The shipwreck and escape—St. Paul's former shipwrecks—His use of nautical images—The island of MELITA (*Malta*): its people, and its primate Publius—Reception and miracles of St. Paul—He spends here the three winter months—Voyage from *Malta*, in the "Castor and Pollux," to *Syracuse, Rhegium, and Puteoli*—Journey by land to ROME—The Christians meet Paul at *Appii Forum* and the *Three Taverns*—Paul delivered to the Prætorian prefect, BURRUS—His condition as a prisoner in the Prætorium—His two conferences with the Jews—Their rejection of the Gospel, terminating the first stage in the history of its foundation—Prophecy of their future restoration in the *Epistle to the Romans*—Paul preaches to the Gentiles—Conclusion of the *Acts*—St. Paul's two years' imprisonment at Rome—Causes for the delay of his trial—His labors and converts—Progress of the Gospel at Rome—His companions during his imprisonment: Luke, Aristarchus, Epaphras, Timothy, Mark, Demas, and Tychicus—Four Epistles written by St. Paul from Rome—*Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians*, at the same time, and somewhat earlier than *Philippians*—The Church at COLOSSÆ, and the *Epistle to the Colossians*—Corruptions from Judaism, angel-worship, and asceticism—The supreme headship of Christ—ONESIMUS and PHILEMON—Paul's *Epistle to Philemon*—His teaching concerning slavery—The *Epistle to the Ephesians*—Points in common with *Colossians*—Its special and sublime teaching—The *Epistle to the Philippians*—Paul's prospects at this time: his danger, resignation, and hope—Changes at Rome: Burrus, Seneca, Poppæa—Probable acquittal and release of the Apostle—Theory of a single imprisonment disproved—The *Epistle to the Hebrews* written at the close of Paul's first imprisonment—

Internal proofs of Pauline authorship—Allusions to the persecution by Ananus in Judæa—The martyrdom of St. James—Indications of time and place, and of the writer's conditions and intentions—The writer is contemplating a visit to Jerusalem..... 823

CHAPTER XLII.

THE LAST DAYS OF ST. PAUL AND ST. PETER; AND THE COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH. FROM THE RELEASE OF ST. PAUL TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM. A. D. 63-70.

St. Paul's movements after his release—General indications of the Pastoral Epistles—Difficulties of detail—Scheme of Mr. Lewin: St. Paul sails for Jerusalem; and goes thence, by Antioch and Asia Minor, visiting Colossæ, to Ephesus—His labors at Ephesus—State of the Ephesian Church, as shown in the Epistles to Timothy—Church organization—Appearance of heresies—St. Paul's visit to Crete—Commissions of, and Epistles to, TIMOTHY at Ephesus, and TITUS in Crete—Charges to them—Nature of their office—The work of Timothy at Ephesus—His peculiar trials—New forms of error; as developments of Judaism—Combination of superstition and philosophy, of ritualism and libertinism—Germs of future heresies—The Great Apostasy—Mysticism, asceticism, and gnosticism—Severity of Paul in rebuking these heresies—Further account of them in the *Second Epistle to Timothy*—Heresy of Hymenæus and Philetus, that the Resurrection was past—Moral corruption—Its prevalence at Crete—*Epistle to Titus*—Paul visits *Macedonia* and *Corinth*, and winters at *Nicopolis*—Gessius Florus in Judæa—The burning of Rome, and Nero's persecution of the Christians—Testimony of Tacitus to Christ and the Christians—Movements of St. Paul—Tradition of his journey to *Spain*—The presumptive arguments and direct testimony examined—Last stage of the Apostle's course—*Second Epistle to Timothy*—Paul probably arrested at Ephesus, on the information of Alexander the brass-founder—Indications of his route to Rome as a prisoner—St. Paul's second imprisonment at Rome—He is treated as a felon, unto bonds: but the Word of God is not bound—New converts: *Pudens* and *Claudia*; their supposed British origin—His first hearing and deliverance from "the Lion"—Was it before Nero in person?—The interval before his death—Loneliness: constancy of *Luke* and apostasy of *Demas*—*Mark*—Motives of the urgent invitation to *Timothy*—Prospects of martyrdom—The Apostle's course is finished—His death and burial—Discussion of the date—Personal appearance and character of St. Paul—Early attacks on him—The *Clementines*—ST. PETER associated by tradition with St. Paul in martyrdom—Review of his life—His last appearance in the *Acts*—His probable occupations—Supposed connection with the Church of Corinth—His relations to the Churches of Asia—His *First Epistle*, written from *Babylon*—State of the Babylonian Jews—*Silvanus* and *Mark* the companions of Peter—Indications of intercourse with Paul—Designed harmony of the Epistle with Paul's teaching—Pauline style of the Epistle accounted for by Peter's study of Paul's Epistles and his connection with Silvanus—Discussion of the tradition of St. Peter's episcopate at Rome—Evidence of his late visit to Rome, and his crucifixion there under Nero—St. Peter not the Founder or resident head of the Church of Rome—His own testimony to the true Rock and spiritual *Stones*

of the Church—The departure of Peter and Paul, and the end of Nero's reign, the epoch of the complete establishment of the Church, which now replaces the local habitation of God on earth; fulfilling our Lord's prophecy of his coming in the destruction of Jerusalem, the type of his last Advent.. 854

CHAPTER XLIII.

SUPPLEMENTAL HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS, AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM. A. D. 70 AND ONWARD.

ST. JOHN, the survivor of the fall of Jerusalem—Three periods of his history—His early life—His life with Christ—The Sons of Thunder—Peter and John—St. John in the *Acts*—His departure from Judæa—St. John at Ephesus—His exile to Patmos—Traditions of St. John—Legend and time of his death—His title of *Theologus*—St. John the Evangelist—ST. ANDREW—JAMES the son of Zebedee—ST. JAMES THE LESS—His identity with James the son of Alphæus and James the brother of our Lord—The Apostle JUDE, the same as Lebbæus and Thaddæus—SIMON THE ZEALOT, or the CANAANITE—Identity of the epithets—Judas Iscariot, and his successor ST. MATTHIAS—PHILIP the Apostle—BARTHOLOMEW, the same as NATHANAEAL—MATTHEW, the same as Levi the Publican—THOMAS, surnamed Didymus—BARNABAS—Writers of the Gospels: when styled Evangelists: (i.) John, surnamed MARK; (ii.) LUKE—The Seven "Deacons": (i.) ST. STEPHEN; (ii.) PHILIP the Evangelist; (iii.) PROCORUS; (iv.) NICANOR; (v.) TIMON; (vi.) PARMENAS; (vii.) NICOLAS, and the sect of the Nicolaitans—Titus and Timothy. 885

PART IV.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS. FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT TO THE PRESENT DAY.

BOOK X.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT TO THE PRESENT DAY. THE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY. B. C. 4—A. D. 1871.

CHAPTER XLIV.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS. FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM. B. C. 4—A. D. 70.

Family and testament of Herod—Archelaus and Antipas—Collisions with the Romans at Jerusalem—Augustus confirms Herod's will—ARCHELAUS ethnarch of Judæa—His tyranny and banishment—HEROD ANTIPAS tetrarch of Galilee—His relations to Herodias and John the Baptist—War with Aretas—Joins with Pilate in condemning Christ—His deposition and banishment—HEROD PHILIP tetrarch of Northern Peræa—The city of Cæsarea Philippi—Judæa under Roman Procurators: (i.) SABINUS;—(ii.) COPONIUS, under Quirinus (Cyrenius) prefect of Syria—Census—Pollution of the Temple;—(iii.) AMBIVIVUS;—(iv.) ANNIUS RUFUS;—(v.) VALERIUS GRATUS;—(vi.) PONTIUS PILATUS—Caiaphas high-priest—Pilate's provocations and outrages against the Jews—Pilate and Christ—His recall and

banishment—VITELLIUS prefect of Syria—His benefits to the Jews—Death of TIBERIUS and accession of CALIGULA—MARCELLUS procurator of Judæa—The Jews persecute the Christians—PETRONIUS, prefect of Syria, ordered to erect a statue of Caligula in the Temple—The emperor's claims to divine worship in all the provinces, resisted by the Jews—Tumults at Alexandria—The Greeks encouraged by the prefect Flaccus—Sufferings and massacre of the Jews—Recall of Flaccus—Deputation to Caligula, headed by Philo—Philo's account of their extraordinary reception—Resistance in Judæa—The decree suspended—Death of Caligula—HEROD AGRIPPA I. made king of Judæa by CLAUDIUS—Imperial edict of toleration for the Jews—Agrippa's Jewish policy—Fortification of Jerusalem—Martyrdom of St. James—Power and magnificence of Agrippa—Judæa again under Roman procurators—HEROD AGRIPPA II. tetrarch of Eastern Palestine—His character and influence with the Jews—Agrippa and Paul—His splendid buildings—His sisters Berenice and Drusilla—Takes part with the Romans in the Jewish war—Retirement to Rome and death—Roman Procurators—CUSPIUS FADUS—Famine in Judæa—Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem—VENTIDIUS CUMANUS—Tumult at the Passover—FELIX—The *Sicarii* or Assassins—Murder of the high-priest—General disorder—Felix and Paul—Tyranny of Felix—Massacre at Cæsarea, a chief cause of the Jewish War—PORCIUS FESTUS—His able and upright government—Judgment of St. Paul—Affair of Agrippa's Wall—ALBINUS and ANANUS—Persecution of the Christians, and death of St. James the Less—Anarchy at Jerusalem—GESSIUS FLORUS, the last and worst of the procurators—Insurrection at Jerusalem—Interposition of Costius Gallus—Mediation of Agrippa—Renunciation of allegiance and beginning of the *Jewish War*—Factions in Jerusalem—The assassins and the zealots—Siege of Jerusalem by TIRUS—Burning of the Temple, and destruction of the city—Close of the Jewish War..... 925

CHAPTER XLV.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS—CONCLUDED.

Condition of the Jews after the close of the war with Rome—Dispersion of the race—Rise of the Patriarchate of Tiberias—The Prince of the Captivity—Sufferings of the Jews—Growth of Rabbinism—Revolts against the Romans—The war against Hadrian—Bar-Cocheba—Ælia Capitolina—The spiritual rule of the Patriarch—The Western Jews submit to him—The dominion of the Prince of the Captivity—His splendors—The Jews in China—The Babylonian Talmud—Rapid spread of Christianity—Zenobia—Laws of Constantine—Accession of Julian—Attempt to rebuild the Temple—Miraculous interruption of the work—Inroads of the Barbarians—Effect upon the Jews—The slave trade—Oppressive laws of Justinian—Efforts to throw out the Greek Scriptures—The Jews in Persia—Mohammed and the Jews—Condition of the Jews under the Gothic kings of Spain—Persecutions by the Councils of Toledo—Conquest of Spain by the Moors favorable to the Jews—State of affairs in France in the seventh century—The Jews under the Caliphs—The Karaites—State of the Jews under Charlemagne—Hostility of the Christian clergy—The Iron Age of Judaism—Persecutions by the Sultans—Downfall and death of the Prince of the Captivity—The Jews in Palestine in the twelfth century—Effects of the

Feudal System and the institutions of chivalry upon the Jews—Hatred of the clergy towards them—Usury becomes general among the Jews—Persecutions of the Jews in Grenada by the Moors, and in Castile by the Christians—The Crusades—Sufferings of the Jews during these wars—Massacres in the cities of the Rhine—Interference of the Pope—Prosperity of the Jews in France—Expulsion from France by Philip Augustus—He allows them to return—Rèign of Louis IX.—His laws respecting the Jews—The Rouelle—The Jews in Germany during the thirteenth century—Oppressive edict of the Council of Vienna—Persecuted by Philip the Fair of France—Sufferings during the Shepherds' War—The Black Plague—The Jews held accountable for it—Expelled from France by Charles VI.—The early English Jews—William Rufus favors them—Massacre of the Jews of London at the coronation of Richard I.—Massacres in other cities—The Jews under King John—The distinctive dress—Enmity of the Church—Extortions of Henry III.—The Jewish Parliament—Exactions of Jewish usurers—The Caorsini—The English Jews sold by the King—Hugh of Lincoln—Sufferings of the Jews during the Barons' Wars—Expelled from England by Edward I.—The Jews in Spain during the thirteenth century—Pedro the Cruel—Massacres in the Spanish cities—Cruel efforts to convert the Jews—Harsh laws respecting them—Ferdinand and Isabella—Crisis of the fate of the Jews in Spain—The "New Christians"—Establishment of the Inquisition—Persecutions of the Jews by that tribunal—They appeal to the Pope—Result of their appeal—Thomas de Torquemada—Expulsion of the Jews from Spain—Frightful sufferings of the exiles—Sufferings in Portugal—Perfidy of the Portuguese King—Disastrous effect of these persecutions upon Spain—History of the Jews in Italy—A Jewish Pope—Policy of the Papacy towards them—The Jews in the Turkish dominions—They possess the trade of the Levant—Efforts to put an end to usury—The introduction of the art of printing—Success of the Jews in this art—The Reformation—Its effect upon the condition of the Jews—The Jews in Holland—The petition to Cromwell—Admission of the Jews into England by Charles II.—False Messiahs—Benedict Spinoza—The Polish Jews—The Jews in old Russia—Laws of Frederick the Great—The English Jews of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—The Jews in the two Sicilies—Joseph II. removes their burdens—The Jews in France under Louis XIV.—The French Revolution—Jews declared citizens of the Republic—Action of Napoleon I.—The great Sanhedrin of 1807—The French Jews confirmed in their rights—The German Jews of the present century—The Jews in Russia—Concessions to them by the Czar—The Jews made eligible to civil office in England—A Jewish Lord Mayor—Members of Parliament—The Mortara case—Prosperity of the Jews in the United States—Statement of the number of Jews in the world.....	983
APPENDIX.....	1063

PART I.

THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE RETURN OF THE
JEWS FROM CAPTIVITY.

BOOK I.

FROM ADAM TO ABRAHAM—THE PROBATION OF THE HUMAN RACE.
[A. M. 1—2008. B. C. 4004—1996.]

CHAPTER I.

THE CREATION—MAN'S PROBATION AND FALL.

HOLY Scripture assigns no date for the epoch of the Creation. The books of Moses were designed for a people who believed implicitly in God, and they open with the simple statement that God created the heavens and the earth "*in the beginning.*" It is stated that previous to this the condition of the heavens and the earth was chaotic; and in relating the manner in which the Creation was accomplished, the sacred narrative divides the great work into six successive stages or periods, called days, and shows us that the Creator carried on this work in a progressive manner, beginning with the lowest and closing with the highest forms of being. Though these stages are called days by Moses, it is not certain that the word thus employed actually means a period of twenty-four hours.

The main object of Scripture seems to be to establish the fact that neither the heavens nor the earth (by which is meant all the objects that we are cognizant of both by sight and reason) existed from eternity, but that they had a beginning. It does not tell us how remote the beginning is from any age of the world known to Science or to History, but it insists on the reality of *a beginning* for the Universe.

The Scriptural history of Creation is a history of phenomena. These phenomena are so spoken of in the plain language of common sense, as to leave the reader's judgment open for the reception of scientific facts and laws; but, whatever wonders science may reveal in heaven and earth, the simple truth remains that *God created them all*.

This might have seemed enough for the basis of our belief in God as the Being in whose hands we are. But as a whole can only be comprehended through its parts, we are further taught the *order* in which the various portions of the created universe were produced; and that this order was *progressive*, from the lowest to the most perfect forms of being. From the first simple fact of *creation by God at a definite time*, we are led on to a second point of time, when the *earth* (for the *heaven* is not now mentioned) existed indeed, but in a state of *confusion* and *emptiness*. Its materials were not yet arranged in order, and it was void of the forms of being that were to cover its surface. Science clearly shows that our globe has passed through such a stage. Its materials were fused by *heat*—the great sustaining power of all life; and from that state the outer portions hardened into what is called the earth's crust, on the surface of which the vapors began to condense into water, while they still shut out the light of heaven. This watery chaos is the stage from which the more detailed narrative, which is addressed to the reader's religious faith, and not to his scientific curiosity, begins.

The duration of this chaos is not so much as hinted at in the Bible; neither is there any sure ground for determining what is actually meant by the term "day." We may, therefore, adopt the following account of the works that were performed in each particular "day."

On the *First Day* went forth the Word of God—"Let there be *LIGHT*, and *Light Was*." Light broke over the face of the chaos: we are not told from what source, but probably through the floating vapors being now rare enough to be penetrated by the sun's light. It shone upon each part of the earth's surface that was exposed to it in turn, and so "God *divided* the light from the darkness; and God called the light *Day*, and the darkness he called *Night*. And the evening and the morning were the *First Day*."

As yet the watery vapors, raised by intense heat, formed an envelop of mist around the earth. They were now parted into two divisions, those which lie upon and hang about the surface of the earth, and those which float high above it. The blue heavens became

visible, like a crystal vault, called the *firmament* (literally expanse), because its appearance is that of an overspread covering, elsewhere likened to a *tent*. But the word chosen no more implies that the sky is a solid vault, than that it is a canvas tent. It forms, to the eye, the partition between the upper and lower heavens, between "the waters under the firmament and the waters above the firmament." Such was the work of the *Second Day*.

Next began the tremendous upheavings and sinkings of the earth's crust, by the forces at work within it, which formed it into mountains and valleys, and provided channels and basins for the waters on its surface. These were now gathered into collections, which were called *Seas*, while the name of *Earth* was applied, in a narrower sense than before, to the portions exposed above the waters. On these portions the germs of vegetation began at once to burst into life, forming grass and fruit trees. These had their seed in themselves, after their kind. Here is the



GARDEN OF EDEN.

great law of reproduction according to species, on which depends the order of the vegetable and animal kingdoms. This was the work of the *Third Day*.

On the *Fourth Day* the Sun and Moon were seen in the firmament of heaven. The fact of their previous creation is involved in the stability of the earth as a member of the Solar System, as well as in the appearance of light on the first day. It is not said that they were first created on the fourth day; and of the stars, many of which must have existed myriads of years before their light reached the earth, it

is simply said, "He made the stars also," not *when* he made them. In fact, the "fourth day" seems to mark the period during which the air was cleared of its thick vapors, by the action of the plants and other causes, so that the heavenly bodies became visible. Stress is laid on their *ruling* as well as *lighting* the day and night. God said, "Let them be for *signs*, and for seasons, and for *days* and *years*." They were designed, as they have ever since been used, to mark out the periods of human life; to inculcate the great lesson, that "to every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven."

Vegetables could live and flourish in a thick, moist atmosphere; and the lower animal organizations could already be associated with them, though they had not been mentioned as yet, because not outwardly visible. But now the larger animals appeared. First, the waters teemed with the "creeping things," and the "great sea monsters," with fishes and reptiles. Birds were produced at the same time, and might have been seen flying over the waters and in the open firmament of heaven. This was the work of the *Fifth Day*.

The *Sixth Day* witnessed the creation of the *higher animals* and MAN. These were formed out of the earth, the chemical constituents of which are, in the main, the same as those of animal bodies. The latter, in fact, derive their materials from the vegetables, which have first derived theirs from the earth and water; and all render back their gaseous and fluid components to air and water, and their solids to the earth.

MAN, the last created, for whom all the previous work was but a preparation, differed from all other creatures in being made *like God*. The depth of meaning contained in this statement, though partly revealed in the Son of God, the true head of our race, remains to be developed hereafter. But at least it includes *intellectual* and *spiritual* likeness, intelligence, moral power, and holiness. To man was given dominion over all other animals; and both to him and them the plants were given for food. All were appointed to continue their species according to their own likeness, and all were blessed with fertility; but on the human race was pronounced the special blessing:—"Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and *subdue* it:"—so that Man's lordship of the creation is a part of his original constitution.

On each of the works of the last four days God pronounced the blessing that *it was very good*; perfect in its kind, useful in its purpose, and entirely subject to his holy laws.

On the SEVENTH DAY God ceased from his finished work, rested,

and blessed the day by the perpetual institution of the SABBATH. His rest, however, was not an entire cessation from activity. He had done *creating*, but he continued to *sustain* and *bless* his creatures. "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," said Christ; and thus this seventh period finds its perfect analogy in the day for which he also gave the law, "to *do good* on the Sabbath day."

Having made man, God called his name Adam, and placed him in a garden which "the Lord God had planted eastward in Eden," for the purpose of dressing it and keeping it. Adam was permitted to eat of the fruit of every tree in the garden but one, which was called the "tree of the knowledge of good and evil." What this was, it is impossible to say. Its name would seem to indicate that it had the power of bestowing the consciousness of the difference between good and evil; in the ignorance of which man's innocence and happiness consisted. The prohibition to taste the fruit of this tree was enforced by the menace of death. There was also another tree, which was called the "tree of life." Some suppose it to have acted as a kind of medicine, and that by the continual use of it, our first parents, not created immortal, were preserved from death.

While Adam was in the Garden of Eden, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air were brought to him to be named, and whatsoever he called every living creature, that was the name thereof. Thus the power of fitly designating objects of sense was possessed by the first man, a faculty which is generally considered as indicating mature and extensive intellectual resources. Upon the failure of a companion, suitable for Adam, among the creatures thus brought to him to be named, the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and took one of his ribs from him, which he fashioned into a woman, and brought her to the man. "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh. And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed."

The female created to be a "help meet for him," was made out of the substance of man's own body, whence she was called *woman* (*Ishah*, the feminine of *Ish*, man). This is given now, and long afterward used by Christ, as a reason for the *law of marriage*, which is a divine institution, plainly involved in the fact that *one woman* was created for *one man*. "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be one

flesh." From these words, coupled with the circumstances attendant on the formation of the first woman, we may evolve the following principles:—(1), The unity of man and wife, as implied in her being formed out of man, and as expressed in the words "one flesh;" (2), the indissolubleness of the marriage bond except on the strongest grounds; (3), monogamy, as the original law of marriage, resulting from there having been but one original couple, as is forcibly expressed in the subsequent references to this passage by our Lord, and St. Paul; (4), the social equality of man and wife, as implied in the terms *ish* and *ishah*, the one being the exact correlative of the other, as well as in the words "help meet for him;" (5), the subordination of the wife to the husband, consequent upon her subsequent formation; and (6) the respective duties of man and wife, as implied in the words "help meet for him."

The exact location of the garden in which man was placed by his Creator is not known with certainty, though a general idea of it may be gained from the sacred narrative. Its name has come down to us, and at least two of its four rivers are identified with the Tigris and Euphrates. Their easy and pleasant occupation was to keep and dress the garden, or, as the Septuagint calls it, *Paradise*. This word, of Persian origin, describes an extensive tract of pleasure land, somewhat like an English *park*; and the use of it suggests a wider view of man's first abode than a *garden*. Perfect as he was in physical constitution, man might roam over a very extensive region, such as that which lies between the highlands of Armenia and the Persian Gulf. Here he might find occupation for his mind in the study of the creatures made subject to him, and so be qualified to *name* them, as he did when God brought them before him. This suggestion also removes a difficulty arising out of the narrow range of climate in which so many varieties of animals are supposed to have lived. At all events, the researches of science point to the highlands south of the Caucasus as the primeval seat of the human race.

Man was placed in Paradise upon the condition that he should restrain his appetite and self-will. God gave him every means of gratifying every lawful taste, and simply forbade him to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. "In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." The vast freedom which was granted him sufficiently proved the goodness of the Creator, and the restriction taught him that he was to live under a law; and that law was enforced by a practical penalty, of which he was mercifully warned. We must not regard the prohibition merely as a test of obedience, nor

the penalty as arbitrary. The knowledge forbidden to him was of a kind which would corrupt his nature—so corrupt it, as to make him unfit, as well as unworthy to live forever.

Satan, the chief of the fallen spirits, seeking to destroy the work of God, now endeavored to drag man down to his own level. He entered the garden in the form of a serpent and, addressing himself to Eve, urged her to eat of the fruit of the forbidden tree, telling her that death would not follow the commission of the act, “for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, *and ye shall be as gods*, knowing good and evil.” The woman listened to the voice of the deceiver, ate of the fruit of the tree, and fell into the three-fold sin of sensuality, pleasure, and ambition. Having eaten she gave of the fruit to her husband, and he fell with her.

In one point the devil had truly described the effect of eating the forbidden fruit. “Their eyes were opened.” They had “become as gods” in respect of that knowledge of evil, as well as of good, which God had reserved to himself and mercifully denied to them. They became conscious of the working of lawless pleasure in place of purity, in the very constitution given them by God to perpetuate their race; and they were ashamed because they were naked. Toward God they felt fear in place of love, and they fled to hide themselves from his presence among the trees of the garden.

Thus they were already self-condemned before God called them forth to judgment. Then the man cast the blame upon the woman, and the woman upon the serpent; and God proceeded to award a righteous sentence to each.

The judgment passed upon the serpent is symbolical of the condemnation of the devil. The creature, as Satan’s instrument and type, is doomed to an accursed and degraded life; and that enmity that has ever since existed between him and man is the symbol of the conflict between the powers of hell and all that is good in the human race.

The woman is condemned to subjection to her husband, and sorrow and suffering in giving birth to her children; but she had the consolation of hearing that *her seed* was to conquer in the battle with the serpent, crushing its head, after the reptile had inflicted a deadly wound upon his heel.

The man is shut up to a life of toil, and the earth is cursed for his sake, to bring forth, like himself, evil weeds, that require all his exertions to keep them down. But, as before, a promise is added; his labor shall not be without its reward—“in the sweat of thy brow, *thou shalt eat bread.*”

Reminded of the doom they had incurred, though its execution was postponed—"dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return"—and clothed by God's goodness with the skins of beasts, they were driven out of Paradise. An angelic guard with a flaming sword debarred them from returning to taste of the tree of life; for it would have perpetuated their suffering.

But yet they had received the revelation of eternal life. The curse upon the serpent and the promise to the woman, pointed clearly to a Redeemer, who should be born of a woman, and, by his own suffering should destroy the power of the devil; and here we have the *first prophecy of the Messiah*. Henceforth the woman lived in the expectation of the promised seed, who should make her the mother of a truly living race. "And Adam called his wife's name Eve, because

she was the mother of all living."

"And Adam knew Eve his wife; and she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the Lord. And she again bare his brother Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground." Gen. iv. 1-2. Here we see the beginning of the two great branches of



THE SACRIFICE OF ABEL.

productive industry, pursued by men in an early state of society,—the agricultural and the pastoral.

The two brothers at the same time brought the "first fruits" of their labors to offer them to God. Abel had led a life of purity, while Cain had passed his days in wickedness. Therefore God preferred Abel's offering to that of Cain, and Cain, filled with jealous rage, fell upon his brother and slew him.

This first crime was promptly punished. The sullen indifference of Cain's reply to God's demand, "Where is Abel thy brother?" was probably affected, to conceal the remorse which has ever haunted the murderer. The blood of the victim seems always to have that power,



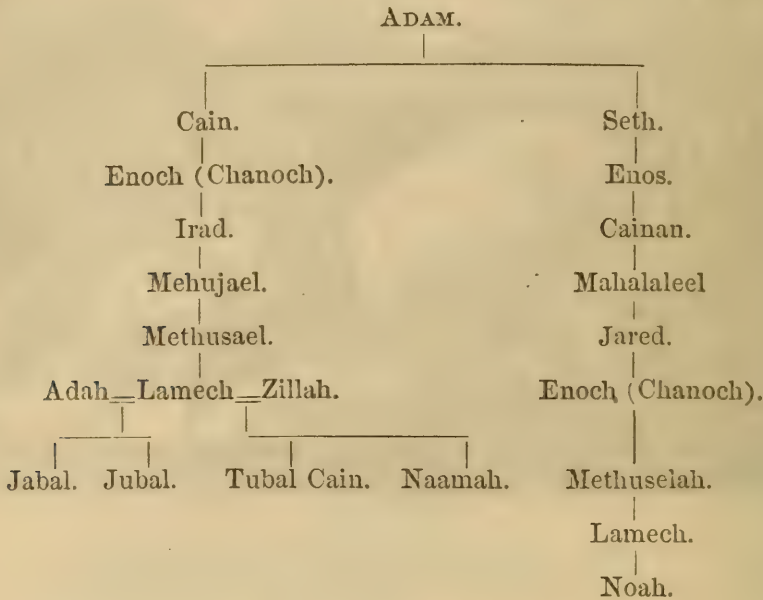
JABAL'S TENTS AND CATTLE.

which is ascribed to the blood of Abel, of “crying to God from the ground.” The cry implied is clearly that for vengeance; and the same cry proceeds from the blood of all the martyrs. Cain was doomed to a new infliction of the primal curse. To Adam the earth yielded its fruit, though with toil and sweat; but to Cain, as if indignant at the outrage done her by his brother’s blood, the earth was cursed for him again, refusing to yield her strength under his tillage, or even to grant him an abode at the scene of his crime. But even in this aggravation of the curse, we still see the mercy which turns the curse into a blessing; for it was no doubt an incentive to those mechanical arts which were first practised by the family of Cain.

Cain received his doom in the same hardened spirit of impenitence, filling up the measure of his unbelief by the cry, “My iniquity is too great to be forgiven.” While lamenting his expulsion from the abodes of men and from the face of God, his great fear is for his life, lest men should slay him. To quiet this fear, God gave him a special sign that he should not be slain (for such seems to be the true meaning of the “mark set on Cain”), and pronounced a sevenfold punishment on any one who should kill him. With his person thus protected, he was driven from his home, as “a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth.”

Cain directed his steps to the east of Eden, and settled in the land

of *Nod*, that is, *banishment*. He became the ancestor of a race, whose history is recorded in a very striking contrast with that of the chosen race of Seth. The two genealogies, when placed side by side, are as follows :—



The resemblances in the names of the two families seem a natural consequence of the use of significant names at a time when language had acquired no great variety ; and in both cases several of the names have a sense natural at that age, *increase* and *possession*. The different number of generations suggests that the period between the children of Lamech and the flood was occupied with the development of the inventions ascribed to them, by their unnamed descendants. The only personal facts of their history are, the foundation by Cain of the first city, which he named after his son *Enoch* ; the polygamy of Lamech ; and the occupations of his sons, of whom Jabal was the first nomad herdsman, Jubal the inventor of musical instruments, both stringed and wind, and Tubal-Cain the first smith. It deserves notice also, that Lamech's address to his wives is the earliest example of poetry ; it forms three couplets of parallel clauses. The great contrast, however, between the two races, is in their social and moral condition.

Let us now dismiss the family of Cain, and resume the history of the chosen race.*

* SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.—Independently of scientific evidence, the following are our *data* for determining the chronological relations of primeval history to the Christian era :

1. From the *Creation to the Deluge*, the generations of the patriarchs form our only guide. These, however, are given differently in different copies of the

“And Adam knew his wife again, and she bare a son.” This new son, who was given to Eve “instead of Abel, whom Cain slew,” was hence named SETH (properly *Sheth*, i. e., *appointed*). The list of his race is headed with a remarkable phrase. Adam was made *in the likeness of God*; and he begat a son *in his own likeness*, after his image. Adam handed down to Seth and his descendants the promise of mercy, faith in which became the distinction of God’s children. This seems to be the meaning of the statement that, in the days and in the family of Seth, “men began to call upon the name of Jehovah.” For the “*name*” of any great personage is the symbol of allegiance to him—“*jurare in nomen*”—and so it is used repeatedly in the Old Testament of the name of God, and in the New continually of the name of Christ, “the name which is above every name,” at which

Scriptures; the sum being, in the LXX. 606 years longer, and in the Samaritan Pentateuch 349 years shorter, than in the received Hebrew text. The ancient chronologers give further variations.

2. From the *Deluge to the death of Joseph*, and thence to the *Exodus*, the patriarchal years are again our chief guide; but other data are obtained from various statements respecting the interval from the call of Abraham to the giving of the law and the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt (Gen. xv. 13; Exod. xii. 41; Acts vii. 6; Gal. iii. 17). The main point in dispute here is whether 430 years was the whole period from the call of Abraham to the Exodus, or only the time of the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt.

3. From the *Exodus to the building of Solomon’s Temple*, the interval is positively stated in the received Hebrew text, as 480 years (1 Kings vi. 1). But the reading is disputed; it is alleged to be inconsistent with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges (Acts xiii. 20); and the longer period is made out by adding together the numbers given in the *Book of Judges*. Some chronologers, on the other hand, compute from the many genealogies which we have for this period.

4. From the *building of the Temple to its Destruction and the Captivity of Zedekiah*, we have the annals of the kings of Israel and Judah. Here the difficulties are so slight, that the principal chronologers only differ by 15 years in nearly 500.

5. THE EPOCH OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE is fixed by a concurrence of proofs, from sacred and profane history, with only a variation of one, or at the most two years, between B. C. 588 and 586. Clinton’s date is June, B. C. 587. From this epoch we obtain for the building of Solomon’s Temple the date of about B. C. 1012.*

From this point the reckoning backward is, of course, affected by the differences already noticed. Out of these have arisen three leading systems of chronology.

1. The *Rabbinical*, a system handed down traditionally by the Jewish doctors, places the Creation 244 years later than our received chronology, in B. C. 3750, and the Exodus in B. C. 1314. This leaves from the Exodus to the building of

* The highest computation, that of Hales, makes the date B. C. 1027.

“every knee shall bow and every tongue confess.” From the very beginning, then, of the race whose history is traced in Scripture, God was never without the public recognition of his name and cause by true worshippers, and such we find first in the family of Seth, in contrast to that of Cain.

Of ENOS (*man* or *multitude*), CAINAN (*possession*), MAHALALEEL (*praise of God*), and JARED (or *Jered, descent*), no particulars are recorded. But “ENOCH, the seventh from Adam,” stands conspicuous among the race of Seth. After the statement, emphatically repeated, that he “walked with God,” we are told, “he was not, for God took him.” The former phrase is also applied to Noah, among the antediluvian patriarchs, and is often used to describe a life of close communion with God, or, in one word, godliness. The apostle

the Temple an interval of only 300 years, a term calculated chiefly from the genealogies, and only reconciled with the numbers given in the Book of Judges by the most arbitrary alterations. Genealogies, however, are no safe basis for chronology, especially when, as can be proved in many cases, links are omitted in their statement. When we come to examine them closely, we find that many are broken without being in consequence *technically* defective as Hebrew genealogies. A modern pedigree thus broken would be defective, but the principle of these genealogies must have been different. A notable instance is that of the genealogy of our Saviour given by St. Matthew. In this genealogy Joram is immediately followed by Ozias, as if his son—Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah being omitted.* In Ezra's genealogy (Ezra vii. 1–5) there is a similar omission, which in so famous a line can scarcely be attributed to the carelessness of a copyist. There are also examples of a man being called the son of a remote ancestor in a statement of a genealogical form.† We cannot, therefore, venture to use the Hebrew genealogical lists to compute intervals of time, except where we can prove each descent to be immediate. But even if we can do this, we have still to be sure that we can determine the average length of each generation.

2. The *Short* or *Received Chronology* is that which has been generally followed in the West since the time of Jerome, and has been adopted in the margin of the authorized English version, according to the system of its ablest advocate, Archbishop Ussher. Its leading data are, first, the adoption of the numbers of the Hebrew text for the patriarchal genealogies; secondly, the reckoning of the 430 years from the call of Abraham to the Exodus; and, lastly, the adhering to the 480 years for the period from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. As we are only giving a general account of these different systems, and not attempting their full discussion, we cannot now explain how the last datum is reconciled with the 450 years assigned by St. Paul to the Judges, or with the numbers

* Matt. i. 8. That this is not an accidental omission of a copyist is evident from the specification of the number of generations from Abraham to David, from David to the Babylonish Captivity, and thence to Christ, in each case fourteen generations. Probably these missing names were purposely left out to make the number for the interval equal to that of the other intervals, such an omission being obvious, and not liable to cause error.

† Gen. xxxix. 5, compared with xxviii. 2, 5; 1 Chr. xxvi. 24; 1 Kings xix. 16, compared with 2 Kings ix. 2, 14.

explains it, that "he pleased God," and traces Enoch's piety to his faith in God, as the only true God and the hearer of prayer, for "without faith it is impossible to please him: for he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him."

But Enoch's life was not all spent in quiet meditation; he "walked with God" in the path of active duty and the courageous maintenance of the cause of God amid an ungodly race. This we learn from the Apostle Jude, who describes the antediluvian world as already infected with those vices which came to a head in the days of Noah, which are ever the curse of advanced civilization, and which will again mark the last age of the world. Against these sins Enoch prophesied, and warned their perpetrators of the coming of the Lord to execute judgment upon them. He stands conspicuous, therefore, as the **FIRST OF THE PROPHETS**.

Enoch's faith was rewarded by a special favor in the mode of his departure from the world. "He walked with God" till "he was not, for God had taken him." The men to whom he prophesied

obtained from their annals. The great chronologer Petavius is in substantial agreement with Ussher; but, for reasons which cannot now be stated, he places the Exodus and the call of Abraham each forty years earlier, the Deluge and the Creation each twenty years later, than Ussher.

We have given Ussher's dates in the text of this work, as those most commonly received; but for the reasons already mentioned, we believe that the Jewish genealogies are no safe basis for chronology, and that it is, therefore, impossible to assign any real dates to the Creation and the patriarchal history.

3. The *Long Chronology* has been, in recent times, the most formidable competitor of the short system. Its leading advocates are Hales, Jackson, and Des Vignolles. With some minor differences, they agree in adopting the Septuagint numbers for the ages of the patriarchs, and the long interval from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. Their arguments for the former view are very ably answered by Clinton, who adopts the short period from the Creation to the call of Abraham, and the 430 years on to the Exodus, but reckons 612 years from thence to the foundation of the Temple.

The following table exhibits the principal dates as given by the leading modern chronologers:—

	Short System.			Long System.	
	Ussher. B. C.	Petavius. B. C.	Clinton. B. C.	Hales B. C.	Jackson. B. C.
Creation.....	4004	3983	4138	5411	5426
Flood.....	2349	2327	2482	3155	3170
Call of Abraham.....	1921	1961	2055	2078	2023
Exodus.....	1491	1531	1625	1648	1593
Foundation of Temple.....	1012	1012	1013	1027	1014
Destruction of Temple.....	588	589	587	586	586

missed him, perhaps at the very moment they were planning his death:—"he was not found, because God had translated him." The apostle who uses this phrase leaves no doubt as to its meaning: "By faith Enoch was translated *that he should not see death.*" This distinction was shared by Elijah alone of all the human race; and we may probably infer that, as in his case, so in Enoch's, the miracle was a testimony to the divine mission of the prophet, as well as a reward of the piety of the man.

METHUSELAH (*a man of arms*), the son of Enoch, is noted as having reached the greatest age of any man. He was contemporary with Adam for 243 years, and with Noah for 600. It is interesting to observe that he died in the very year of the Deluge. Was he "a righteous man taken away from the coming evil," or, having lapsed into wickedness, did he perish with them that believed not? We are allowed to suppose the former, from the probability that he would have been saved in the ark, with the rest of Noah's family, had he been still alive. His son *Lamech* (properly *Lemech*), the father of *Noah*, died five years before the deluge.

CHAPTER II.

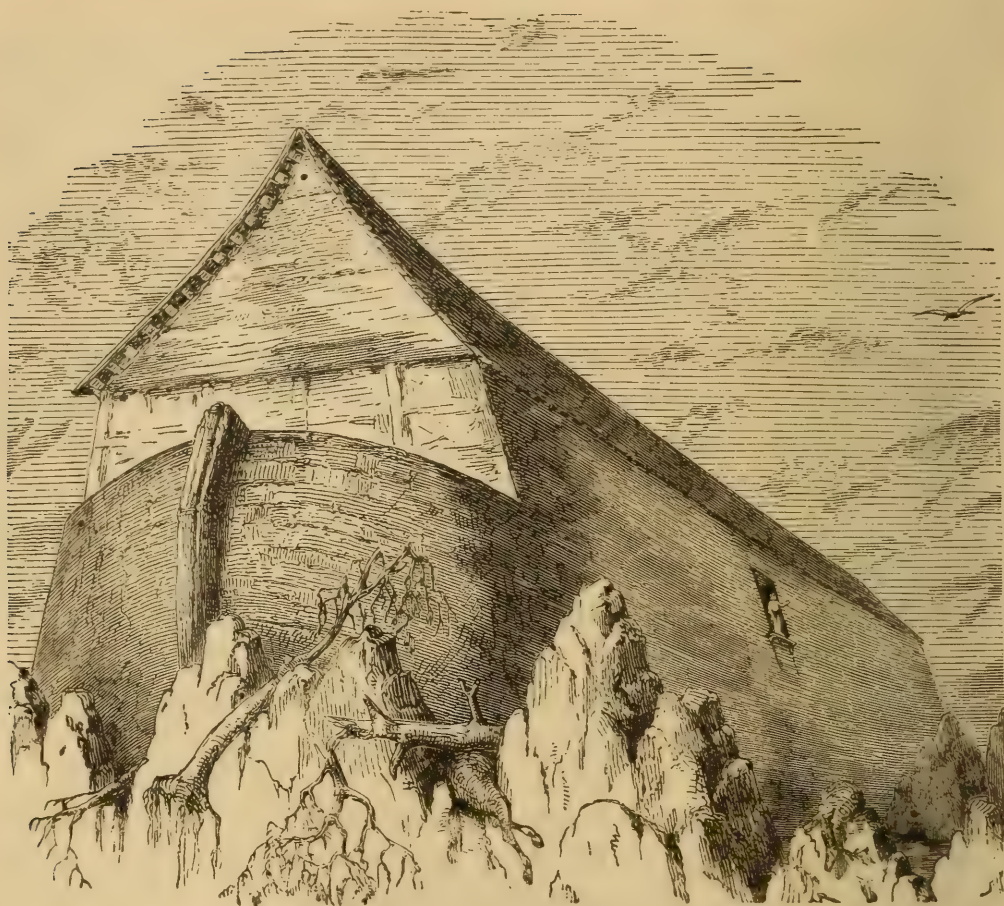
THE TIMES OF NOAH AND THE DELUGE.

[A. M. 1056-2006. B. C. 2948-1998.]

NAMECH, the last mentioned of the antediluvian patriarchs, begat a son, whom he called Noah. This name is very significant. It means *rest* or *comfort*, and his father gave it by prophetic inspiration, saying, "This shall comfort us, concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the Lord hath cursed." These words seem to express a deeper weariness than that arising from the primal curse, from which indeed the age of Noah brought no deliverance. But it did bring the comfort of rest from the wickedness which had now reached its greatest height.

B. C.
2948-1998.

The history of the world previous to the flood covers a period of 1656 years, of which we know little save that the earth was full of wickedness. We have seen the progress made by the children of Cain in the invention of implements of art and industry, and we cannot doubt that they were adopted by the race of Seth. The world, therefore, must have made great progress in civilization and knowledge in this period; the arts must have reached a ripeness of which the record, from its scantiness, conveys no adequate conception; and the destruction caused by the flood must have obliterated a thousand discoveries, and left men to recover again by slow and patient steps the ground they had lost. But the race of Seth also became infested with the vices of the Cainites. This seems to be the only reasonable sense of the intercourse between "the sons of God" (*Sons of the Elohim*) and "the daughters of men" (*daughters of the Adam*). Laying aside all ideas of the union of superhuman beings with mortal women, we may safely assume that both parties were of the human race. Up to this time the family of Seth, who remained true to the worship of God, and the family of Cain, who had lived only for the world, had carefully held aloof from each other; but now a mingling of the two races took place, which resulted in the thorough corruption of the former, who, falling away, plunged into the deepest abyss of wickedness. We are also told that this union produced a stock conspicuous for physical strength and courage, a well-known result of the



THE ARK.

intermixture of different races. The reader must be careful not to confound these “mighty men of old, men of renown,” with the “giants” (Heb. *Nephilim*), from whom they are expressly distinguished.

The antediluvian world had reached a desperate pitch of wickedness, the distinguishing features of which were lust and brutal outrage, and the climax of which was reached in the fusion of the two races. So great indeed was this wickedness, so utter and abominable the depravity of the people, that we are told that it “repented Jehovah that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.” Though this language can be accepted only in a figurative sense, it clearly establishes the fact that the wickedness of man had become so great as to put an end to the forbearance of Jehovah, who resolved to destroy the existing race of human creatures, as if putting an end to an experiment which had failed. The forbearance of the Almighty had been abused, and men had only grown more wicked during its continuance. Jehovah said, “My spirit shall not always strive with

(or *remain* or *rule in*) man (*the Adam*), for that they are but flesh; and their days shall be an hundred and twenty years." The general sense of this declaration seems to be: "I will take away from man the life I at first gave him, since he has corrupted himself to mere flesh, and I will limit his time on earth to one hundred and twenty years." That the period thus defined was a space for repentance, seems clear from the context, the opinion that it works out the future length of human life does not at all agree with the duration of the lives of the post-diluvian patriarchs.

Measures of amelioration would not meet the case. God resolved on clearing the earth entirely from its wicked inhabitants. He did not mean to utterly destroy the earth or the human race, but merely to remove the wickedness which then existed. The earth was to survive the terrible penalty it was to pay, and enough living creatures were to be preserved through the terrible ordeal to replenish the earth with men and beasts again. In these respects the deluge is distinguished from the last conflagration.

The family chosen for this experiment was that of Noah, who is described as a "just man and perfect (upright or sincere) in his generations," who had "found grace in the eyes of the Lord." Like Enoch, he "walked with God." The wickedness of the world appalled him, and he vehemently denounced it, or preached against it. He was the father of three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as they are named in the order of precedence; though Japheth seems to have been the oldest and Shem the youngest. They were born in the 500th year of Noah's life, and like their father remained true to the worship of Jehovah.

About this time, and, perhaps, at the beginning of the hundred and twenty years given to man for repentance, God informed Noah of his intention of destroying the earth and its inhabitants by water, and commanded him to make an ark of gopher wood, in which he and his family and a certain number of all the living creatures on the earth were to take refuge, and thus escape the impending doom of the world. Astounding as was this revelation, Noah did not for one moment doubt it, but at once set to work to construct the ark according to the plan given to him by God, and in spite of the scoffs and jeers of the people, in whose midst he worked, continued his labors until they were finished. Meanwhile, he continued to preach to the doomed people, now mingling his denunciations of their wickedness with appeals to them to repent and flee from the wrath to come, and his ark bore constant witness to the sincerity of his utterances. And

so "the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing." But it waited in vain. The warning was unheeded, and men continued in their wicked ways until the end came.

At the beginning of the six hundredth year of Noah's life, the ark was completed; and on the tenth day of the second month of that year he entered into it, by God's command, with his wife, his three sons, and their wives—eight persons in all—who were saved from the flood. They took with them the food they would require, which was as yet of a vegetable nature. They also took two (a pair) of every animal; but of clean animals (for the use of sacrifice had already established this distinction) they took seven, by which is generally understood three pairs to continue the race, and one male for sacrifice. They took seven days to enter the ark, and then "Jehovah shut Noah in."

On the same day, namely, the seventeenth day of the second month of the six hundredth year of Noah's life, the flood began. Its physical causes are described simply as *phenomena*, in figurative language: "The fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened." The narrative is vivid and forcible, though entirely wanting in that sort of description which the modern historian or poet would have employed to depict the scene. We see nothing of the death struggle of the doomed people; we hear nothing of their cries of despair; we are not called upon to witness the frantic agony of husband and wife, of parent and child, as they fled in vain before the rising waters. Nor is a word said of the sadness of the one righteous man, who, safe himself, looked upon the destruction which he could not avert. But one impression is left upon the mind with peculiar vividness, from the very simplicity of the narrative, and it is that of utter desolation. "All flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man; * * * * they were destroyed from the earth, and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark." The vast expanse of water appeared unbroken, save by that floating home of all that were left alive, for 150 days, or five months.

Whether the flood was universal or partial has given rise to much controversy; but there can be no doubt that it was universal, so far as man was concerned: we mean that it extended to all the then known world. The truth of the biblical narrative is confirmed by the numerous traditions of other nations, which have preserved the memory of a great and destructive flood, from which but a small part

of mankind escaped. They seem to point back to a common centre, whence they were carried by the different families of man as they wandered east and west.

Meanwhile God remembered Noah and those that were with him in the ark. At the end of the fifth month the waters were abated, and on the seventeenth day of the seventh month of the six hundredth year of Noah's life, the ark was left by the falling waters upon the mountains of Ararat. It required two months still to uncover the tops of the mountains, which were not visible until the first day of the tenth month. Noah waited forty days longer, and then, being

anxious to know if the waters had entirely gone down, sent forth from the ark a raven, which flew about from mountain top to mountain top, but did not return to the ark. On the eighteenth day, he sent forth a dove, but the timid bird could find no resting place, and after flying about for some time, returned to the ark. By this Noah knew that the waters still covered the face of the earth. On the twenty-fifth day he again sent forth the dove, which soon re-



THE DOVE.

turned to him with an olive leaf in her bill, the sign that even the low trees were uncovered, and the type for after ages of peace and rest. Seven days later still, on the second day of the twelfth month, the dove was again sent out, but this time she did not return; thus proving that the waters had entirely subsided. These periods of seven days clearly point to the division of time into weeks.

On the first day of the six hundredth and first year of his age, Noah removed the covering of the ark, and beheld the newly-uncovered earth. On the twenty-seventh day of the second month, the earth being dry, Noah, at the command of God, went forth out of the ark

with all his family and the animals that had been saved with him. Grateful for his preservation, his first act was to build an altar, and offer a sacrifice of every clean beast and bird. This act of piety pleased God, and he informed Noah that he would not again curse the earth because of its wickedness, as he had done, nor destroy it, but would forbear with man's innate tendency to evil, and continue the existing course of nature until the appointed end of the world. He repeated to Noah and his sons the blessing pronounced on Adam and Eve, that they should "be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," and that the inferior creatures should be subject to them. To this he added the use of animals for food. But the eating their blood was forbidden, because the blood is the life; and, lest the needful shedding of their blood should lead to deeds of blood, a new law was enacted against murder. The horror of the crime was clearly



THE BOW OF PROMISE.

stated on the two grounds of the common brotherhood of man, which makes every murder a fratricide, and of the creation of man in God's image. The first murderer had been driven out as a vagabond and fugitive; but his life was sacred. Now, however, the penalty was changed, and the law laid down—"He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." This law amounts to giving the civil magistrate the "power of the sword;" and hence we may con-

sider *three new precepts* to have been given to Noah, in addition to the laws of the Sabbath and of marriage, which were revealed to Adam—namely, the abstinence from blood, the prohibition of murder, and the recognition of the civil authority.

In addition to these promises and precepts, God made with Noah a COVENANT—that is, one of these *agreements* by which he had condescended again and again to bind himself toward man; not more sacred with him than a simple promise, but more satisfying to the weakness of our faith. Of these covenants, that made with Noah on behalf of his descendants is the first; and it may be called the *Covenant of God's forbearance*, under which man lives to the end of time. It repeated the promise that the world should not be again destroyed by a flood; and it was ratified by the beautiful sign of the rainbow in the cloud, a *natural* phenomenon suited to the *natural laws*

of whose permanence it was the token. It is important for us not to suffer our relations to Adam as our first father, or to Abraham as the father of the faithful, to overshadow our part in God's covenant with Noah as the ancestor of the existing human race.

Noah soon gave proof that the new race was a fallen one. He began his new life as an husbandman in Armenia, a land which is still most favorable for the vine, where he planted a vineyard. Having converted the fruit of his vineyard into wine, he made himself drunk, and, while thus deprived of reason, exposed himself shamefully in his tent, in the presence of his sons. The conduct of those sons shows the differences of character which have severed even the families chosen by God in every age. Ham, instead of endeavoring to hide his father's shame, went and told his brethren of it, and they promptly went into the tent and concealed it even from their own eyes. When Noah recovered his senses, he gave utterance to his feelings respecting the conduct of his sons, in words which are unquestionably prophetic of the destinies of the three races that descended from them. For in the primitive state of society the government was strictly *patriarchal*. The patriarch—that is the head of the race for the time being—had over his children and theirs, the full power of the later *king*; he was their *priest*; and thus we have seen Noah offering sacrifices; and, among those who preserved the true religion, he was a *prophet* also. With such authority, then, did Noah pronounce on his undutiful son the curse that, in the person of one of his own children, he should be a slave to his brother:

“Cursed be Canaan (the youngest son of Ham):
A slave of slaves shall he be to his brethren;”

while to Shem and Japheth he gave the respective blessings already symbolized by their names, *Shem* (the *name*, chosen above all others) and *Japheth* (*enlargement*),—to the former that Jehovah should be his God in some special sense; to the latter that he should be “enlarged” with worldly power, and should ultimately share the blessings of Shem.

“Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem,
And let Canaan be their slave;
May God enlarge Japheth,
And let him dwell in the tents of Shem,
And let Canaan be their slave.”

The subsequent history of Canaan shows in the plainest manner the fulfilment of the curse. Upon the capture of his land by Israel he became the servant of Shem; when Tyre fell before the arms of

Alexander, and the Roman eagles triumphed over Carthage, he became the slave of Japheth.

The blessing on Shem was fulfilled in the history of the Chosen Race from whom sprang the Messiah ; and the blessing on Japheth is illustrated by every age of the history of the great European nations whose ancestor he was.

Noah lived to be a very old man, and died three hundred and fifty years after the flood, at the age of nine hundred and fifty, just half way, according to the common chronology, between the Creation and the Christian Era. He survived the fifth and eighth of his descendants, Peleg and Reu ; he was for 128 years contemporary with Terah, the father of Abraham ; and died only two years before the birth of Abraham himself (A. M. 2006—B. C. 1998). Looking backward, we find that he was born only 126 years after the death of Adam, and fourteen years after that of Seth. He was contemporary with Enos for 84 years, and with the remaining six antediluvian patriarchs (except Enoch) for centuries. Thus the reader will see how easy it was for the traditions of primeval history to be handed down from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, and we might add from Abraham to Moses.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTITION OF THE NATIONS—FROM THE DELUGE TO THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM.

[A. M. 1656–2008. B. C. 2348–1996.]

THE history of Noah's children divides itself into two branches; the general peopling of the earth by the descendants of his three sons, and the particular line of the chosen family. The former subject is briefly dismissed, but with notices full of interest; and the latter is pursued down to Abraham, on whose migration to Canaan we again come in contact with the other races of men. The interval is a period, in round numbers, of 400 years.

Two facts are prominent in the outline of the population of the world, which is given in Genesis x.:—the tripartite division of the nations into the descendants of Japheth, Shem, and Ham; and the original centre of all these races in the mountains of Armenia, where Noah came forth from the ark. That the record is meant to include all the peoples of the known world, is clear from the concluding words: "These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their *nations*, and *by these were the nations divided in the earth* after the flood." Now if we turn to the results of ethnological science, remembering that the science itself is quite recent, we must be struck with the points of agreement.

First, as to the locality. The highlands of Armenia are admirably adapted to be the central spot whence the streams of population should pour forth on all sides of the world. They are equidistant from the Caspian and Euxine seas in the north, and from the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf in the south. Around those seas the earliest settlements of civilized man were made, and they became the high roads of commerce and colonization. Armenia had communication with them by means of the rivers which rise in its central district, the Euphrates opening the path to Syria and the Mediterranean in one direction, as well as to the Persian Gulf in the other; the Tigris leading down to Assyria and Susiana; the Araxes and Cyrus descending to the Caspian, the latter also furnishing ready access to the Euxine by the commercial route which connected its valley with that of the Phasis. The researches of science point to that region as the primitive

seat of these races. Physiologists are now generally agreed on the common origin of the human race, and they find its noblest type in the regions south of the Caucasus. Again, the safest guide to the affinities of nations is found in the comparative study of their languages: and two great families of these have been clearly established, with a general correspondence to the races of Japheth and of Shem, while the little that is known of the original languages of Palestine, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya, is consistent with their forming a third family, corresponding to the race of Ham.

The identification of the names mentioned in Genesis x. is attended with considerable difficulties. First, there is a question respecting the extent of the world over which these nations must be looked for: but as the account is one of the *first* peopling of the earth after the flood, the space to which it refers must be comparatively small; and it belongs to later history to trace the further diffusion of the nations. Again, some names, which would be well known in their native or classical forms, seem unfamiliar to us in the Hebrew. The same names, too, appear among different races, as will be seen by comparing the Hamite and Shemite peoples of Arabia with each other and with the descendants of Abraham by Keturah (*the Keturāite Arabs*). Such cases are satisfactorily explained by assuming that, when a people of one race settled in a country previously occupied by another, either expelling or subduing or coalescing with the former inhabitants, the new race are called by the already established *geographical* name of the older, just as the English received the name of Britons, and the mixed races of the three European peninsulas are called Spaniards, Italians, and Greeks.

The chief stumbling-block, however, is found in the mixture of individual with national names. Now this is really of little consequence, since, with a few exceptions, as that of Nimrod, the purpose is clearly to exhibit the affinities of *nations*. The record is *ethnographical* rather than *genealogical*. This is clear from the *plural* forms of some of the names (for example, all the descendants of *Mizraim*), and from the ethnic form of others, as those of the children of *Canaan*, nearly all of which are simply *geographical*. The genealogical form is preserved in the first generation after the sons of Noah, and is then virtually abandoned for a mere list of the nations descended from each of these progenitors. But in the line of the patriarchs from Shem to Abraham the genealogical form is strictly preserved, since the object is to trace a *personal* descent.

On the other hand, the identification is greatly aided, first, by the

geographical explanations given in the record itself; next, by the well-known names occurring among the less known; while on these latter much light is thrown by subsequent allusions in the prophetic as well as the historical books of the Old Testament.

It is interesting to follow the dispersion of the families descended from Noah, and note the manner in which they established themselves in the various parts of the earth.

The territories of the descendants of JAPHETH lay chiefly on the coasts of the Mediterranean, in Europe and Asia Minor, "the isles of the Gentiles;" but they also reached across Armenia, and along the northeastern edge of the Tigris and Euphrates valley, over Media and Persia. The race spread westward and northward over Europe, and at the other end as far as India, embracing the great Indo-European family of languages. Thus was the wide diffusion of his race indicated by his prophetic name Japheth (*enlarged*).

B. C.
2348-1996. The race of SHEM occupied the southwestern corner of Asia, including the peninsula of Arabia. Of his five sons, Arphaxad is the progenitor both of the Hebrews and of the Arabs, and other kindred tribes, whose origin is recorded in the book of Genesis. North of them were the children of Aram (which signifies *high*), in the highlands of Syria and Mesopotamia. Asshur evidently represents Assyria; and the eastern and western extremities were occupied by the well-known nations of the Elymæans (children of Elam) on the southeastern margin of the valley of the Tigris, and the Lydians (children of Lud) in Asia Minor.

The race of HAM (the *swarthy*, according to the most probable etymology) presents very difficult, but interesting problems. Their chief seat was in Africa, but they are also found mingling with the Semitic races on the shores of Arabia, and on the Tigris and Euphrates, while on the north they extended into Palestine (the land of the Philistines), Asia Minor, and the larger islands, as Crete and Cyprus. In Africa, Mizraim is most certainly identified with Egypt; Cush with Ethiopia, above Egypt; and Phut probably with the inland peoples to the west. Among the sons of Mizraim, the Lubim correspond to Libya; and those of Cush represent tribes which crossed the Red Sea, and spread along the southern and eastern shores of Arabia, up the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates.

The dispersion of these nations to their several abodes did not take place, however, until some time after the deluge. It was not until the days of Peleg, the fifth in descent from Noah, that the division of the earth was made. Men never leave their accustomed abodes in



THE TOWER OF BABEL.

masses, except upon compulsion, or under the pressure of some strong necessity. This dispersion was the work of God himself, and was adopted for the purpose of defeating a daring scheme by which men hoped to make themselves independent of him. "The whole earth was as yet of one language and of one speech," when "as they journeyed eastward they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there." That Shinar means Babylonia, admits of no doubt; but who were the people that journeyed eastward to it? Were they one of the three races of Noah's sons, and if so, which? Or was it a migration of the great body of Noah's offspring from the rugged highlands of Armenia, in search of a better soil and climate? The latter seems the more probable, though there is a difficulty about bringing the Japhetic race into this region. They discovered the art of making brick from the argillaceous soil, and cementing it with the mineral bitumen or asphalt. Soon that idea sprung up in their minds, which has been the dream of man in every age—a universal empire, with a mighty city for its capital. In the blindness of their pride, they fancied that, when thus banded together, they might defy God himself and defeat his wise design of dispersing them over the earth. "Come," said they, "let us build us a *city*, and a citadel with its top (reaching) to heaven; and let us make us a *name*, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." God saw the danger of their scheme, and willed that no such power should be ever established. The attempt has since been made thrice on that very spot, by Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Alexander. It has been repeated in the empire of the Romans, and in its attempted revival by Charlemagne and Napoleon; but in each case God has come down to confound the scheme.

The means by which the design was defeated was a "*Confusion of Speech*" among the builders caused by the direct power of God, "that they might not understand one another's speech." This confusion of speech has generally been itself confounded with the origin of the different languages of men. The Scripture narrative simply says that the confusion was such as to make them leave off working together, and that then "Jehovah scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city." We are not told in what the confusion consisted, nor what elements the different peoples carried away with them in their dispersion. Certainly it seems to be implied that some of the most striking differences which mark the various families of languages were then suddenly caused by God's immediate act, and that the builders separated because they

could no longer understand each other; but it does not follow that languages were then formed as they exist now, and the comparative grammarian may trace up the beautiful laws which show the very opposite of *confusion*, without fearing to contradict the true sense of the Scripture narrative.

From the *confusion (Babel) of tongues*, the city received the name of *Babel*, and is renowned under the Greek form of *Babylon*. It is supposed that the tower was afterward completed. Similar edifices were used in other cities of the region as citadels, temples, and observatories, and the ruins at Borsippa, called *Birs-Nimrûd* (Nimrod's Mound), may be taken as a type of such structures.

B. C. 2348-1996. The early importance of Babylonia and Assyria is testified by the notice of their capitals, and in the account of the division of the nations, Nimrod, the son of Cush, founded the first great military despotism on record. The "mighty hunter" made men his game; for the phrase, in its connection, seems a great symbol of violence and rapine. His capital was Babylon, but he founded also three other cities in the plain of Shinar, namely, Erech, Accad, and Calneh. Thence he extended his empire northward along the course of the Tigris over Assyria, where he founded a second group of capitals, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen. The Assyrians were Shemites; and accordingly we see here the race of Ham subduing that of Shem, but only for a time, for the history of these monarchies fulfilled the prophecy of Noah, that Ham should be subject to both his brothers. Still more strikingly was this true of the posterity of CANAAN (the youngest son of Ham), who settled in Palestine and became the great enemies of the chosen race.

Our present information does not permit us to identify Nimrod with any personage known to us either from inscriptions or from classical writers. Ninus and Belus are representative titles rather than personal names, and are but equivalent terms for "the lord," who was regarded as the founder of the empires of Nineveh and Babylon. We have no reason on this account to doubt the personal existence of Nimrod, for the events with which he is connected fall within the shadows of a remote antiquity. His name still survives in tradition, and to him the modern Arabs ascribe all the great works of ancient times, such as the *Birs-Nimrûd* near Babylon, *Tel Nimrûd* near *Baghdad*, the dam of *Suhr el Nimrûd* across the Tigris below *Mosul*, and the well-known mound of *Nimrûd* in the same neighborhood.

BOOK II.

FROM THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF JOSEPH, OR THE
PROBATION OF THE CHOSEN FAMILY.

[A. M. 2008—2369. B. C. 1996—1635.]

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY AND CALL OF ABRAM TO HIS NINETY-NINTH YEAR, AND THE CHANGE OF
HIS NAME.

[A. M. 2008—2106. B. C. 1996—1898.]

THE world having relapsed into idolatry and wickedness, as is evidenced by the impious attempt to build the Tower of Babel, it pleased God to select from the descendants of Noah a single family through which to transmit the blessings he had promised to man, from which the Seed of the Woman, promised to Eve, should spring, and which should in the meanwhile preserve his worship in its purity. For the purpose of raising up this family he made choice of a patriarch who was born only two years after the death of Noah. His name was Abram, and he was the son of Terah, who was the ninth of the patriarchs from Shem, and the nineteenth from Adam (inclusive). His genealogy, which the subsequent history requires most clearly to be understood, is exhibited in the table which follows this paragraph. It is the more important to include the whole family of Terah in our view, as the call of God came to Abram while he was still living in the house of his father, to whose whole family, therefore, the call may be considered as in some sense addressed, and by all of whom it was in some degree obeyed.

At the time of this call, we are informed by Joshua, Terah and his family were idolaters. We are told in Genesis that at the age of seventy (B. C. 2056) Terah begat three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran. They are thus named in the order of their subsequent dignity and importance, though it can hardly be doubted that Haran was the eldest of the three, since both Abram and Nahor married his daughters. Abram appears to have been the youngest of the three, since he was born sixty years after the date just given; for he was

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF TERAH, FATHER OF ABRAHAM.

18 (From Adam), Nahor.

19. TERAH.

Haran.

Milcuh = Nahor = Reumah.

(By Hagar.)

20. ABRAHAM = Sarai (aft. Sarah).

(By Keturah.)

Lot
(By his 2
daughters.)Milcuh,
m. her
uncle
Nahor.Sarai
or Isch,
m. her
uncle
Abram.

Huz

(whence

JOB),

Buz

(whence

Elihu),

Kenmel

(whence

Arrun, or

Raun, Job

xxxii. 2),

Chesed

(whence

Chasdim,

i. e. Chab-

dees),

Hazo,

Pildash,

Jidlaph.

Bethuel.

Laban married

Rebekah,

Isaac.

Leah and Rachel,

the wives

of Jacob.

Teba,
Gubam,
Tnabath,
Maachan.

Ishmael.

Nebajoth

(and his

sister

Bashemath,

who married

Esau),

Kedar,

Abdeel,

Mitsam,

Mishma,

Dunah,

Massah,

Hadar,

Tema,

Jetur,

Naphish.

Kodemah:

the 12

princes of

the Ishmaelite

and other

Arabs who

dwelt E. of

the Israelites

and Edomites

(Gen. xxv. 13).

21. ISAAC = Rebekah.

Esau or Edom married,

d. of Elion,

a Hittite.

1. Adah,

d. of Elion,

2. Abolihamah,

d. of Anah,

3. Bashemath,

d. of Ishmael.

4. of Anah,

s. of Sar the

Horite

(whence Mt.

Seir became

Edom),

Jensh,

Jaalam,

Korah.

(The 12 *dukes* or sheikhs of

the 12 Edomite tribes, to

whom Amalek is some-

times added, Gen. xxxvi.

For details, and on the dif-

ficulty about the wives of

Esau, see the names in Dr.

Smith's Dictionary of the

Bible.

22. JACOB.

Twelve

sons and

one

daughter

(see their

separate

geneal-

ogy).

Zimran,

Jokshan,

Mochan,

Midian,

Ishbak,

Shuah,

(The six

tribes of the

Ketumite

Arabs, who

dwelt right

across the

peninsula

S. of the

Ishmaelites.)

Sub tribes—

(1.) Fr.

Jokshan:

Sheba,

Dedan

(whence

Asshurim,

Jeturshim,

Jemumim).

(2.) Fr.

Midian:

Ephah,

Epher,

Hamech,

Abiah,

Eliab

(Gen. xxv.

1-4).

seventy-five years old when his father died in Haran at the age of two hundred and five. His name AB-RAM (father of elevation, *i. e.* exalted father) was prophetic of his calling to be the ancestor of a race chosen for an exalted destiny, but it was afterward changed into the more significant name of AB-RAHAM (father of a multitude).

Terah and his family resided in the ancient city of "Ur of the Chaldees." Haran, his eldest son, was dead, and Lot, the son of Haran, was the heir to the family honors and possessions. Ur has been identified by the most ancient traditions with the city of Orfah, in the highlands of Mesopotamia (Aram), which unite the tableland of Armenia to the Valley of the Euphrates (Padan-Aram). In later ages it was called Edessa, and was celebrated as the Capital of Agbara or Acbarus, who was said to have received the letter and portrait of our Saviour. It was while residing here that Abram received the first call from God. This is expressly asserted by St. Stephen, in his speech before the Sanhedrim, a speech which is of the highest authority, if only for the profound Scriptural learning of the speaker.

Quitting Ur, the chosen family moved southward, and took up their abode at Haran, more properly called, in the New Testament, Charran, east of the Euphrates, "the flood" which divided the old home of the family from the new land of promise. Here Terah died, after a residence of several years, and here Nahor, to whom belonged the right of a first choice, decided to settle.

In the meantime, probably immediately upon his father's death, Abram was again called by God. "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee; and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." The last words involve the crowning blessing of the Old Covenant, the *Promise of the Messiah*, and that to the Gentiles, "all families of the earth."

The command of God was simply to go out to a country to which he would lead the patriarch; but Abram did not hesitate. He was full of faith in God, and at once set out, accompanied by Sarai, his wife, and his nephew Lot. Leaving Mesopotamia, he crossed the Euphrates, which separated him entirely from his former home. Hence he was called by the Canaanites the "Hebrew," or the man who had crossed the river—the emigrant from Mesopotamia. He passed through the Syrian desert, and there is a tradition that he

tarried at Damascus for a while, a tradition which has an air of probability attached to it, since Eliezer, the steward of his house, was a native of that city. Journeying thence, he crossed the Jordan, entered the Promised Land, and passed into the Valley of Shechem or Sichem, where he halted. At this, his first resting place in the Holy Land, God appeared to him again, and gave him the second of his promises, that his seed should possess the land; and here Abram built an altar to the Lord, the first of the series of memorials which the patriarchs erected wherever they pitched their tents.



ABRAHAM'S ENCAMPMENT.

It is not certain whether the spot was then marked by the city which was afterward called Shechem from the Amorite Shechem, the contemporary of Jacob, and which is now known as *Náblus*; but it is expressly stated that "the Canaanite was then (*i. e.* already) in the land," having probably driven out an earlier race. Abram was aware that these people would not view with complacency his settlement in such a favored spot with his tents and his herds, and as he was not strong enough to resist an attack, he determined to seek a less exposed location, and withdrew southward to a place which lay

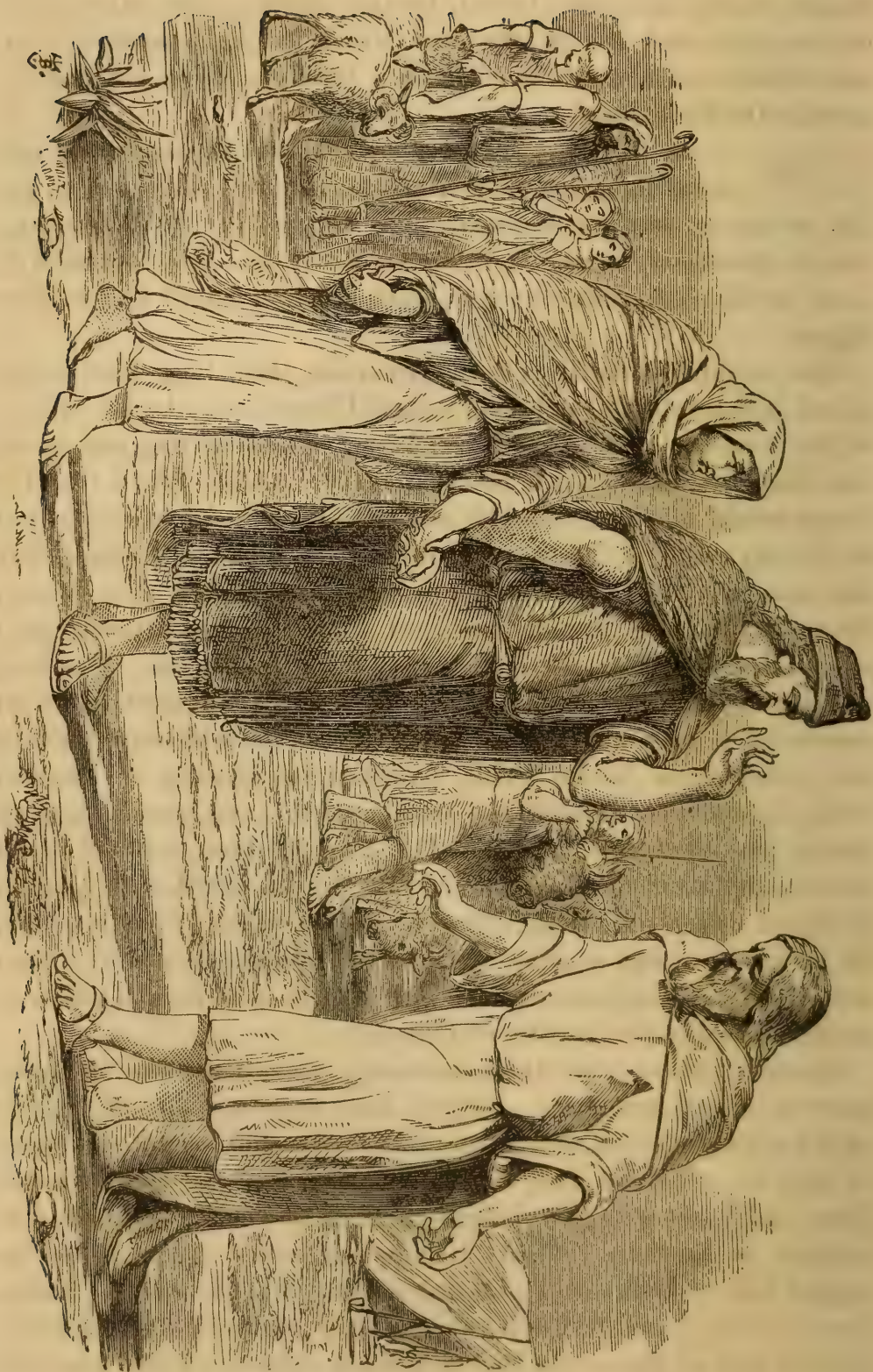
afterward on the northern border of the kingdom of Judah, on the heights which skirt the Jordan, between Bethel (then called Luz) on the west, and Ai on the east, where he built another altar, and called on the name of Jehovah. This was his second halting-place in the Holy Land.

As he now occupied a mountainous region, he was safe B. C. 1921. from the Canaanites who dwelt in the plains below, but this advantage was counterbalanced by the sterility of the country, which offered only meagre grazing for his cattle. He continued to move to the southward, therefore, until a famine forced him to enter Egypt.

The mighty monarchy of the Pharaohs had long been established in this country, and the king or Pharaoh was absolute master of the lives and persons of his subjects. Knowing this, and seeing that Sarai was a woman of unusual beauty, Abram feared that the despot would take her from him and kill him in order to get him out of the way; and in this crisis his faith failed him, and he stooped to that mean form of deceit, which is true in word, but false in fact. He caused Sarai to pass for his sister, a term used in Hebrew, as in many other languages, for a niece, which she really was. The king was struck with the beauty of Sarai, whom he supposed to be an unmarried woman, and he took her to his harem, and heaped honors and riches upon Abram. God punished the tyranny of Pharaoh with plagues upon himself and his household, and warned him of Sarai's true relation to Abram. The king, in alarm, restored her to Abram, and after sternly rebuking him for his deceit, sent him out of Egypt with all the cattle, silver, and gold, which he had acquired, for he was now very wealthy. Returning through the south, Abram went back to his old encampment on the hills, near Bethel, where he again established the worship of Jehovah.

Quarrels, arising from their increasing possessions, now broke out between Abram and Lot. Abram's faith sustained him thoroughly in this emergency, and feeling sure that God would keep his promises to him, he called on Lot to take his choice of the country before them, and to separate from him in peace, as they could no longer live together in harmony. Their encampment looked westward on the rugged hills of Judæa, and eastward on the fertile plain of the Jordan about Sodom, "well watered everywhere, as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt" he had only lately quitted. Even from that distance, through the clear air of Palestine, can be distinctly discovered the long and thick masses of vegetation which fringe the

ABIMELECH RESTORING SARAI.



numerous streams that descend from the hills on either side to meet the central stream in its tropical depths. It was exactly the prospect to tempt a man who had no fixed purpose of his own, who had not like Abram obeyed a stern inward call of duty. So Lot left his uncle on the barren hills of Bethel, and chose all the precinct of the Jordan, and journeyed east. For his faith upon this occasion, Abram received his third blessing and promise from Jehovah, who bade him lift up his eyes and scan the whole land on every side, for it should be the possession of his seed, and they should be unnumbered as the dust of the earth. After this, the patriarch removed to the "Oaks of Mamre," near Hebron, in the centre of the hills of the south, and there he built an altar. This was his third resting-place in the Holy Land, and Mamre became his usual abode.

After separating from his uncle, Lot had pitched his tent in the plain of the Lower Jordan, in which stood the famous five "cities of the plain," Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (afterwards called Zoar). Each of these cities had its own king, but for purposes of defence they formed a confederacy or league under the leadership of the King of Sodom. They were noted for their wickedness, which was so terrible and vile that "it is a shame even to speak" of it. They did not transgress in secret, but their wickedness was open. Lot beheld it with amazement and horror, and "his righteous soul was vexed with their filthy conversation."

The confederacy of the five cities was tributary to a great empire, which had already been established in Western Asia under Chedorlaomer, King of Elam. In the thirteenth year of their subjection, Chedorlaomer marched against them with three allied kings, defeated them in a great battle, killed the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, drove the rest to the mountains, spoiled the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and, among others, carried off Lot and all his goods. As soon as Abram heard of the capture of his nephew, he collected 318 of his followers and his Amorite allies, and pursued the four kings, who were returning to their own country. Overtaking them at the sources of the Jordan, and dividing his forces into two bands, he made a night attack upon them, routed them, and pursued them to Hobah, to the north of Damascus. He rescued Lot and recaptured all the spoil, but refused to receive any of it from the King of Sodom, who came out to meet him, on his triumphal return, at Shaveh, or the *King's Dale*.

On his return occurred one of the most memorable prophetic incidents in Abram's career. He was met by Melchizedek, king of Salem, the priest of the "Most High God," who brought to him

bread and wine and blessed him in the name of the Most High God, and Abram gave him tithes of all the spoil. There is something surprising and mysterious in the first appearance of Melchizedek, and in the subsequent references to him. Bearing a title which Jews in after ages would recognize as designating their own sovereign, bearing gifts which recall to Christians the Lord's Supper, this Canaanite crosses for a moment the path of Abram, and is unhesitatingly recognized as a person of higher spiritual rank than the friend of God. Disappearing as suddenly as he came in, he is lost to the sacred writings for a thousand years; and then a few emphatic words for another moment bring him into sight as a type of the coming Lord of David. Once more, after another thousand years, the Hebrew Christians are taught to see in him a proof that it was the consistent purpose of God to abolish the Levitical priesthood. These references to him have given rise to much speculation. That he was both a king and a priest is quite in accordance with the patriarchal state of society; but his priesthood seems to have a dignity above that of the ordinary head of a family, and implies a relic of the true worship outside of the chosen family, such as we find long after in the story of the prophet Balaam. The extraordinary reverence paid him by Abram, and apparently by the King of Sodom, completes all our positive knowledge concerning his person and office.

Abram was now well advanced in years, and was a powerful prince, rich in cattle and gold and silver, and was feared and respected by the tribes in his vicinity. God had promised that he should be the father of a great nation. But as yet he was childless, and he was rapidly approaching that period of life when it would be impossible by human means for him to raise up a family. In this state of affairs, his faith began to waver, and it might have deserted him entirely had not it pleased Jehovah to appear to him again, and for the fourth time, in a vision, and to confirm the promises he had made by a covenant, the most solemn of all the engagements then known amongst men. Abram had no heir but his steward and slave, Eliezer of Damascus, and he began to believe that it was through Eliezer that God meant to fulfil his promises. But Jehovah now gave him a clearer and more solemn revelation of his great design. He promised Abram that his heir should not be his slave, but his own son which should be born to him; and commanding him to look upon the heavens, bright with myriads of glittering stars, bade him count them if he could, for "So," said Jehovah, "shall thy seed be." And Abram "believed in the Lord, and he counted it to him for righteousness." This was the

crisis of his religious life. With the moral submission of the will, which is the essence of faith, he trusted God for what was beyond the scope of his reason.

Pleased by this display of faith, Jehovah ratified his promise by a new *Covenant*, in which Abram stood to God in the relation of the Father of the Faithful, just as Noah, in the Covenant made with him, stood for all his race. The forms in which this new covenant was made are minutely related; and they seem to agree with the customs then observed in covenants between man and man. A victim (or more) was slain in sacrifice, and equally divided, and the parts being placed over against each other, the contracting parties passed down between them. The ceremony clearly signified the equality of the contract, its religious character, and the penalty due to its violation. Each part of the ceremony was observed in this case. Abram arranged the sacrifice in the proper manner, and passing between them sat down to watch them, and to keep away the birds from the carcasses until it should please God to manifest his presence there. "And it came to pass, that, when the sun went down, and it was dark, behold, a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp that passed between those pieces," the fire indicating the presence of God.

The promise thus ratified, was as specific as it was solemn. It included:—

1. The bondage of the Hebrews in a strange land for four hundred years.

2. Their delivery with increased riches, amidst God's judgments on their oppressors.

3. Their return to the land of promise in the fourth generation, when the iniquity of its inhabitants should be full.

The boundaries of their possessions in that land were strictly defined, "from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates," to which the kingdom of David and Solomon actually reached. The definition is made still clearer by the enumeration of the Canaanitish tribes that occupied the land,

To wait patiently for the fulfilment of the promise, in B. C. 1910. spite of natural obstacles, was too much, if not for the faith of Abram, at least for that of Sarai. As she was herself barren and without hope of having children, she gave to her husband her handmaid Hagar, an Egyptian, as his concubine, and by her Abram became the father of a son. The good fortune of Hagar so elated her that she became very insolent to her mistress, who, before the child was born, punished her so severely that the handmaid fled into the

wilderness of Kadesh, southeast of Abram's abode. Here the "Angel of the Lord" appeared to her, and commanded her to return to her mistress. He told her God had heard her cry of distress, and that she should be delivered of a son, whose name she should call Ishmael (*God shall hear*) in token of God's mercy to her, and that this son should make her the mother of a numerous race. The angel also foretold the character and destiny of the child in words which to this day describe the Bedouin Arabs, who are descended from him.

Ishmael was born when Abram was eighty-six years old (B. C. 1910), and fourteen years before the birth of the true heir. In Abram's ninety-ninth year (B. C. 1898), Jehovah appeared to him by the name of EL-SHADDAI (God Almighty), and renewed the covenant with him in the new character of "father of many nations." In consequence of this, he changed his name from *Ab-ram* (exalted father) to *Ab-raham* (father of a multitude). The promise was now repeated to Abraham more clearly than ever, *on behalf of his posterity*. "I will be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." As a sign of this inclusion of the children in the covenant, God enjoined the *rite of circumcision*, which became henceforth the *condition* of the covenant on the part of those with whom God made it. The uncircumcised was cut off from all its benefits, "he hath broken my covenant," while the stranger who received circumcision was admitted to them; and the head of the family was commanded to extend the rite to every male in his household, servants as well as children. It was to be performed on children the eighth day after birth, and on slaves when they were purchased; and all the family of Abraham were at once by this rite of circumcision brought within the covenant.

The dignity of Sarai, as the mother of the promised seed, B. C. 1898. was marked by the change of her name to SARAH (*princess*), and it was declared that she should "become nations; and kings of the people should be of her." Her son was to be named ISAAC (*laughter*), from the utterance of his father's feelings on the announcement. With him and his seed the covenant was to be continued in the new character of an "everlasting covenant," thus marking the distinction between its eternal and temporal blessings. The latter blessings were assured to Ishmael, in answer to Abraham's earnest prayer; but the covenant was "established with Isaac." Ishmael's share in the temporal promise was confirmed by his circumcision: and the rite is still observed by the Arabs and other Semitic races.

CHAPTER V.

ABRAHAM AND ISAAC—FROM THE CHANGE OF ABRAHAM'S NAME TO HIS DEATH.

[A. M. 2107-2182. B. C. 1897-1822.]

ABRAM, from the time when by this new name he received the full divine revelation and covenant, is presented to us in a higher character than before. The more open and familiar intercourse which he enjoys with Jehovah marks him peculiarly as “the friend of God.” Of this we have an example in Genesis xviii. As Abraham sat at his tent door, under the oak of Mamre, he became aware of the presence of “three *men*,” for such they seemed to him; and the same language is continually employed for the appearances of celestial beings in human form.

Afterward the chief speaker is denoted, first by the mere pronoun, which is often used when God is meant, and then by the name of JEHOVAH. Doubtless he was the “Angel Jehovah,” the “Word of God,” through whom God spake to the fathers, and who, when dwelling upon earth in the actual incarnation which such appearances prefigured, declared, “Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad.” It is simplest to regard the other two as attendant angels; and it appears, from the sequel, that while the chief of the three (Jehovah himself) remained behind in converse with Abraham, and then “went his way” to execute judgment upon Sodom, the other two were sent forward to rescue Lot.

Abraham offered to the “three men” that hospitality which is commemorated in the apostolic precept:—“Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.” He soon learnt the dignity of his visitors, when they inquired after Sarah, and rebuked her incredulity by repeating the promise that she should bear Abraham a son, and fixing the time for its fulfilment. They then departed, with their faces toward Sodom; and as Abraham brought them on the way, he was favored—in consideration of his character as the head of the chosen family, to whom he was to teach God’s righteous ways—with a revelation of the judgment coming upon Sodom and Gomorrah for their sins. Thus was the truth

revealed to the believing children of Abraham in every age, that God does execute judgment upon sinners, even in this life. But the patriarch's faith grasped at another truth, the privilege of intercession for such sinners.

Then follows that wondrous pleading, in which he who was "but dust and ashes," taking on himself to speak with God, obtained the pardon of the guilty cities, if but fifty, then if forty-five, and so on down to only ten, righteous men were found in them, and might have prevailed if he had continued to plead, for the sake of the *one* really there; for such seems the necessary complement of this great lesson that "men ought always to pray, and not to faint."

Meanwhile the two angels went on their mission to Sodom, whose people gave them a reception which filled up the measure of their sins. Even the sons-in-law of Lot despised their warning; and Lot himself was reluctantly dragged, with his wife and two daughters, from the devoted city. Even then, he could not quite tear himself from the scene where his worldly prosperity had been purchased by constant vexation of spirit, and he pleaded that one of the five cities might be preserved as his abode, because it was but a little one, whence the city, before named *Bela*, was called *Zoar*, that is, *little*. The sun was risen when Lot entered *Zoar*, and the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, with the two smaller cities of *Admah* and *Zeboiim*, which shared their fate, had begun another day of wanton revelry, when the heavens were overcast, and "Jehovah rained down upon them brimstone and fire from Jehovah out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground."

The plain in which the cities stood, hitherto fruitful "as the garden of Jehovah," became henceforth a scene of perfect desolation. Our Lord himself, and the apostles Peter and Jude, have clearly taught the lasting lesson which is involved in the judgment; that it is a type of the final destruction by fire of a world which will have reached a wickedness like that of Sodom and Gomorrah. A more special warning to those who, when once separated from an ungodly world, desire to turn back, is enforced by the fate of Lot's wife, who, when she looked back from behind him, became *a pillar of salt*. Lot himself, though saved from Sodom, fell, like Noah after the deluge, into vile intoxication, of which his own daughter took advantage to indulge the incestuous passion, from which sprang the races of *Moab* and *Ammon*.

After a long residence at Mamre, Abraham once more set forth



A PILLAR OF SALT.

upon his wanderings, turning toward "the south country, and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar." Here he and his descendants dwelt for a long time at BEERSHEBA, at the south-western extremity of the maritime plain, upon the borders of the desert. This was Abraham's *fourth resting-place* in the Holy Land. It continued till the latest times to be the southern boundary of the Holy Land, so that from Dan to Beersheba became the established formula to indicate the whole country. In this district the Philistines had already begun to form settlements, and a warlike king of this race, whose hereditary name was ABIMELECH (*Father-King*), reigned in the valley of Gerar. Here the deceit which

Abraham had put upon Pharaoh, by calling Sarah his sister, was acted again, and with the like result. The repeated occurrence of such an event, which will meet us again in the history of Isaac, can surprise no one acquainted with Oriental manners; but it would have been indeed surprising if the author of any but a genuine narrative had exposed himself to a charge so obvious as that which has been founded on its repetition. The independent truth of each story is confirmed by the natural touches of variety; such as, in the case before us, Abimelech's keen but gentle satire in recommending Sarah to buy a veil with the thousand pieces of silver which he gave to her husband. We may also observe the traces of the knowledge of the true God among Abimelech and his servants.

A dispute subsequently arose between Abraham and Abimelech



HAGAR AND ISHMAEL.

respecting a well in the neighborhood, marking "the importance which, in the migratory land of the East, was and is always attached to the possession of water." This dispute led to a treaty between Abraham and Abimelech, which gave to the well the name of "Beer-sheba," or *the well of the oath*, "because there they swore both of them." Here also "Abraham planted a grove,

and called on the name of Jehovah, the *everlasting God*;" in opposition doubtless to the deified heroes of the surrounding heathen.

It was during Abraham's abode at Beersheba that his hopes were crowned by the birth of his son ISAAC, when he himself was a hundred years old. At the "great feast" made in celebration of the weaning, "Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian, which she had born unto Abraham, mocking," and urged Abraham to cast out him and his mother. The patriarch, comforted by God's renewed promise that of Ishmael he would make a nation, sent them both away, and they departed and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba. Here the water being spent in the bottle, Hagar cast her son under one of the desert shrubs, and went away a little distance, "for she said, Let me not see the death of the child," and wept. "And God heard the voice of the lad, and the angel of the Lord called to Hagar out of heaven," renewed the promise already thrice given, "I will make him a great nation," and "opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water." Thus

miraculously saved from perishing by thirst, "God was with the lad; and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness; and became an archer." It is doubtful whether the wanderers halted by the well, or at once continued their way to "the wilderness of Paran," where he dwelt, and where "his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt."

Henceforward the story of Abraham is intertwined with that of Isaac, of whom it was said, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called." The plan of the sacred narrative passes over every detail that does not bear upon the history of the covenant itself, and carries us on to a period when Isaac had reached the age of intelligence. A tradition preserved by Josephus makes Isaac twenty-five years old at the time of the crowning trial of Abraham's faith; and we certainly gather from the Scripture narrative that he was an intelligent and willing party to the sacrifice of his life at the command of God. It is impossible to repeat this story, the most perfect specimen of simple and pathetic narrative, in any other words than those of the sacred writer. "And it came to pass, after these things, that God did tempt Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham: and he said, Behold, here I am. And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him* there for a burnt-

* This sacrifice took place in "one of the mountains" in the land of Moriah (Gen. xxii. 2). What the name of the mountain was we are not told; but it was a conspicuous one, visible from "afar off" (ver. 4). Nor does the narrative afford any data for ascertaining its position. A tradition which first appears in a definite shape in Josephus, and is now almost universally accepted, asserts that the "Mount Moriah" in 2 Chron. iii. 1, the eminence in Jerusalem on which Solomon built his temple, was the very spot of the sacrifice of Isaac. But the single occurrence of the name in this one passage of Chronicles is surely not enough to establish a coincidence, which, if we consider it, is little short of miraculous. Except in the case of Salem, and that is by no means ascertained—the name of Abraham does not appear once in connection with Jerusalem or the later royal or ecclesiastical glories of Israel. Moreover, Jerusalem is incompatible with the circumstances of the narrative of Genesis xxii. To name only two instances.—(1), The Temple mount cannot be spoken of as a conspicuous eminence. It is not visible till the traveller is close upon it at the southern edge of the valley of Hinnom, from whence he looks down upon it as on a lower eminence. (2), If Salem was Jerusalem, then the trial of Abraham's faith instead of taking place in the lonely and desolate spot implied by the narrative, where not even fire was to be obtained, and where no help but that of the Almighty was nigh, actually took place under the very walls of the city of Melchizedek. But, while there is no trace, except in the single passage quoted, of Moriah being attached to any part of Jerusalem—on the other hand, in the slightly different form of MOREH (Gen. xii. 6), it did exist attached to the town and neighborhood of Shechem, the spot of Abraham's first residence in Palestine. The sacrifice probably took place upon the lofty hill of Gerizim overlooking the town of Shechem, as the Samaritans have always asserted.

offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. And Abraham rose up early in the morning, and saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood for the burnt-offering, and rose up, and went unto the place of which God had told him. Then on the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, and saw the place afar off. And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you. And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took the fire in his hand, and a knife: and they went both of them together. And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering? And Abraham said, My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering:



ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.

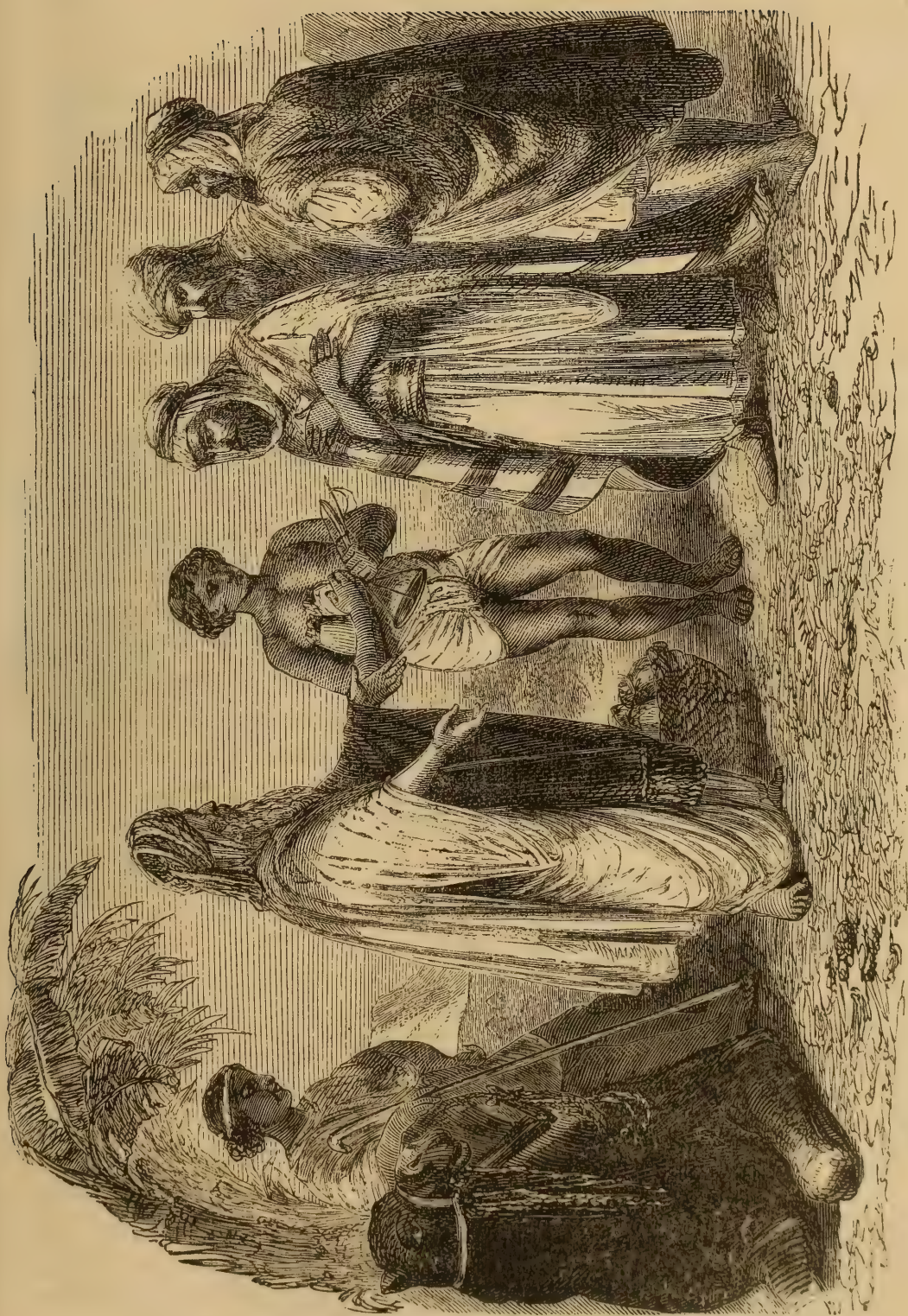
so they went both of them together. And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order; and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the knife to slay his son. And the angel of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: and he said, Here am

I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, behind him a ram caught in a thicket by his horns; and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen."

As a reward for the unhesitating faith and obedience of the patriarch, God renewed the covenant with him, in its special blessings to the children of Abraham, and in its full spiritual extension to all the families of the earth, and for the first time Jehovah confirmed his promise with an oath.

The next event recorded in Abraham's life is the *death* of Sarah, at the age of 127, at Hebron; so that Abraham

B. C. 1860.



ABRAHAM AND THE SONS OF HETH.

must have returned from Beersheba to his old home. This led to an interesting transaction between the patriarch and the people of the land in which he was a sojourner. God had "given him none inheritance in the land, no not so much as to set his foot on." He had used it to pitch his tent and feed his flocks on, but not a foot of it was actually his *property*. But now the sanctity of the sepulchre demanded that his burying-place should be his own; and he makes a bargain with Ephron the Hittite, in the presence of all the people of the city, in the course of which he behaves, and is treated by them, like a generous and mighty prince. Courteously refusing both the use of their sepulchres, and the offer of a place for his own as a gift, he buys for its full value of four hundred shekels' weight of silver, "current money with the merchant," the *Cave of Machpelah* (or the *Double Cave*),



REBEKAH AND ELIEZER.

close to the oak of Mamre, with the field in which it stood. Here he buried Sarah; here he was buried by his sons Isaac and Ishmael; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife, Jacob and his wife Leah, and perhaps Joseph. The sepulchre still exists under the Mosque of Hebron,

and was first permitted to be seen by Europeans since the Crusades, when it was visited by the Prince of Wales in 1862.

After the burial of Sarah, Abraham appears to have returned to Beersheba. His last care was for the marriage of his son Isaac to a wife of his own kindred, and not to one of the daughters of the Canaanites. His oldest servant undertook the journey to Haran, in Mesopotamia, where Nahor, the brother of Abraham, had settled, and a sign from God indicated the person he sought in Rebekah, the daughter of Bethuel, son of Nahor. The whole narrative is a vivid picture of pastoral life, and of the simple customs then used in making a marriage contract, not without characteristic touches of the tendency to avarice in the family of Bethuel, and particularly in his son Laban. The scene of Isaac's meeting with Rebekah seems to exhibit his character as that of quiet pious contemplation. He was forty years old



ISAAC MEETING REBEKAH.

when he married, and his residence was by the well of *Lahai-roi*, in the extreme south of Palestine.

It was not till twenty years later that Rebekah, whose barrenness was removed through the prayers of Isaac, bore twin sons, ESAU (*hairy*) or EDM (the *Red*) and JACOB (the *Supplanter*), whose future destiny was prophetically signified by the strange incidents which accompanied their birth. Their struggle in the womb portended the deadly animosity of the two nations that were to spring from them; and the grasp of the younger on the elder's heel betokened that craft in taking advantage of his brother which answered to his name. Their physical appearance was as different as their characters afterward proved: the ruddy and hairy Esau became a rough, wild hunter, the smooth Jacob a quiet denizen of the tent. These differences of character were fostered by the foolish partiality of their parents, the great curse of all family life:—"Isaac loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison: but Rebekah loved Jacob."

B. C. 1822. It was after the marriage of Isaac that Abraham formed a new union with *Keturah*, by whom he became the father of the *Keturaites* Arabs. *Keturah* seems to have been only a concubine, and her sons were sent away eastward, enriched with presents, as Ishmael had been during Abraham's life, lest the inheritance of Isaac should be disputed. To him Abraham gave all his great wealth, and died apparently at Beersheba "in a good old age, an old man, and full of years," his age being 175. His sons Isaac and Ishmael met at his funeral, and buried him in the Cave of Machpelah. Ishmael survived him just fifty years; and died at the age of 137.

CHAPTER VI.

ISAAC AND JACOB—FROM THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DEATH OF ISAAC.

[A. M. 2182-2288. B. C. 1822-1716.]

AFTER the death of Abraham, Isaac continued to dwell by the well of Lahai-roi, blessed by God. During his sojourn here, an event occurred which fixed the destinies of his sons. Esau, returning from hunting in a famished state, saw Jacob preparing some red pottage of lentils, and quickly asked for "some of that red, red." His impatience was natural, for food is not readily procured in an Eastern tent, and takes time to prepare. Jacob seized the occasion to obtain Esau's birthright as the price of the meal; and Esau consented with a levity which is marked by the closing words of the narrative—"thus Esau *despised* his birthright." For this the Apostle calls him "a *profane* person, who for one morsel of food sold his birthright," and marks him as the pattern of those who



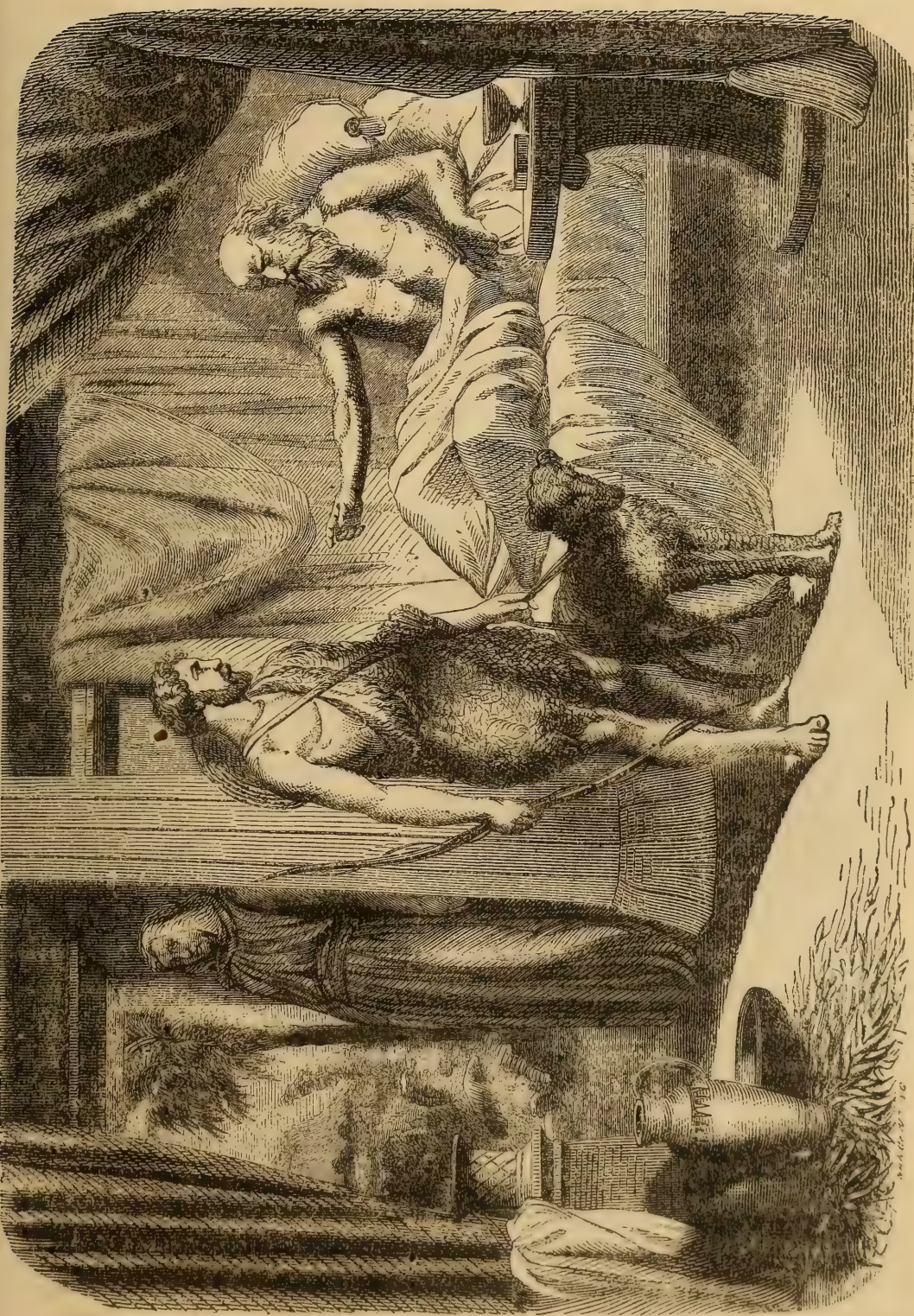
BURIAL OF ABRAHAM.

sacrifice eternity for a moment's sensual enjoyment. The justice of this judgment appears from considering what the birthright was, which he sold at such a price. Esau was, by right of birth, the head of the family, its prophet, priest and king; and no man can renounce such privileges, except as a sacrifice required by God, without "despising" God who gave them. But more than this: he was the head of the *chosen* family; on him devolved the blessing of Abraham, that "in his seed all families of the earth should be blessed;" and, in despising his birthright, he put himself out of the sacred family, and so became a "*profane* person." His sin must not be overlooked in

our indignation at the fraud of Jacob, which, as we shall see presently, brought its own retribution as well as its own gain.

B. C. 1805. Driven from Lahai-roi by a famine, Isaac was forbidden by God to go down to Egypt, and was commanded to remain in the land. At the same time the promise was renewed to him. He betook himself to his father's old residence at Beersheba; and here he practised the same deceit of which his father had been guilty, by giving out that his wife was his sister. The falsehood was discovered; but the remonstrance of Abimelech (apparently the son of Abraham's contemporary) was followed by special protection and respect both from king and people. Isaac now made an advance beyond the pastoral life—"He sowed in that land, and received in the same year an hundred-fold: and Jehovah blessed him." His prosperity roused the envy of the Philistines, who had filled up the wells dug by Abraham, as a precaution (it should seem) against his return. At length Abimelech desired Isaac to leave his country; and he retired along the valley of Gerar, digging his father's wells anew, and restoring their former names. Two wells so dug were disputed with him by the herdmen of Abimelech, and at once yielded by Isaac, who gave the wells the names of *Ezek* (*contention*) and *Sitnah* (*hatred*). His peaceful conduct not only secured him the quiet possession of a third well, which he named *Rehoboth* (*room*), but brought him a visit from Abimelech, who made a treaty with Isaac at a newly discovered well, which was hence called *Shebah* (*the oath*), and which gave its name a second time to Beersheba (*the well of the oath*). There is no reason to consider this as different from Abraham's Beersheba.

This tranquil course of Isaac's life, which presents a marked contrast to the varied incidents of Abraham's career, was vexed by the disobedience of Esau, who, at the age of forty married two Hittite wives, thus introducing heathen alliances into the chosen family. But a greater family trial was in store for Isaac. The approach of his hundredth year and the infirmity of his sight warned him to perform the solemn act by which, as prophet as well as father, he was to hand down the blessing of Abraham to another generation. Of course he designed for Esau the blessing which, once given, was the authoritative and irrevocable act of the patriarchal power; and he desired Esau to prepare a feast of venison for the occasion. Esau was not likely to confess the sale of his birthright, nor could Jacob venture openly to claim the benefit of his trick. Whether Rebekah knew of that transaction, or whether moved by partiality only, she came to



ESAU GOING FOR VENISON.

the aid of her favorite son, and devised the stratagem by which Jacob obtained his father's blessing. This chapter gives another example of the matchless power and beauty of the sacred narrative, in the quiet statement of the facts; the preparation of the scheme step by step; the suspicious scrutiny of Isaac; the persistent fraud with which Jacob baffles the passionate appeal made even after the blessing has been given—"Art thou my very son Esau?"—the horror of Isaac, and the despair of Esau when his return discovers the fraud; the weeping of the strong man, and his passionate demand—"Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me?" Like Ishmael, he received a temporal blessing, the fatness of the earth and the dew of heaven, the warrior's sword, qualified by subjection to his brother, whose yoke, however, he was at some time to break. The prophecy was fulfilled



JACOB OBTAINS THE BLESSING.

in the prosperity of the Idumæans, their martial prowess, and their constant conflicts with the Israelites, by whom they were subdued under David over whom they triumphed at the Babylonian Captivity, and to whom they at last gave a king in the person of Herod the Great. But all this was no compensation for the loss of the higher and spiritual blessing

which fell to the lot of Jacob, and which involved, in addition to all temporal prosperity, a dominion so universal that it could only be fulfilled by the kingdom of Messiah.

B. C. 1796. The *moral aspect* of the transaction is plain to those who are willing to see that the Bible represents the patriarchs as "men compassed with infirmity," favored by the grace of God, but not at all endowed with sinless perfection. It is just this, in fact, that makes their lives a moral lesson for us. Examples have occurred in the lives of Abraham and Isaac; but the whole career of Jacob is the history of a growing moral discipline. God is not honored by glossing over the patriarch's great faults of character, which were corrected by the discipline of severe suffering. We need not withhold indignant censure from Rebekah's cupidity on behalf of her favorite



JACOB'S VISION.

son—so like her family—and the mean deceit to which she tempts him. Nor is Isaac free from the blame of that foolish fondness, which, as is usual with moral weakness, gives occasion to crime in others. What, then, is the difference between them and Esau? Simply this—that they, in their hearts, honored the God whom he despised, though their piety was corrupted by their selfish passions. Jacob valued the blessing which he purchased wrongfully, and sought more wrongfully to secure. But Esau, whose conduct was equally unprincipled in desiring to receive the blessing which was no longer his, was rightly “rejected, when he would have inherited the blessing.” His selfish sorrow and resentment could not recall the choice he had made, or stand in the place of genuine repentance. “He found no place of repentance, though he sought it with tears,” and he is held forth as a great example of unavailing regret for spiritual blessings wantonly thrown away.

In his anger against Jacob, Esau resolved to kill him; but unwilling to distress his father, deferred the execution of his vengeance until Isaac’s death. Rebekah having become aware of his intention removed Jacob from this danger by sending him away to her family at Haran. Isaac approved the plan, as best calculated to secure a proper wife for Jacob, and repeating to him the blessing of Abraham, sent him on his way.

With his staff in his hand, the heir of the promises retraced, as a solitary wanderer, the path by which Abraham had traversed Canaan. At one stage of his journey he halted upon the sight of his grandfather’s encampment near Bethel, and here he passed the night, with a stone for his pillow. In this memorable spot, with the stones of the altar of the covenant lying around him, and his head probably resting upon one of them, he was visited by God in a dream. He beheld a flight of stairs reaching from earth to the gates of heaven, along which the angels of God were descending and ascending, some going forth on their missions as ministering spirits upon earth, and others returning to carry their reports to Him who had sent them forth. The vision was beautifully illustrative of God’s providence, and was succeeded by another vision in which Jehovah appeared to Jacob, and added to the renewal of the covenant a special promise of protection. Jacob awoke, conscious that he was in the presence of his Maker, of whom he had been unmindful when he had lain down, and promptly dedicated to him himself and all that God should give him. As a memorial of his vow, he set up the stone which had been his pillow for a monument, and consecrating it with

oil, called the place *Beth-el* (*the House of God*). The date of this, the turning point in Jacob's religious life, is fixed by subsequent computations to be his seventy-seventh year.

Pursuing his journey without further incident, he reached Padan-aram, the home of his mother's relatives. Upon his arrival there, he encountered his cousin Rachel, the daughter of his uncle Laban, giving water to her father's flocks at the well before the place. He recognized her and revealed himself to her, and after welcoming him, she took him to her father's house, where he was warmly greeted by Laban and his family.

It is not the custom in the East for a man to live on the bounty of his relative, and Jacob at once engaged to serve Laban as a shepherd for wages. Laban had two daughters. Leah, the elder, was



THE VEIL.

afflicted with a dullness or weakness of the eyes, but Rachel was a full-blown beauty. Jacob was deeply in love with her from the first, and agreed to serve Laban for seven years if he would give him Rachel. Even in this tender relation Jacob encountered the trickery which he had been so prompt to make use of for his own benefit. Laban entered into the agreement with him, but resolved to palm Leah off upon him, knowing that her defect would prevent

any one from seeking her in marriage. The forms of an eastern wedding, which require the bride to be closely veiled, made it easy for Laban to carry out the deception, and Jacob discovered the cheat only when too late to remedy it. Laban excused his knavery by saying that the customs of the country obliged him to marry the elder sister before the younger; but he gave Rachel also to Jacob, on condition that he should receive seven years' additional service for her. During these seven years, in which Jacob remained faithful to his agreement, there were born to him eleven sons and a daughter. Their names will be found further on.

After the birth of Joseph, his first son by Rachel, Jacob wished to become his own master; but Laban prevailed on him to serve him still longer for a part of the produce of his flocks, to be distinguished by certain marks. Laban endeavored to cheat him out of his wages,

but Jacob, by his superior knowledge of cattle breeding, was enabled to entirely defeat his father-in-law's schemes, and to reap all the advantage of the bargain. The whole transaction is illustrative of the defective morality of the times. God now commanded Jacob to return to the land of his birth, and the patriarch, gathering up his possessions, fled secretly from Laban. He had been twenty years in the service of his father-in-law—fourteen for his wives and six for his cattle. He crossed the Euphrates, struck across the desert by the great fountain at Palmyra; then traversed the eastern part of the plain of Damascus and the plateau of Bashan, and entered Gilead, which is the range of mountains east of the Jordan, forming the frontier between Palestine and the Assyrian desert.

As soon as
B. C. 1753.

he discovered Jacob's flight, Laban summoned his kindred, and set out in pursuit of him, his anger increased by the loss of his household gods (*teraphim*), which Rachel had secretly stolen. Overtaking the fugitives he demanded the return of his idols, and Rachel seeing that her folly had exposed her husband to capture,



JACOB FLEEING FROM LABAN.

ingeniously concealed the objects of her father's search, and Laban failing to find them ceased to be angry. Laban, forewarned by God not to injure Jacob, made a covenant with his son-in-law; and a heap of stones was erected as a boundary between them, and called Galeed (*the heap of witness*). "As in later times, the fortress on these heights of Gilead became the frontier post of Israel against the Aramaic tribe that occupied Damascus, so now the same line of heights became the frontier between the nation in its youth and the older Aramaic tribe of Mesopotamia. As now, the confines of two Arab tribes are marked by the rude cairn or pile of stones erected at the boundary of their respective territories, so the pile of stones and the tower or pillar, erected by the two tribes of Jacob and Laban, marked that the natural limit of the range of Gilead should be their actual limit also." Jacob now received a divine encouragement to

THE HEAP OF WITNESS.



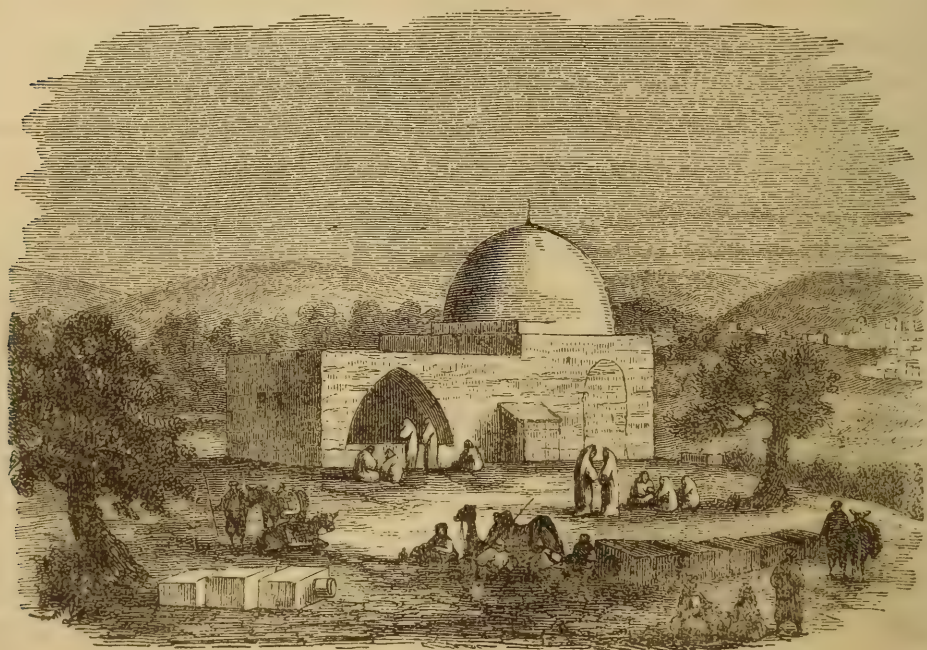
meet the new dangers of the land he was entering. His eyes were opened to see a troop of angels, "the host of God," sent for his protection, and forming a second camp beside his own; and he called the name of the place Mahanaim (*the two camps* or *hosts*).

His first danger was from the revenge of Esau, who had now become powerful in Mount Seir, the land of Edom. In reply to his conciliatory message, Esau came to meet him with four hundred armed men. Well might Jacob dread his purpose; for though such a retinue might be meant to do him honor, it might also be designed to insure revenge. "Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed." He had now reached the valley of the Jabbok. He divided his people and herds into two bands, that if the first were smitten, the second might escape. Then he turned to God in prayer, and his petition forms the first prayer on record. To prayer he adds prudence, and sends forward present after present that their reiteration might win his brother's heart. This done, he rested for the night; but, rising up before the day, he sent forward his wives and children across the ford of the Jabbok, remaining for a while in solitude to prepare his mind for the trial of the day. It was then that "a man" appeared and wrestled with him till the morning rose. This "man" was the "Angel Jehovah," and the conflict was a repetition in *act* of the prayer which we have already seen Jacob offering in *words*. This is clearly stated by the prophet Hosea: "By his strength he had power with God: yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept, and made supplication unto him." Though taught his own weakness by the dislocation of his thigh at the angel's touch, he gained the victory, by his importunity—"I will not let thee go except thou bless me"—and he received the new name of ISRAEL (*a prince of God*), as a sign that "he had prevailed with God, and should, therefore, prevail with man." Well knowing with whom he had to do, he called the place Peniel (*the face of God*), "for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved." The memory of his lameness, which he seems to have carried with him to his grave, was preserved by the custom of the Israelites not to eat of the sinew in the hollow of the thigh.

Jacob had descended into the valley of the Jabbok at sunrise, when he saw Esau and his troop. He divided his last and most precious band, placing first the handmaids and their children, then Leah and her children, and Rachel and Joseph last. Advancing before them all, he made his obeisance to Esau, who "ran to meet him, and fell on his neck and kissed him: and they wept." After a cordial inter-

view, Jacob prudently declined his brother's offer to march with him as a guard; and Esau returned to Mount Seir, and we hear no more of him except the genealogy of his descendants, the Edomites.

Jacob pursued his journey westward and halted at Succoth, so called from his having there put up "booths" (*Succoth*) for his cattle, as well as a house for himself. He then crossed the Jordan, and arrived at Shechem, which had grown since the time of Abraham into a powerful city, and was named after Shechem, the son of Hamor, prince of the Amorites. From them he bought a piece of land, *the first possession of the family in Canaan*, on which he pitched his tent, and built an altar to God, as the giver of his new name, and the God of the race who were ever to bear it—"God, the God of Israel" (*El-elohe-Israel*). The memory of his abode there is



RACHEL'S TOMB.

still preserved by "Jacob's Well," on the margin of which his divine Son taught the woman of Sychar (Shechem) a better worship than that of sacred places.

He was soon involved in a conflict with the Shechemites, through their violence to Dinah, and the treacherous revenge of Simeon and Levi, which afterward brought on them their father's curse. The city of Shechem was taken; but Jacob deemed it prudent to avoid the revenge of the Canaanites by retiring from the neighborhood. It seems probable that he returned afterward and rescued "from the Amorites with his sword and his bow" the piece of land he had

before purchased, and which he left, as a special inheritance, to Joseph.

B. C. 1732. Meanwhile Jacob returned, by the command of God, to Bethel, and performed the vows which he had there made when he fled from home, and received from God a renewal of the covenant. There Rachel's nurse, Deborah, died, and was buried beneath "the oak of weeping." As he journeyed southward, and was near Ephrath or Ephratah, the ancient name of Bethlehem, Rachel died in giving birth to Jacob's youngest son. The dying mother called him *Ben-oni* (*son of my sorrow*); but the fond father changed his name to BEN-JAMIN (*son of the right hand*). The grave of Rachel was long marked by the pillar which Jacob erected over it; and her memory was associated with the town of Bethlehem. Jacob's next resting-place, near the tower of Edar, was marked by the incest of Reuben, which forfeited his birthright. At length he reached the encampment of his father Isaac, at the old station of Mamre, beside Hebron. Here Isaac died at the age of 180 years, "old and full of days, and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him." This was thirteen years after Joseph was carried to Egypt; but the whole course of that narrative is reserved for the next chapter. The following is the list of Jacob's twelve sons, in their order of precedence, those of his wives ranking before those of their handmaids, with the significance of their names:

(i.) The sons of *Leah*: Reuben (*see! a son*), Simeon (*hearing*), Levi (*joined*), Judah (*praise*), Issachar (*hire*), Zebulun (*dwelling*).

(ii.) The sons of *Rachel*: Joseph (*adding*), Benjamin (*son of the right hand*).

(iii.) The sons of *Bilhah*, Rachel's handmaid: Dan (*judging*), Naphtali (*my wrestling*).

(iv.) The sons of *Zilpah*, Leah's handmaid: Gad (*a troop*), Asher (*happy*).

Besides Dinah (*judgment*), the daughter of Leah.

CHAPTER VII.

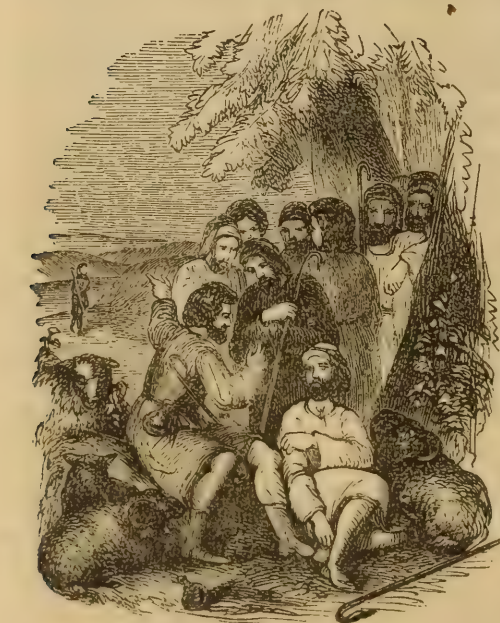
THE DESCENT INTO EGYPT—FROM THE SALE OF JOSEPH TO THE DEATH OF JOSEPH.

[A. M. 2275-2369. B. C. 1729-1635.]

WE must now go back over a period of thirteen years from the death of Isaac, in order to take up the narrative of the life of Joseph, one of the most charming episodes of the Scriptures, from the beginning. It will be well for the reader to remember that the death of Rachel and the birth of Benjamin probably occurred only a short time before Joseph was sold into Egypt. Up to this time he had been petted by his father as the youngest son, and was doubtless more than ever dear to him now as the child of his newly-lost Rachel. Although the character of Joseph is one of the purest to be found in Scripture, we see in it

the injurious effects of parental partiality. Joseph, elated unduly by his father's preference, became a censor and informer upon his brethren, and thus incurred their bitter hatred. Jacob to mark his preference for his favorite chose for him a special dress, or "coat of many colors," and this greatly increased the ill will of his brethren.

To add to their hostility, Joseph dreamed two dreams, which even his father, who seems to have discerned their prophetic character, censured his imprudence in repeating. In the first dream his brothers' sheaves of corn bowed down



JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

to his, which stood upright in their midst; a most fit type not only of their submission to him, but of their suing to him for corn in Egypt. The second dream was of a wider and higher import. It included his father and his mother, as well as his brethren (now defined as *eleven*),



in the reverence done to him; and the emblems chosen leave little doubt that the dream prefigured the homage of all nature to Him whose sign was the *Star* of Bethlehem, and of whom Joseph was one of the clearest types. Joseph's brethren resolved to avert the humiliation by his death.

Jacob was now sojourning at Hebron, with his father Isaac, while his sons fed his flocks where they could find pasture. During this period Joseph was sometimes with his brethren, and sometimes engaged in carrying messages from his father to them. Thus was he sent from Hebron to Shechem, where the piece of land purchased by Jacob of the Amorites had probably been recovered. Arriving there, he found that his brethren had gone farther north to Dothan, a place apparently in the neighborhood of Shechem. Thither he followed to deliver his father's loving message. His brethren recognized him at a distance, and determined to kill him as soon as he came up. Reuben opposed the bloody proposal, and succeeded in changing it to a resolution to seize him and cast him into a neighboring pit, from which the elder brother intended to rescue him and deliver him to his father. As soon as Joseph arrived, therefore, he was seized, stripped of his tunic, and cast into the pit. This done, his brethren coolly sat down to eat bread. While engaged in this repast they saw a caravan of Arab merchants approaching by the road which leads from Mount Gilead through Dothan to Egypt, carrying to the latter country the spices and gums of the Syrian desert. Reuben was absent when the caravan reached the pasture ground of Jacob's sons, and Judah now suggested that they might get rid of their prisoner without the guilt of murder, by selling him to the strangers. Accordingly, they drew him up from the pit, and when the caravan came up, sold him to the Midianite merchants for twenty shekels or pieces of silver, the very sum which was, under the law, the value of a male from five to twenty years old—a type of the sale of Him “whom the children of Israel did value.” To conceal their guilt, they killed a kid, dipped Joseph's tunic in its blood, and went back to their father with the tale that a wild beast had devoured Joseph; and their guilty consciences had to bear the trial of pretending to comfort him, while he refused all comfort.

Meanwhile Joseph was carried by the Midianite merchants into Egypt, and sold to Potiphar, who is described as “an officer of Pharaoh and the Captain of the Guard.” Potiphar's true office was *captain of the executioners*. Joseph found favor with his new master, and in course of time was made his overseer. It was the custom then in



JOSEPH SOLD BY HIS BRETHREN.

Egypt for great men to entrust their property to the management of scribes who kept a rigid and minute record of every transaction in order to protect their masters against the notorious dishonesty of the Egyptian laborers. Probably in no country was farming ever more systematic. Joseph's previous knowledge of tending flocks, and perhaps of husbandry, and his truthful character, exactly fitted him for the post of overseer.

Joseph was seventeen when he was sold into Egypt, and thirty "when he stood before Pharaoh." We are not told what portion of these thirteen years he spent in Potiphar's house. Probably not long, as it was his youthful beauty that tempted his master's wife, whose conduct agrees with the well-known profligacy of Egyptian women; as her desire for revenge, when Joseph withstood the temptation, is in accordance with the worst parts of our nature.

Potiphar probably had some suspicion of his wife's guilt, for instead of bringing Joseph before the tribunal, he merely confined him in the state prison, which was attached to his own house. There he left him, and his successor, also called Potiphar, finally came to have such confidence in the Hebrew captive that he put him in charge of the other state prisoners, "because Jehovah was with him, and that which he did Jehovah made it to prosper."

Two great officers of Pharaoh's court, the chief of the cup-bearers and the chief of the cooks, were now committed to the prison in consequence of their complicity in a conspiracy which had been detected.* They were given in charge of Joseph, whom they soon discovered to be unusually favored by God, and in consequence of this belief on their part, they asked him to interpret certain dreams which they related to him. He told them they were prophetic of their fate, and informed the cup-bearer that in three days he would be restored to his office, while to the chief of the cooks he imparted the alarming intelligence that in three days he would be hanged by order of the king. Each prediction was literally fulfilled.

The cup-bearer had promised Joseph that he would mention him to Pharaoh and endeavor to secure his liberty, but upon obtaining his own release, he utterly forgot Joseph, and did not think of him again until two years afterward when Pharaoh was disturbed by dreams which none of the scribes or wise men of Egypt could interpret. Then the chief cup-bearer remembered Joseph, and told Pharaoh of his power of interpreting dreams. The king at once summoned Joseph

* The terms *chief butler* and *chief baker*, in our version are misleading as to their dignity.

into his presence, and after relating to him his dreams, asked if he could interpret them. After bearing witness to the true God by ascribing all the power of interpretation to Him who had sent the dreams, Joseph explained to Pharaoh their significance, which, to an Egyptian, was most striking. The dream had been twofold, to mark its certain and speedy fulfilment. Seven years of an abundance extraordinary even for fruitful Egypt were to be followed by seven years of still more extraordinary dearth. In the first dream, the seven years of plenty were denoted by seven heifers, the sacred symbols of Isis, the goddess of production, which came up out of the river, the great fertilizer of Egypt, whose very soil is well called by Herodotus "the gift of the Nile." These were beautiful and fat, as they fed on the luxuriant marsh grass by the river's bank; but after them came up seven others, so ill-looking and lean that Pharaoh had never seen the like for badness, which devoured the seven fat kine, and remained as lean as they were before.

The second dream was still plainer. There sprang up a stalk of that branching Egyptian wheat, which now grows in our own fields from seed found in mummy-cases. That seen by Pharaoh had the unusual number of seven ears, full and good, denoting the seven years of plenty. Then there sprang up another stalk, also bearing seven ears, thin and blasted with the east wind, and so mildewed that they infected and consumed the seven good ears. The wise men of Egypt must indeed have

been fools not to understand these symbols, which embraced both the animal and vegetable wealth of the land.

Joseph did not content himself with interpreting the dreams, but went farther, and advised Pharaoh to put some competent person in charge of the kingdom, whose duty it should be to make provision against the seven years of famine by storing up the surplus corn of the years of plenty. Pharaoh was struck with the propriety of the suggestion, and declared that he knew of no one so fit to execute this task as Joseph himself, "in whom was the Spirit of God." He made



JOSEPH TREATS HIS BRETHREN
ROUGHLY.

him his vicegerent over Egypt, and gave him his own signet, the indisputable mark of royal power. He clothed him in fine linen robes, put on him a collar of gold, and caused him to ride in the second royal chariot, before which all the people were bidden to fall prostrate, and had him proclaimed with all the ceremonies which we still see represented on the monuments. Joseph now assumed the Coptic name of *Zaphnath Paaneah* (a revealer of secrets); and married Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest or prince of On (Heliopolis), by whom he had two sons during the seven years of plenty. As a token of the oblivion of his former life, he named his elder son Manasseh (forgetting), and he called the younger Ephraim (double fruitfulness), in grateful commemoration of his blessings. When Joseph afterward became his father's heir, the double share of the inheritance which fell to him was indicated by each of his sons ranking with the sons of Jacob as the head of a distinct tribe.

B. C. 1706. During the seven years of plenty, in which the yield was so abundant that the people were inclined to wastefulness, Joseph exerted himself with energy to lay up stores for the approaching famine. The ordinary royal impost was one-tenth of the proceeds of the country, and during the years of plenty this was raised to one-fifth, or a double tithe. The corn was stored up in each of the cities from the lands of which it was collected; and it was thus secured for orderly distribution in the years of famine. When that season arrived, its consumption was guarded by the same wise policy that had preserved it from being wasted in the years of plenty. The demand was not only from Egypt, but from the neighboring countries, Canaan, and probably parts of Syria, Arabia, and Africa, to which the famine extended, and whose corn was soon exhausted. We may assume that the Egyptians also soon used up their private stores. Joseph then opened all the store-houses and sold unto the Egyptians; "and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to buy corn, because the famine was so sore in all lands."

At the end of two years (see Gen. xlv. 6) all the money of the Egyptians and Canaanites had passed into Pharaoh's treasury. At this crisis we do not see how Joseph can be acquitted of raising the despotic authority of his master on the broken fortunes of the people; but yet he made a moderate settlement of the power thus acquired. First the cattle and then the land of the Egyptians became the property of Pharaoh, and the people were removed from the country to the cities. They were still permitted, however, to cultivate their



PUTTING THE CUP IN BENJAMIN'S SACK.

lands as tenants under the crown, paying a rent of one-fifth of the produce, and this became the permanent law of the tenure of land in Egypt; but the land of the priests was left in their own possession.

The seven years' famine had the most important bearing on the chosen family of Israel. When all the corn in Canaan was exhausted, Jacob sent his sons to buy in Egypt; but he kept back Benjamin "lest mischief should befall him." Probably he would not trust Rachel's remaining child with his brethren. We need not recount that well-known narrative of their two visits to Joseph, and his final discovery of himself.

We do not think that Joseph was unnecessarily harsh to his brethren, or that he went a step farther than was required, in order to



JOSEPH'S FORGIVENESS.

gain over them the power which he was ready to use for their good. The short imprisonment of Simeon was but a taste of the sorrow to which he and his brothers had subjected their brother for fourteen years. The getting of Benjamin into his power was needful, lest Jacob's fondness should frustrate all his plans; and in the final scene of recognition he was all tenderness and forgiveness, and not a word of reproach escaped him.

Having recognized in his brothers the unconscious instruments of God's providence, he himself

became almost as unconsciously the instrument of carrying out the plan which Jehovah had revealed to Abraham. Wishing to secure to his father and brethren a safe and happy retreat in Egypt, he determined to remove them from Canaan to the country where his great power would enable him to provide for them.

So he sent for his father and the whole family, and B. C. 1706. brought them from Beersheba into Egypt, and God encouraged Jacob by a vision, commanding him to go down, and promising to bring him up again in the person of his descendants, who are henceforth called by the collective name of Israel, and assuring him that Joseph should close his eyes. So he went down, with his sons and their wives and children, and all their cattle. The house of

Israel now numbered seventy souls, without reckoning wives. The number is thus made up:—

I. The children of Leah, 32, viz:—

(1.) Reuben and four sons.....	5
(2.) Simeon and six sons.....	7
(3.) Levi and three sons.....	4
(4.) Judah and five sons (of whom two were dead) and two were grandsons.....	6
(5.) Issachar and four sons.....	5
(6.) Zebulun and three sons.....	4
Dinah.....	1

II. The children of Zilpah, considered as Leah's, 16, viz:—

(7.) Gad and seven sons.....	8
(8.) Asher: four sons, one daughter, and two grandsons.....	8

III. The children of Rachel, 14, viz:—

(9.) Joseph (see below).	
(10.) Benjamin and ten sons.....	11

IV. The children of Bilhah, considered as Rachel's, 7, viz:—

(11.) Dan and one son.....	2
(12.) Naphtali and four sons.....	5

Total of those "that came with Jacob into Egypt"..... 66

To these must be added Jacob, Joseph, and two sons..... 4

Total of Israel's house..... 70

These are the numbers of the Hebrew text, but the LXX. complete the genealogy by adding the children of Manasseh and Ephraim, who of course ranked with those of the sons of Jacob, namely, Machir, the son of Manasseh, and Galeed (Gilead), the son of Machir (2); Sutalaam (Shutelah) and Taam (Tathath), the sons of Ephraim, and Edom, the son of Sutalaam (3), making five in all. St. Stephen naturally quotes the LXX., the version commonly used, especially by the Hellenistic Jews, with whom his discussion began.

On their arrival in Egypt, Joseph, after a most affecting meeting with his father, presented five of his brethren to Pharaoh; and the king being informed that they were shepherds, a class held in abomination by the Egyptians, gave them for their separate abode the land of Goshen* or Rameses, which was the best pasture-ground in

* The "land of Goshen," also called Goshen simply, appears to have borne another name, "the land of Rameses" (Gen. xlvii. 11), unless this be the name of a district of Goshen. It was between Joseph's residence at the time and the frontier of Palestine, and apparently the extreme province toward that frontier (Gen. xlv. 29. Gen. xlv. 33, 34, shows that Goshen was scarcely regarded as a part of Egypt Proper, and was not peopled by Egyptians—characteristics that would positively indicate a frontier province. The next mention of Goshen con-

all Egypt, and intrusted to them his own flocks, while Joseph supplied them with bread during the remaining five years of famine. That they were tillers of the land, as well as shepherds, is clear from their being employed "in all manner of service in the field" (Exod. i. 14), and from the allusion of Moses to "Egypt, where thou sowedst thy seed and wateredst it" (Deut. x. 11).

Joseph next brought his father before Pharaoh, and the aged patriarch bestowed his blessing on the mighty king. In reply to Pharaoh's inquiry about his age, he said:—"The days of my pilgrimage are 130 years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage."

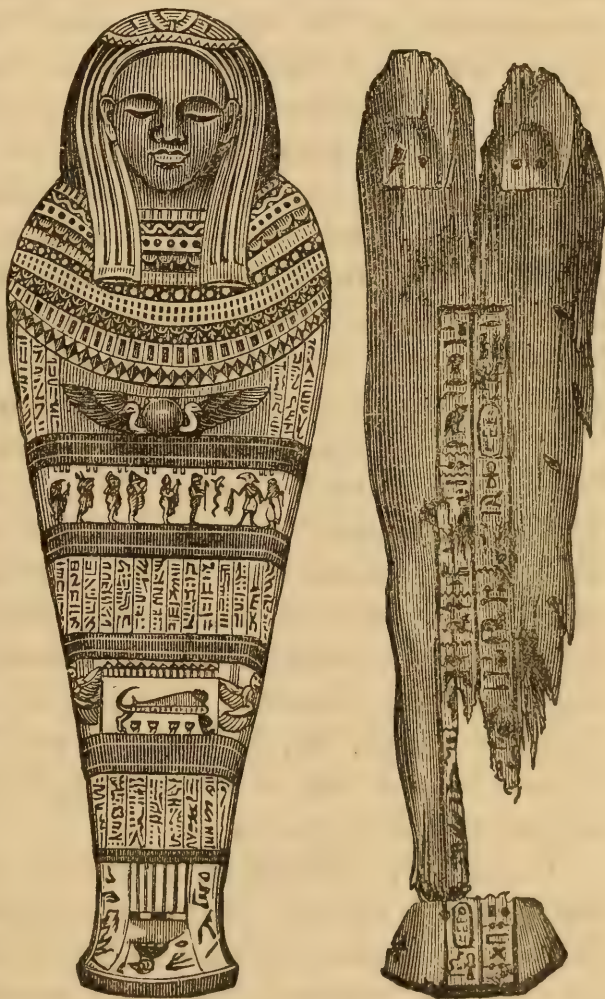
Thus was begun the first portion of the promise made by Jehovah to Abraham. That promise had now been given two hundred years, and the chosen family had neither possessions nor alliances in the promised land. But they would soon have sought for both; and the character already manifested by Jacob's sons augured ill for their possessing either purity or piety among the Canaanites. The chosen race was no longer to be severed from the rejected branches, as in the case of Ishmael and Esau; but the twelve sons of Jacob were to found the twelve tribes of Israel, even the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah being legitimated and reckoned as belonging to Leah and Rachel respectively. Their present relation to Canaan must be broken off, that it might be formed anew in due time. They must be placed among a people with whom they could not mix, but from whom they might learn the arts of civilization and industry; and there, under the discipline of affliction, the family must be consolidated into the nation.

The few remaining years of Jacob's life were spent in B. C. 1706. tranquillity and abundance. He lived seventeen years in Egypt, and beheld his descendants "multiply exceedingly." The

firms the previous inference that its position was between Canaan and the Delta (Gen. xlvii. 1, 5, 6, 11). Goshen was a pastoral country, where some of Pharaoh's cattle were kept. The clearest indications of the exact position of Goshen are those afforded by the narrative of the Exodus. The Israelites set out from the town of Rameses in the land of Goshen, made two days' journey to "the edge of the wilderness," and in one day more reached the Red Sea. At the starting-point two routes lay before them, "the way of the land of the Philistines . . . that [was] near," and "the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea" (Ex. xiii. 17, 18). From these indications we infer that the land of Goshen must have in part been near the eastern side of the ancient Delta, Rameses lying within the valley now called the *Wádi-t-Tumeylát*, about thirty miles in a direct course from the ancient western shore of the Arabian Gulf.

chief record of this period is his prophetic blessing on his sons—one of the most important passages in the whole Bible.

As he felt his end approaching, he sent for Joseph and made him swear that he would not bury him in Egypt, but carry him to the sepulchre of his fathers. Soon after this, Joseph heard that his father was sick; and he went to visit him with his sons, Manasseh and Ephraim. The dying patriarch blessed Joseph and his sons, in the name of the “God, before whom his fathers Abraham and Isaac had walked, the God who had fed him all his life long, the Angel who had redeemed him from all evil.” He claimed Ephraim and Manasseh for his own, placing them even before Reuben and Simeon, whose lust and violence had forfeited their birthright; and henceforth they were numbered among the heads of the tribes of Israel. Throughout the whole scene, he gave Ephraim the precedence over Manasseh; and, though unable to see, he crossed his hands, disregarding Joseph’s opposition; so that in blessing them his right hand was on Ephraim’s head, and his left on Manasseh’s. Thus was added one more lesson of God’s sovereign choice to the examples of



EGYPTIAN MUMMIES.

Abel, Shem, Abram, Isaac, and himself, who were all younger sons. He foretold for them a prosperity which would make them the envy of the other tribes of Israel; and he ended by giving Joseph an extra portion above his brethren, thus marking him as his heir, in respect of *property*; for the *royal power* was given to Judah, and the *priesthood* was afterward assigned to Levi. The *division* of these three great functions of the patriarchal government is already a mark of the transition from the *family* to the *nation*.

B. C. 1689. Having thus given Joseph his separate and special blessing for himself and his two sons, Jacob called all his sons to hear the last words of Israel their father. He plainly declared that his words were of prophetic import, and that their fulfilment would reach even to *the last days* (Gen. xlix. 1). Could we expound them fully, we should probably find that, in most, if not all the several blessings, there is a reference—first, to the personal character and fortunes of the twelve patriarchs; secondly, to the history and circumstances of the tribes descended from them; and, lastly, a typical allusion to the twelve tribes of the spiritual Israel. We can trace the first two elements in all cases, and the last is conspicuous in the blessings on Judah and Joseph, the two heads of the whole family. But the details of the interpretation are confessedly most difficult. The whole prophecy should be compared with “the blessing, wherewith Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel before his death.” Like the latter, Jacob’s prophecy contains a *blessing* on each tribe, though in some cases it is almost disguised under the censure which his sons had incurred.

I. REUBEN, the eldest son, is acknowledged as his father’s “strength and the beginning of his might,” and as “excelling in dignity and power;” for such was his privilege by right of birth. He is always named first in the genealogies, and his numerous and powerful tribe took the lead in war. But he had forfeited his special birthright by a shameful act of wantonness, which is compared to water bursting its bounds. And not only did Reuben yield the royal dignity to Judah, but, the possessions of the tribe lying in the most exposed position east of the Jordan, they were the first to become subject to a foreign power.

II. and III. SIMEON and LEVI are named together, as akin in character, and together they are cut off from succeeding to the place forfeited by Reuben, for their cruelty to the Shechemites. The penalty of being “scattered in Israel,” instead of having a share in the inheritance, reads like a curse; but it was turned into a blessing. The tribe of Levi, having redeemed its parent’s fault by taking the Lord’s side in the matter of the golden calf, was consecrated to the priesthood, and, though they had no inheritance in Israel, they enjoyed a part of the inheritance of all the rest. Simeon early lost consequence among the tribes. His territory, which lay on the extreme south-west border, was never wrested from the Philistines. Many members of the tribe gained subsistence and honor as teachers, “scattered” among all the other tribes.

IV. JUDAH is announced, in a grand burst of prophetic fervor, as adding to his other dignities that of being the ancestor of the Messiah. In fact, the promise, which has been limited step by step, is now centred in this tribe. The key-note of the whole blessing is in the meaning of Judah's name, PRAISE; and it includes the following points:—

(1.) Precedence among his brethren and victory over his enemies.

(2.) He is denoted by a fit symbol, which is varied to give it a complete force—the lion's whelp, exulting over the prey in youthful vigor, the lion couching in his den, the lioness whom none may provoke but at their peril. It was doubtless from this prophecy that the tribe of Judah took a lion's whelp for its standard, with the motto, "Rise up, Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered."

(3.) Then follows a plain declaration of the *royalty* of Judah. From him was descended David, the son of Jesse, and in his house the sceptre of Judah remained, while the rebellious kingdom of the other tribes had many different dynasties, till the Babylonish Captivity. The civil rulers of the restored state (now called *Jews*, *Judæi*, because belonging chiefly to this tribe) were at first of the house of David, as in the case of Zerubbabel. Even though the peculiar religious character of the new commonwealth threw the chief power into the hands of the priests, and though Judas Maccabæus and his line of princes were of the race of Levi, the nation which they governed was composed essentially of the tribe of Judah. And thus "the sceptre did not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet," till the usurpation of the Idumæan Herod gave a sign of "the coming of the SHILOH," which was verified by the birth of Jesus Christ, the Son of David and of Judah.

V. ZEBULUN's lot is predicted in terms which exactly describe the position of the tribe between the Lake of Tiberias and the Mediterranean, bordering on the coasts of the Phœnicians, and sharing in their commerce.

VI. ISSACHAR is described by "the image of the 'strong-boned he-ass'—the large animal used for burdens and field-work, not the lighter and swifter she-ass for riding—'couching down between the two hedgerows,' chewing the cud of stolid ease and quiet—which is very applicable, not only to the tendencies and habits, but to the very size and air of a rural agrarian people, while the sequel of the verse is no less suggestive of the certain result of such tendencies when unrelieved by any higher aspirations—'He saw that rest was good, and the land pleasant, and he bowed his back to bear and became a slave to tribute'

—the tribute imposed on him by the various marauding tribes who were attracted to his territory by the richness of the crops." The vale of Esdraelon, which just corresponds to the territory of Issachar, was the most fertile land in Palestine.

VII. DAN, like Judah, is described by the significance of his own name. His territories were at the two opposite extremities of the land, and it is doubtful whether the delineation of Dan in Jacob's blessing relates to the original settlement on the western outskirts of Judah, or to the northern outpost. "Dan," the judge, "shall judge his people;" he, the son of the concubine no less than the sons of Leah; he, the frontier tribe no less than those in the places of honor, shall be "as one of the tribes of Israel." "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path"—that is, of the invading enemy by the north or by the west, "that biteth the heels of the horse," the indigenous serpent biting the foreign horse unknown to Israelite warfare, "so that his rider shall fall backward." And his war-cry as from the frontier fortresses shall be, "For thy salvation, O Lord, I have waited.

VIII. GAD'S fortune, too, is contained in his name, B. C. 1689. which is repeated with a play on the word: "A *plundering troop* shall *plunder* him, but he will plunder at their heels." As one of the tribes east of Jordan, Gad was among the first carried captive; and perhaps Jacob refers to this, promising that his enemies shall not triumph to the end—a promise which belongs also to the spiritual Israel.

IX. ASHER (the *happy* or *blessed*) is promised the richest fruits of the earth. His land, some of the most fertile in the north of Palestine, yielded him "fat bread" and "royal dainties," and enabled him to "dip his foot in oil." But this wealth was purchased by inglorious ease and forbidden alliances with the heathen, whom he failed to drive out. No great action is recorded of this tribe, and it furnished no judge or hero to the nation. "One name alone shines out of the general obscurity—the aged widow, 'Anna, the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Aser,' who, in the very close of the history, departed not from the Temple, but 'served God with fastings and prayers night and day.'"

X. NAPHTALI'S blessing, also highly figurative, is obscured in our version by a mistranslation. It should be

"Naphtali is a towering terebinth;
He hath a goodly crest."

The description, like Deborah's of

"Naphtali on the high places of the field,"

agrees with the position of the tribe among the highlands between Lebanon and the Upper Jordan, from its sources to the Sea of Galilee.

XI. The blessing on JOSEPH forms the climax of the father's fondness and the prophet's fervor. Taking his name (*adding or increase*) as a sign both of his past abundance and his future enlargement, he compares him to a fruitful vine, or rather a branch of the vine of Israel, throwing its shoots over the wall of the cistern by which it is planted; and he promises his favorite son every form of blessing that man could desire or enjoy. As in all his history, so in this prophecy especially, Joseph is one of the most eminent types of Christ. The symbols of the vine, of which He is the root, and the members of His church the branches, and of the living water by which the living tree is nourished, are expounded by himself.

XII. BENJAMIN is described as a wolf ravening for his prey, and successful in obtaining it—an image taken perhaps from the wild beasts, such as wolves, foxes, jackals, and hyenas, which infest the defiles of the territory of Benjamin. Marked as is the contrast to the majestic strength of Judah the lion, the warlike character is common to both tribes, and they were as closely connected in their history as the lion and the jackal are believed to be in fact.

The concluding words show that this was a formal appointment of Jacob's twelve sons to be the twelve heads of the chosen race, now becoming a nation, instead of its having one head as hitherto; and also that the blessings and prophecies of the dying patriarch had respect rather to the tribes than to their individual ancestors; and henceforth the tribes are continually spoken of as if they were persons.

Having added one more injunction to all his sons, to bury him in the Cave of Machpelah, Jacob "gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up his spirit, and was gathered unto his people" at the age of 147. After a burst of natural grief, Joseph gave orders for his embalmment, and kept a mourning of forty days, according to the Egyptian custom. He then went, by Pharaoh's permission, with all his brethren, and the elders both of Israel and Egypt, and a great military retinue, to carry the body of Jacob into Canaan. Avoiding the warlike Philistines, they made a circuit to Atad, near the Jordan, where they kept so great a mourning for seven days, that the astonished Canaanites called the place Abel-Mizraim (*the mourning of Egypt*). Proceeding thence to Hebron, Jacob's sons buried him in the Cave of Machpelah.

On their return to Egypt, Joseph's brethren, fearing the effect of

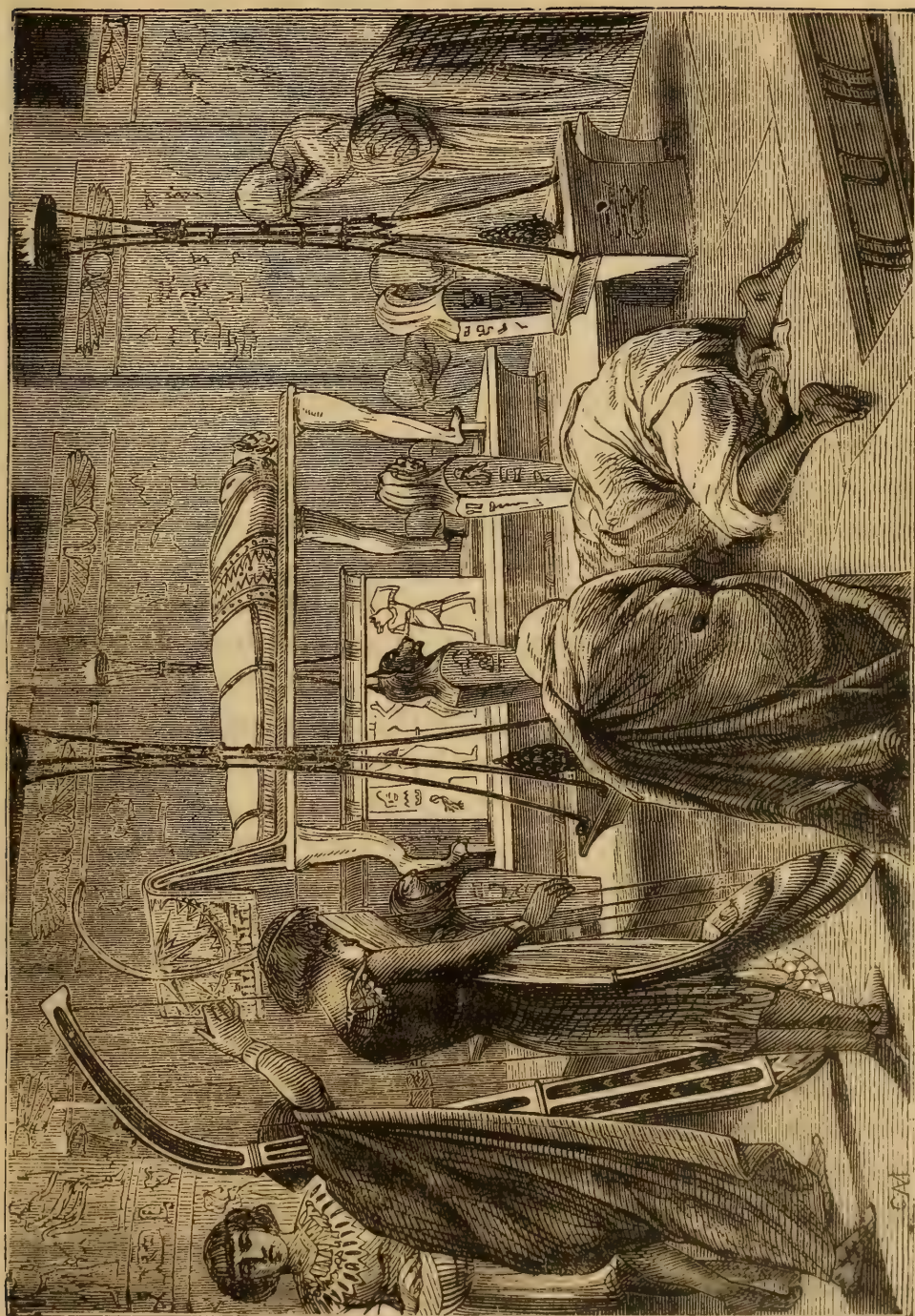
their father's removal, sought his forgiveness, and made submission to him. With tears of love, and disclaiming the right to judge them, which was God's alone, he returned the memorable answer—"Ye thought evil against me, but God meant it unto good." He promised still to nourish them and theirs: "And he comforted them, and spake kindly unto them."

Joseph survived his father for fifty-four years, still enjoying, as we may assume, his honors at the court under the same dynasty, though possibly under a succession of kings. He saw Ephraim's children of the third generation, and had Manasseh's grandchildren on his knees. At length he died at the age of 110. He was embalmed and placed in a sarcophagus, but not buried. For before his death he had predicted to his brethren their return from Egypt to the promised land; and he had bound them by an oath to carry his remains with them.

Through all their afflictions, the children of Israel kept the sacred deposit of Joseph's bones, and doubtless they often consoled themselves with his dying promise and the memory of his greatness. Amid the terrors of that "memorable night," when God led the people out of Egypt, Moses did not forget the trust. When the people were settled in Canaan, they buried Joseph at Shechem, in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought from the Amorites, and which he gave as a special inheritance to Joseph.

Of the other patriarchs we are only told that "Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation." But Stephen adds this remarkable statement: "Jacob went down into Egypt and died, *he and our fathers, and were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor, the father of Sychem.*"

Though all the Hellenistic Jews "were unable to resist the wisdom and spirit by which he spake," modern Christian critics have discovered that Stephen confounded Abraham's purchase of Machpelah from the Hittites with Jacob's purchase near Shechem from the Amorites. But after we have corrected the obvious blunder of a copyist, by reading *Jacob* for *Abraham*, the question remains—Were Jacob and all his sons buried at Shechem, in the same sepulchre as Joseph? Not necessarily. The passage may simply mean that Joseph's tomb at Shechem was regarded as the family sepulchre. Whether the bones of his brethren were placed in or beside the sarcophagus of Joseph, and whether the remains of Jacob were removed from Hebron to Shechem, are questions suggested, but we scarcely think determined, by the words of Stephen.



EMBALMING THE BODY OF JOSEPH.

The interval between the death of Joseph and the beginning of the bondage in Egypt is dismissed with the brief but emphatic statement, that "the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them." The last words may imply that, while their main settlement was still at Goshen, members of the race were scattered over the country; and in spite of the system of caste, they may have found employment as artificers and soldiers, as well as shepherds. If this were so, they were again restricted to the land of Goshen by the king who began to oppress them, and were thus collected for their departure. Besides the information contained in the genealogies, only one event is recorded during this period—the unsuccessful predatory expedition of Zabad, the sixth in descent from Ephraim, against the Philistines. This repulse happening only a short time before the Exodus, will help to account for the people's fear of the Philistines. As Stephen brings down the prosperity of the people till near the time of the Exodus, the bondage must have begun only a short time before the birth of Moses.

The whole period of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt is reckoned at 430 years in the account of their departure. It is impossible to take this number literally, consistently with other chronological data; but there can be no difficulty in understanding it of the *whole pilgrimage* of the chosen family, from the time when Abram was called to leave his home for "a land that he should *afterward* receive as an inheritance," to the time when his heirs did actually receive it. And accordingly St. Paul reckons 430 years from the promise made to Abraham to the giving of the Law (B. C. 1921–B. C. 1491, according to the received chronology). In the covenant with Abraham, the period is stated at 400 years. We cannot be surprised at a difference of thirty years above the round number being neglected in a prophecy; besides, some years had already elapsed, and if we reckon from the last complete promise, we have only seven years above the 400. The 430 years may be divided into two equal periods—215 years for the pilgrimage in Canaan (B. C. 1921–1706), and 215 for the residence in Egypt (1706–1491). The bondage itself was probably less than 100 years, as the whole period from the death of Joseph to the Exodus was 144 years (B. C. 1635–1491).

BOOK III.

FROM MOSES TO JOSHUA—THE EXODUS OF THE CHOSEN NATION,
AND THE GIVING OF THE LAW FROM SINAI.

[A. M. 2404—2553. B. C. 1600 (cir.) 1451.]

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EGYPTIAN BONDAGE AND MISSION OF MOSES TO THE EXODUS.

[A. M. 2404—2513. B. C. 1600 (cir.) 1491.]

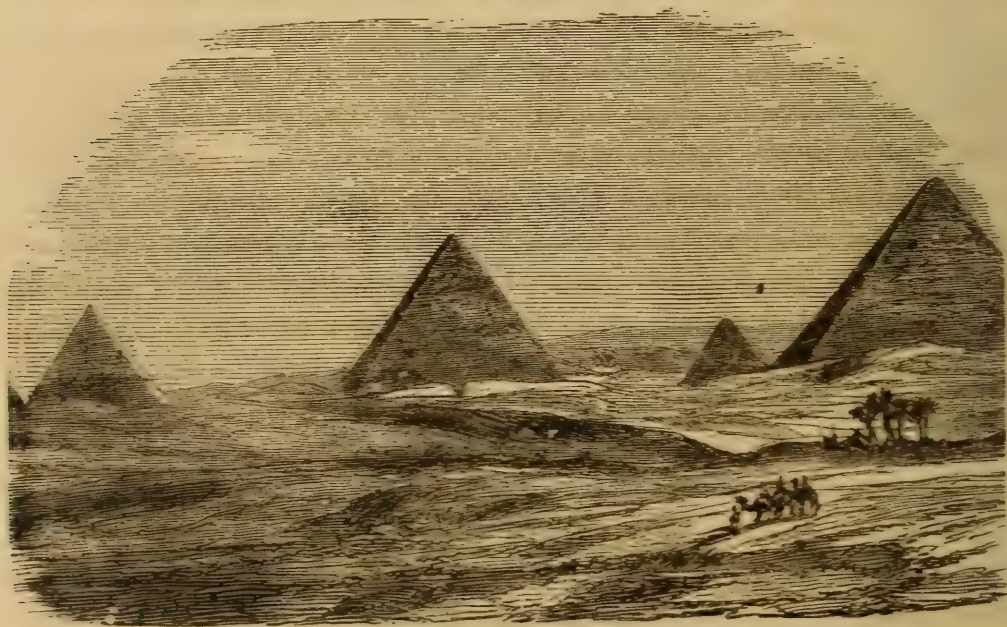
THE story of the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt begins in these words, "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph." Common chronology assigns the event to a period at or immediately following the beginning of the sixteenth century B. C.; and it is probable that the language quoted above refers to a change of dynasty. But whether that change consisted in the expulsion of the shepherds and the rise of the great Eighteenth Dynasty of native Kings, is uncertain. Be this as it may, we see the new monarch dreading some foreign war, and regarding the Israelites, who "were more numerous and mightier than his own subjects," with jealous dread, fearful that upon the breaking out of hostilities they would make common cause with the enemy against him. Influenced by this fear, he began to put in force a series of measures designed to prevent their rapid increase, as well as to keep them from escaping out of the land, which he dreaded as much as their hostility to him. He adopted the policy of reducing them to slavery; and required of them the execution of a series of severe tasks, which he believed would be so onerous as to be fatal to many of them. Their labor consisted in field work, and especially in making bricks, and building the treasure cities (probably for storing up corn), Pithom and Raamses. The severer the labor required of them, the more they grew however, and their increase was so rapid that Pharaoh at length resolved upon a cruel and infamous plan of weakening them. He ordered the Hebrew midwives to kill all the male children at their birth, but to preserve the females alive. The midwives, however, "feared God," and refused to obey the tyrant's barbarous edict;

B. C.
1600 (cir.)



LUXOR, FROM THE RIVER NILE.

and they were rewarded by the distinction given to their families in Israel. Their names were Shiphrah and Puah. Pharaoh then ordered the Egyptians to drown all the new-born sons of the Israelites in the Nile, but to save the girls.



THE PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT.

B. C. 1571. This cruel edict led, by the providence of God, to the rearing up at Pharaoh's own court of the future deliverer of Israel. Amram, the son of Kohath, and grandson of Levi, had

espoused Jochebed, also of the tribe of Levi, and at the time of the issuing of the king's edict, they had already two children, a daughter called Miriam (the same name as the *Mary* of the New Testament), and a son named Aaron. Soon after the promulgation of the edict a second son was born to them, a beautiful babe. The mother, anxious to screen him from the fate of his race, hid him for three months, and when she could no longer hide him in her own house, placed him in a water-proof basket or ark of papyrus daubed with bitumen, and carrying it to the river shore, laid it among the rushes which grew along the banks of the Nile, and then went back to her home, leaving Miriam to watch the fate of the babe. She had scarcely departed when the daughter of the king of Egypt came down to the river to bathe. Seeing the basket floating upon the water, she sent one of her maidens to bring it to her. As she opened the basket, the babe wept, and the ten-

der-hearted princess, touched with compassion, exclaimed, "This is one of the Hebrews' children." At this moment Miriam came forward, and having received the princess' permission to fetch a nurse, she went and brought the child's own mother, to whom the

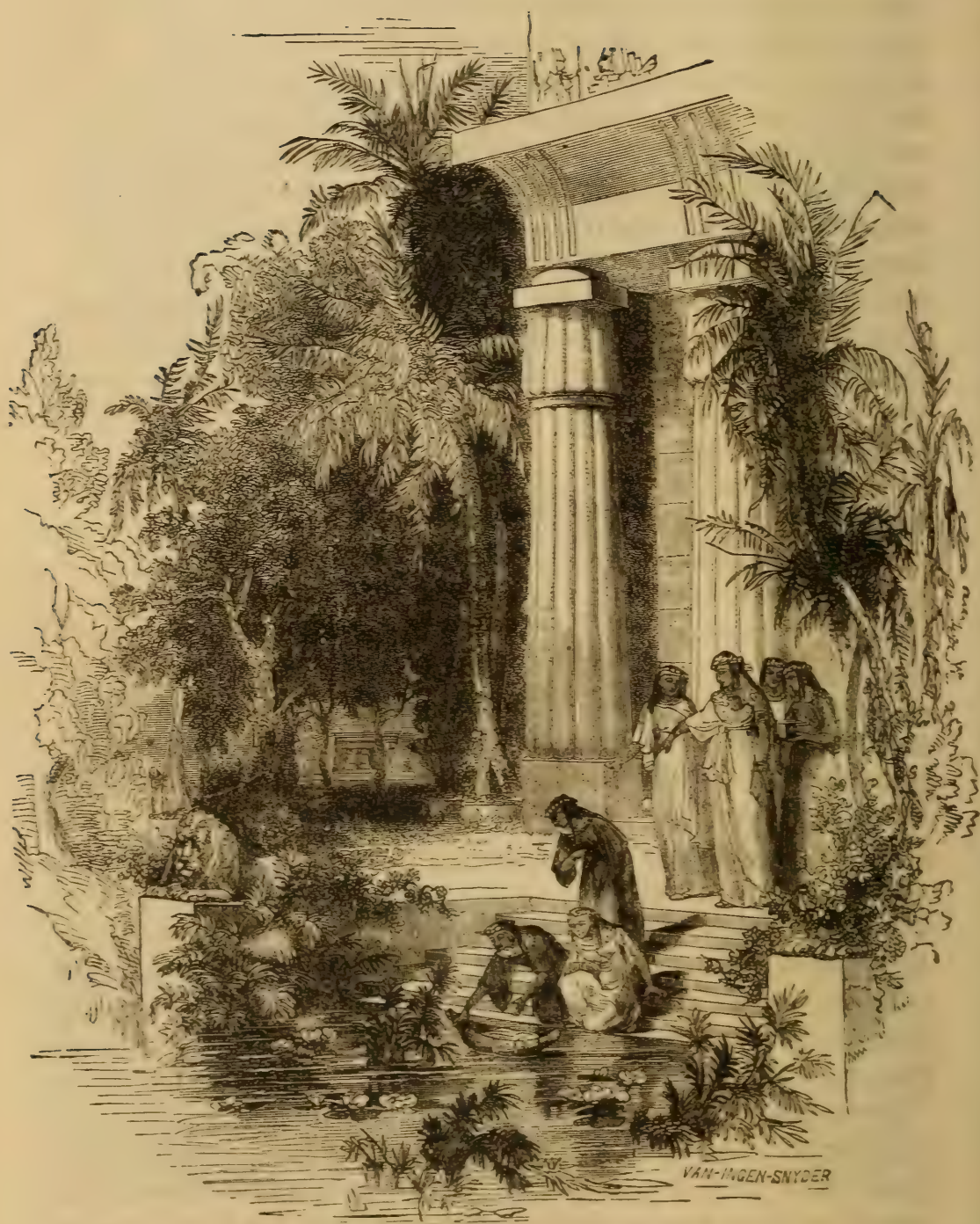


ISRAELITES LABORING IN EGYPT.

princess committed the infant, charging her to take it and nurse it as the "son of Pharaoh's daughter." While she reared him as one of the blood royal, we may be very sure the pious mother instilled into her son the precepts of the true faith and the history of his own people; but in all other respects he was trained to manhood as an Egyptian prince.

St. Stephen tells us that Moses, as the foundling was called, was "mighty in words and in deeds;" but we know nothing more of his history until he had reached the age of forty years.* We may be sure that the sufferings of his countrymen had touched him very

* This date is given by St. Stephen, and is confirmed by the whole narrative in the Pentateuch, which divides the life of Moses into three equal periods of forty years each. During the first period he was an Egyptian, during the second an Arabian, and during the third, the leader of Israel.



VAN-INGEN-SNYDER

FINDING OF MOSES.

deeply, but he seems to have paid no attention to them until he had reached the age just mentioned. Then, during a closer insight into the condition of his people, he beheld an Egyptian cruelly beating an Israelite. As there was no one near, he made no effort to control his anger, but fell upon the Egyptian, slew him, and buried him in the sand. He hoped that his act would pass by unnoticed, but soon after, upon endeavoring to settle a quarrel between two Israelites, he was startled by the taunt with which his pacific efforts were met. "Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian." This convinced him that his secret was no longer his own.

The matter soon after came to the ears of Pharaoh, who threatened to kill Moses in retaliation, and the latter, alarmed at his danger, fled from Egypt, and sought refuge in the desert which surrounds the head of the Red Sea, and which was inhabited by the people of Midian, who were descended from Abraham and Keturah. The portion of the land of Midian to which Moses fled was probably the Peninsula of Sinai. Upon reaching Midian, he sat down by a well to rest, and while he tarried there, the seven daughters of Jethro (elsewhere called Reuel and Hobab), the chief sheykh (or rather prince and priest, as he is called in the original) of the Midianites, came to water their flocks. The shepherds roughly drove them away, but Moses chivalrously came to their assistance, and helped them, and watered their sheep for them. Jethro, upon learning the service the stranger had rendered his daughters, welcomed him to his tent; and Moses dwelt with Jethro for forty years as a shepherd, taking care of his flocks. Jethro gave him his daughter Zipporah in marriage, and by her he had a son, whom he called Gershom (*a stranger here*), in memory that he was but a sojourner in a strange land. Moses neglected to circumcise this son until he was compelled to do so by a divine threat as he went back to Egypt. We read afterward of a second son named Eliezer (*my God is a help*), in memory of his father's deliverance from Pharaoh.

Forty years passed away, and Moses still kept Jethro's flocks in Midian. Meanwhile the period which God had promised Abraham should mark the deliverance of Israel was drawing near. The Pharaoh from whom Moses had fled was dead, and the way was thus opened for his return to Egypt. His successor, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, was even more cruel to the oppressed people, and "the children of Israel cried, and their cry came up to God by reason of the bondage. And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his

covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob, and God looked upon the children of Israel, and God knew them."

The scene chosen for the revelation to Moses of his divine mission was the same amid which the Israelites, led out by him from Egypt, were to see God's presence again revealed, and to receive the law from his own voice. Unchanged in its awful solitary grandeur from that day to this, it is one of the most remarkable spots on the surface of the earth. The *Peninsula of Sinai* is the promontory enclosed between the two arms of the Red Sea, and culminating at its southern part in the terrific mass of granite rocks known by the general name of Sinai.* This desert region bordered

* The upper region of Sinai forms an irregular circle of thirty or forty miles in diameter, possessing numerous sources of water, a temperate climate, and a soil capable of supporting animal and vegetable life; for which reason it is the refuge of all the Bedouins when the low country is parched up. This, therefore, was the part of the peninsula best adapted to the residence of nearly a year, during which the Israelites were numbered, and received their laws from the Most High. In the highest and central part of this region, seven thousand feet above the level of the sea, rises the sacred summit of Horeb or Sinai. The two names are used almost indiscriminately in the Bible, the former predominating in Deuteronomy. Some have thought there were two adjacent summits, called, in the time of Moses, Horeb and Sinai; and indeed the monks give these names to the northern and southern heights of the same ridge, three miles long. But the comparison of all the Scripture passages rather shows that HOREB was the general name for the group, and SINAI the name of the sacred summit.

In approaching this elevated region from the north-west, Burckhardt writes, "We now approached the central summits of mount Sinai, which we had had in view for several days. Abrupt cliffs of granite, from six to eight hundred feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun, surround the avenues leading to the elevated region to which the name of Sinai is specifically applied. These cliffs inclose the holy mountain on three sides, leaving the east and north-east sides only, towards the gulf of Akaba, more open to the view. At the end of three hours, we entered these cliffs by a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth, with perpendicular granite rocks on both sides. The ground is covered with sand and pebbles, brought down by the torrent which rushes from the upper region in the winter time."

The general approach to Sinai from the same quarter is thus described by Mr. Carne: "A few hours more, and we got sight of the mountains round Sinai. Their appearance was magnificent. When we drew near, and emerged out of a deep pass, the scenery was infinitely striking; and on the right extended a vast range of mountains, as far as the eye could reach, from the vicinity of Sinai down to Tor, on the gulf of Suez. They were perfectly bare, but of grand and singular form. We had hoped to reach the convent by daylight; but the moon had risen some time when we entered the mouth of a narrow pass, where our conductors advised us to dismount. A gentle yet perpetual ascent led on, mile after mile, up this mournful valley, whose aspect was terrific, yet ever varying. It was not above two hundred yards in width, and the mountains rose to an immense height

the country of Jethro. It still furnishes a scanty pasture, and its valleys were probably better watered then than now. As Moses led his flock to its inmost recesses (on its west side) he came to a mountain, which was even then called the "Mount of God," from its sanctity among the Arabs, "even Horeb." He saw one of the dwarf acacias (Seneh), the characteristic vegetation of the desert, wrapt in a flame beneath which the dry branches would soon have crackled and consumed, had it been a natural fire; but "behold the bush burned with fire and the bush was not consumed."

on each side. The road wound at their feet along the edge of a precipice, and amid masses of rock that had fallen from above. It was a toilsome path, generally over stones placed like steps, probably by the Arabs; and the moonlight was of little service to us in this deep valley, as it only rested on the frowning summits above. Where is Mount Sinai? was the inquiry of every one. The Arabs pointed before to Jebel Mûsa, the mount of Moses, as it is called; but we could not distinguish it. Again and again point after point was turned, and we saw but the same stern scenery. But what had the beauty and softness of nature to do here? Mount Sinai required an approach like this, where all seemed to proclaim the land of Miracles, and to have been visited by the terrors of the Lord. The scenes, as you gazed around, had an unearthly character, suited to the sound of the fearful trumpet that was once heard there. We entered at last on the more open valley, about half a mile wide, and drew near this famous mountain."

The elevated valley or plain Er-Rahah, here and above referred to, is now generally believed to be the place where the Hebrews assembled to witness the giving of the law. It is two miles long from north-west to south-east, and on an average half a mile wide. The square mile thus afforded is nearly doubled by those portions of side valleys, particularly Esh-Sheikh towards the north-north-east, from which the summit Ras-sufsafeh can be seen. This summit, which Dr. Robinson takes to be the true Sinai, rises abruptly on the south side of the plain some fifteen hundred feet. It is the termination of a ridge running three miles south-east, the southern and highest portion of which is called by the Arabs Jabel Mûsa, or Moses' Mount. Separated from this ridge by deep and steep ravines, are two parallel ridges, of which the eastern is called the Mountain of the Cross, and the western Jebel Humr. The convent of St. Catharine lies in the ravine east of the true Sinai; while Mount Catharine is the south peak of the western ridge, lying south-west of Jabel Mûsa, and rising more than one thousand feet higher. From the convent, Dr. Robinson ascended the central and sacred mountain, and the steep peak Ras-sufsafeh. "The extreme difficulty," he says, "and even danger of the ascent was well rewarded by the prospect that now opened before us. The whole plain of Er-Rahah lay spread out beneath our feet; while the wady Esh-Sheikh on the right and a recess on the left, both connected with and opening broadly from Er-Rahah, presented an area which serves nearly to double that of the plain. Our conviction was strengthened that here, or on some one of the adjacent cliffs, was the spot where the Lord descended in fire and proclaimed the law. Here lay the plain where the whole congregation might be assembled; here was the mount which might be approached and touched; and here the mountain brow where alone the lightnings and the thick cloud would be visible, and the thunders and the voice of the trump be heard, when the Lord came

Desiring to obtain a better view of this wonderful sight, Moses drew near, when he was startled by a voice from the midst of the bush calling to him to remove his sandals, as the place upon which he stood was holy ground. Trembling he obeyed, and the "Angel Jehovah," speaking from the burning bush, announced himself as the God of his fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and declared to Moses that he had heard the cries of Israel under the tyranny of the Egyptians, and was come down to deliver them and lead them up out of Egypt. He commanded Moses to become his messenger to the King of Egypt, and the leader of his people. Moses protested his unworthiness to undertake so great a mission, but was assured that Jehovah would be with him until he should fulfil his charge by bringing the people out of Egypt to worship in that mountain. Another difficulty presented itself to the mind of Moses. The people had become so sunk in the idolatrous worship of the Egyptians that they would not know who was "the God of their fathers." As the heathen deities had each a proper name to distinguish them, the Hebrews would expect "the God of their fathers" to have his own distinctive appellation.

down in the sight of all the people upon mount Sinai. We gave ourselves up to the impressions of the awful scene; and read with a feeling which will never be forgotten the sublime account of the transaction and the commandments there promulgated, in the original words as recorded by the great Hebrew legislator."

The plain Er-Rahah is supposed to have been reached by the Hebrews from the shore of the Red Sea, south of the desert of Sin, by a series of wadys or broad ravines winding up among the mountains in an easterly direction, chiefly wady Feiran and wady Esh-Sheikh. The former commences near the Red Sea, and opens into the latter, which making a circuit to the north of Sinai, enters the plain at its foot from the north-north-east. For several miles from its termination here, this valley is half a mile wide. By the same northern entrance most travellers have approached the sacred mountain. Its south side is less known. To the spectator on Jebel Mûsa, it presents no trace of any plain, valley, or level ground to be compared with that on the north; yet some writers maintain that the Hebrews received the law at the southern foot of Sinai.

In many of the western Sinaite valleys, and most of all in El-Mukatteb, which enters wady Feiran from the north-west, the more accessible parts of the rocky sides are covered by thousands of inscriptions, usually short, and rudely carved in spots where travellers would naturally stop to rest at noon; frequently accompanied by a cross, and mingled with representations of animals. The inscriptions are in an unknown character, but were at first ascribed to the ancient Israelites on their way from Egypt to Sinai; and afterwards to Christian pilgrims of the fourth century. Recently, however, many of them have been deciphered by Prof. Beer of Leipzig, who regards them as the only known remains of the language and characters once peculiar to the Nabathæans of Arabia Petrea. Those thus far deciphered are simply proper names, neither Jewish nor Christian, preceded by some such words as "peace," "blessed," "in memory of."—*Bible Dictionary*.



MOSES' ROD TURNED TO A SERPENT.

Therefore Moses urged, "When they shall say unto me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them?" Thereupon it pleased God to reveal to Moses the name by which the God of the Hebrews has ever since been known. JEHOVAH, the self-existent and eternally the same;—*He that is, and was, and ever will be what He is*;—"I AM THAT I AM! *What that is*, I have written on the consciousness of man; I have revealed it by word and act to your fathers; and I ever will be to my people what I was to them;" for He repeats this character once more, and adds, "This is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations."

God then revealed minutely his plan of deliverance. Moses was di-

rected to go to the elders of Israel and repeat to them the revelation that had been made to him. God declared to him that the elders would believe his message, and bade him go with them to the court of Pharaoh and demand from that monarch leave for all Israel to go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Jehovah. He told him that Pharaoh would re-



ANCIENT STATUES OF MEMNON, IN THE PLAIN OF THEBES.

fuse, and revealed to him the signs and wonders by which He would compel the heathen king to consent to the scheme, and finally ordered Moses to instruct his people to despoil the Egyptians of their jewels when they left the land.

In order to remove the doubts which Moses entertained concerning his reception by the people, God added *two signs*; the hand made leprous and cured again, and the rod changed to a serpent and restored to its former shape. These signs were worked on the spot, and each had its significance. The leprous hand and its cure indicated the power by which he should deliver the people whom the Egyptians re-

garded as lepers ; and the transformation of the shepherd's staff into a serpent, the Egyptian symbol for the evil spirit (Typhon), and then back again into the "rod of Moses" and "of God," was emblematic of the power which was to be committed to him as the leader of the people. This "potent rod" was to be the sceptre of his rule as God's mouth-piece, and the instrument of the miracles which helped and guided the people, and which confounded and destroyed their enemies. To these signs was added a third, the power to turn the waters of the Nile into blood.

B. C. 1491. Moses was staggered by the greatness of his mission, and urged his want of eloquence, which seems to have amounted to an impediment of speech, a sorry qualification for an ambassador to a hostile king. God assured him that He who made man's mouth and the dumb and the deaf, the seeing and the blind, would be with him and teach him what to say ; but in spite of this assurance Moses pleaded that the mission might be confided to some other person. Then did God in anger punish his reluctance, though in mercy he met his objections, by giving a share of the honor, which might have been his alone, to his brother Aaron, a man who could speak well. But yet the word was not to be Aaron's own. He was to be the mouth of Moses ; and Moses was to be to him as God, the direct channel of divine revelation. The rod of power became "Aaron's rod," though the power itself was put forth by the word of Moses. The two great functions conferred by the divine mission were divided ; Moses became the *prophet*, and Aaron the *priest* ; and the whole arrangement exhibits the great principle of mediation.

Returning to his father-in-law's abode, Moses received his permission to return to his brethren in Egypt, and, being informed by God that the time had come for his departure, and that the men who had sought his life were dead, he set out at once. His wife and two sons accompanied him, riding upon asses. They stopped on their way at an inn or caravanserai, and here Moses was threatened with death by Jehovah, because he had left his youngest son uncircumcised ; and Zipporah, understanding this, and perceiving that her husband was so smitten as to be himself incapable of executing the act of obedience, took a sharp flint, and herself performed the operation. She was, however, so much annoyed by this occurrence, that she returned with her two sons to her father. By this act of circumcision the entire family of Moses, hitherto regarded as Arabian, received the seal of the covenant.

As the future deliverer of Israel advanced towards Egypt, Aaron



PORTICO OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE.

received the divine command to go forth and meet his brother in the wilderness. Their meeting took place on the very spot where Jehovah had appeared to Moses in the burning bush, and upon this spot Moses related to Aaron all that he had seen and heard there. His mission to Pharaoh was summed up in the statement:—that God claimed the liberty of Israel as his first born son; and if Pharaoh refused to let him go, he would slay his first born. To this last infliction all the plagues of Egypt were but preludes.

The brothers then directed their steps toward the land of Goshen, and upon arriving there, summoned the elders of Israel to meet them. “And Aaron spake all the words which Jehovah had spoken to Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed; and when they heard that Jehovah had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed the head and worshipped.” We shall soon see that they were far from being finally weaned from the false religion of Egypt.

Having secured the adherence of the Israelites, Moses and Aaron at once repaired to the court of the king, and upon being admitted to his presence, demanded, in the name of Jehovah, the God of Israel, leave for His people to hold a feast to Him in the wilderness. This was the extent of the first demand; as it had been the extent of what God had enjoined on Moses:—“Ye shall serve God in this mountain.” It was to be a solemn festival, shared in by all the people, who, as a nomad race, would of course travel with their flocks and herds. When they reached the sacred mount, they would be at the disposal of their God and Father, to lead them back or forward as he pleased; and he claimed of Pharaoh that they should be placed at his disposal, without telling him of their farther destination, which had long since been revealed to Abraham, and lately made known to Moses.

Pharaoh treated the message with contempt. He not only refused to acknowledge Jehovah as a God, but ordered Moses and Aaron back to their burdens. We may suppose that although Moses’ personal enemies at the court were dead, he was still sufficiently well known there for pleasure to be taken in his humiliation. The king now ordered the burdens of the Hebrews to be increased. The Egyptian taskmasters, whose business it was to regulate the amount of their work, were bidden to refuse them the chopped straw which was necessary to bind the friable earth into bricks, and which had hitherto been served out to them. The people were compelled to search the fields for stubble to supply its place, and thus lost their time; but still the full tale of bricks was demanded of them, and

when they could no longer supply it the Hebrew overseers, who were under the Egyptian taskmasters, were bastinadoed. They appealed to Pharaoh for redress, but he refused to listen to them, and they turned upon Moses and Aaron, whom they accused of making them odious to the king.

In great distress Moses complained to God that his mission had only increased the people's misery without effecting their deliverance. God replied to him, assuring him that the time was close at hand. With a plainer revelation of his great name, Jehovah renewed his ancient covenant, to bring them into the promised land. Though the people were too heart-broken to accept the consolation, Jehovah gave Moses and Aaron (whose descent from Levi is now formally set forth) their final charge to Pharaoh; once more warning them of the king's resistance, which should only give occasion for more signal proofs of God's power, that the Egyptians might know Jehovah.

Moses and Aaron again sought the presence of Pharaoh, and, in order to move him, resorted to the miracles provided for them by God. Aaron's rod was changed to a serpent before the king. This miracle was imitated by the magicians of Egypt, headed by Jannes and Jambres, whose names are preserved by the learned disciple Gamaliel (2 Timothy iii. 8), whose rods also became serpents. But these serpents were devoured by Aaron's serpent. We say they *imitated* the miracle of Moses and Aaron, to express at once the conviction that their apparent success was an imposture. There is no certain evidence, either in the principles of philosophy or in the experience of facts, for the exercise of supernatural power by the aid of evil spirits. Scripture not only does not sanction such an opinion, but forbids its belief. It regards magicians with abhorrence; brands their miracles as "*lying wonders*;" and makes the teaching of false doctrine a test of the false pretence of supernatural power. And, when we pass from principles to facts, there is not a well-authenticated case of an apparent miracle, wrought by others than the Scripture witnesses for God, we do not say which cannot be exposed (for many a known deception escapes detection as to its mode), but there is not one which excludes the possibility of imposture and leaves no room for doubt. The common error is to attempt to explain every thing, instead of first testing the evidence as a whole, and rejecting it as a whole when it breaks down on critical points. In the case of the Egyptian magicians, we may not be able to explain all their imitations (though very probable explanations have been suggested), but we have a perfectly satisfactory test of their imposture in the limit at

which their power ceased. Their own exclamation, "this is the finger of God," involves the confession that they had been aided by no divine power, not even by their own supposed deities.

We do not read of any attempt on the part of Moses to expose their imposture. In the first miracle, he was content with the superior power shown by Aaron's serpent devouring theirs; and the rest he answered by still greater miracles, till he came to one which they could not imitate, and then their confession left no need for refutation. The same argument may suffice for us; but some minds will still ask for explanation. The power shown by serpent-charmers makes it easy to suppose that the magicians were provided with serpents stiffened into the appearance of wands at the safe distance kept round the king's throne. To give water, or a fluid looking like it, the appearance of blood, is one of the easiest experiments of chemistry; and, after the real miracle had been performed on the river and all its branches, the imitation must necessarily have been on a small scale. To seem to produce frogs is a common conjuror's trick, presenting little difficulty when the land already swarmed with them; and we do not read that the magicians showed the power of removing them or any of the other plagues, which would have been a decisive triumph over the prophet who called for and the God who sent them. In short, our wonder is more excited by their imitations ceasing when they did, than by their appearance of success in these three cases.

The first miracle, that of the rod, was a display of God's power given to his prophet, for the conviction of Pharaoh, and the Egyptians; but when their hearts were hardened against conviction, it became needful to teach them by suffering. The miracles that followed were *judgments*, on the king, the people, and their gods, forming the **TEN PLAGUES OF EGYPT**.

I. The Plague of Blood.—After a warning to Pharaoh, Aaron, at the word of Moses, waved his rod over the Nile, and the river was turned into blood, with all its canals and reservoirs, and every vessel of water drawn from them; the fish died, and the river stank. The pride of the Egyptians in their river for its wholesome water is well known, and it was the source of all fertility. But besides this, it was honored as a god, and so were some species of its fish (as the *Oxyrhynchus*); and to smite "the sacred salubrious Nile," was to smite Egypt at its heart. There was, however, mercy mingled with the judgment, for the Egyptians obtained water by digging wells. The miracle lasted for seven days; but, as it was imitated by the magicians, it produced no impression on Pharaoh.

II. *The Plague of Frogs*.—These creatures are always so numerous in Egypt as to be annoying ; but, at the appointed signal, they came up from their natural haunts, and swarmed in countless numbers, “even in the chambers of their kings,” and defiled the very ovens and kneading-troughs. Here too it was an object of their reverence that was made their scourge, for the frog was one of the sacred animals. From this plague there was no escape ; and though the magicians imitated it, Pharaoh was fain to seek relief through the prayer of Moses, and by promising to let the people go. “Glory over me,” said Moses : he waived all personal honor that the contest might bring him, and allowed Pharaoh to fix the time for the removal of the plague. The king named the morrow ; and then, by the prayer of Moses, the frogs died where they were, a far more striking confirmation of the miracle than if they had retired to their haunts. Pharaoh abused the respite, and even while his land stank with the carcasses of the frogs, he refused to keep his promise.

III. *The Plague of Lice*.—From the waters and marshes, the power of God passed on to the dry land, which was smitten by the rod, and its very dust seemed turned into minute noxious insects, so thickly did they swarm on man and beast, or rather “*in*” them. The scrupulous cleanliness of the Egyptians would add intolerably to the bodily distress of this plague, by which also they again incurred religious defilement. As to the species of the vermin there seems no reason to disturb the authorized translation of the word.

In this case we read that “the magicians *did so* with their enchantments, *to bring forth lice*, but *they could not*.” They struck the ground, as Aaron did, and repeated their own incantations, but it was without effect. They confessed the hand of God ; but Pharaoh was still hardened.

IV. *The Plague of Flies or Beetles*.—After the river and the land, the air was smitten, being filled with winged insects, which swarmed in the houses and devoured the land, but Goshen was exempted from the plague. The word translated “swarms of flies” most probably denotes the great Egyptian beetle (*Scarabæus sacer*), which is constantly represented in their sculptures. Besides the annoying and destructive habits of its tribe, it was an object of worship, and thus the Egyptians were again scourged by their own superstitions.

Pharaoh now gave permission for the Israelites to sacrifice to their God in the land ; but Moses replied that the Egyptians would stone them if they sacrificed the creatures they worshipped, a striking example, thus early, of the tendency to religious riots which has marked

all the successive populations of Egypt. He repeated the demand to go three days' journey into the wilderness, there to place themselves at God's disposal. Pharaoh now yielded; but as soon as the plague was removed at the prayer of Moses, he "hardened his heart at this time also, neither would he let the people go."

V. *The Plague of the Murrain of Beasts.*—Still coming closer and closer to the Egyptians, God sent a disease upon the cattle, which were not only their property, but their deities. At the precise time of which Moses forewarned Pharaoh, all the cattle of the Egyptians were smitten with a murrain and died, but not one of the cattle of the Israelites suffered. Still the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not let the people go.

VI. *The Plague of Boils and Blains.*—From the cattle, the hand of God was extended to their own persons. Moses and Aaron were commanded to take ashes of the furnace, and to "sprinkle it toward the heaven in the sight of Pharaoh." It was to become "small dust" throughout Egypt, and "be a boil breaking forth [with] blains upon man, and upon beast." This accordingly came to pass. The plague seems to have been the black leprosy, a fearful kind of elephantiasis, which was long remembered as "the blotch of Egypt." This also was a terrible infliction on their religious purity, and its severity prevented the magicians from appearing in the presence of Moses. Still Pharaoh's heart was hardened, as Jehovah had said to Moses.

VII. *The Plague of Hail.*—The first six plagues had been attended with much suffering and humiliation, and some loss; but they had not yet touched the lives of the Egyptians, or their means of subsistence. But now a solemn message was sent to Pharaoh and his people, that they should be smitten with pestilence and cut off from the earth. First of all, they were threatened with a storm of hail. "Behold to-morrow, about this time, I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof even until now." Pharaoh was then told to collect his cattle and men into shelter, for that every thing should die upon which the hail descended. Some of the king's servants heeded the warning now given, and brought in their cattle from the field. On the rest there burst a terrific storm of hail, thunder, and "fire running along upon the ground," such as had never been seen in Egypt. Men and beasts were killed, plants were destroyed, and vines, figs, and other trees broken to pieces. Of the crops, the barley and flax which were fully formed were destroyed, but the wheat and rye (or spelt) were



THE PLAGUE OF HAIL.



THE LOCUST.

spared, for they were not yet grown up; mercy was still mingled with the judgment. This distinction, which could only have been made by one familiar with Egypt, marks the season of the events. Barley, one of the most important crops, alike in ancient and modern Egypt, comes to maturity in March, and flax at the same time; while wheat and spelt are ripe in April. Both harvests are a month or six weeks earlier than in Palestine.

Pharaoh, more moved than he had yet been, renewed his prayers and promises; and Moses, without concealing his knowledge of the result, consented to prove to him once more that "the earth is Jehovah's." The storm ceased at his prayer, and Pharaoh only hardened his heart the more.

VIII. *The Plague of Locusts.*—The herbage which the storm had spared was now given up to a terrible destroyer. After a fresh warning,

"The potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
Waved round her coasts, called up a pitchy cloud
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darkened all the land of Nile."

Approaching thus, the swarm alights upon fields green with the young blades of corn; its surface is blackened with their bodies, and in a few minutes it is left black, for the soil is as bare as if burnt with fire. Whatever leaves and fruit the hail had left on the trees were likewise devoured; and the houses swarmed with the hideous

destroyers. No plague could have been more impressive in the East, where the ravages of locusts are so dreadful, that they are chosen as the fit symbol of a destroying conqueror. The very threat had urged Pharaoh's courtiers to remonstrance, and he had offered to let the men only depart, but he had refused to yield more, and had driven Moses and Aaron from his presence. Now he recalled them in haste, and asked them to forgive his sin "only this once," and to entreat God to take away "this death only." A strong west wind removed the locusts as an east wind had brought them; but their removal left his heart harder than ever.

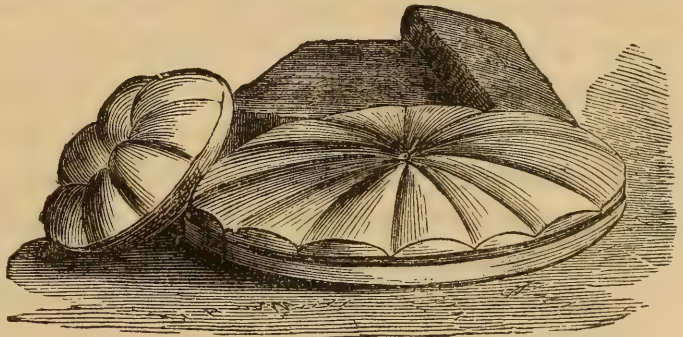
IX.-X. *The Plague of Darkness and the Prediction of the Death of the First-born.*—The last plague but one was a fearful prelude to the last. For three days there was thick darkness over the sunny land of Egypt, "even darkness which might be felt;" while "all the children of Israel had light in their dwellings." Unable to see each other, or to move about, the Egyptians had still this one last opportunity of repentance; but Pharaoh would only let the people go if they left their flocks and herds behind. With threats he forbade Moses to see his face again; and Moses sealed this rejection of the day of grace with the words:—"Thou hast spoken well, I will see thy face again no more."

The contest was now over. The cup of the wickedness of Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who had oppressed the children of God and defied the power of the Great King of kings, was full. Their doom had gone forth, they had rejected the warnings given them, and now God made ready to slay their first-born sons. For the remainder of the third day of darkness they sat awaiting the terrible stroke which was to fall on them at midnight. Meanwhile there was light in all the land of Goshen, and aided by this light the Israelites were preparing for the memorable night in the way prescribed by God. Now was instituted the great observance of the Mosaical dispensation, the *Feast of the Passover*.

B. C. 1491. On the day, reckoned from sunset to sunset, in the night of which the first-born of Egypt were slain and the Israelites departed, the people, by the express command of God, instituted a solemn feast, which they were commanded to keep as a perpetual memorial. This day was the fourteenth of the Jewish month Nisan or Abib (March to April), which began about the time of the vernal equinox. This month was now made the first month of the ecclesiastical year, and in all future times this day was to be the great day of the feast when the Pascal supper was to be eaten.

The preparation for the celebration of the first passover had already been made by the command of God. On the tenth day of the month, each household had chosen a yearling lamb (or kid, for either might be used), without blemish. This "Paschal Lamb" was set apart till the evening which began the fourteenth day, and was killed as a sacrifice at that moment in every family in Israel. But before it was eaten, its blood was sprinkled with a bunch of hyssop on the lintel and doorposts of the house: the divinely appointed sign, that Jehovah might *pass over* that house, when he passed through the land to destroy the Egyptians. Thus guarded, and forbidden to go out of doors till the morning, the families of Israel ate the lamb, roasted and not boiled, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. The bones were not suffered to be broken, but they must be consumed by fire in the morning, with any of the flesh that was left uneaten. The people were to eat in haste, thoroughly equipped for their coming journey. For seven

days after the feast, from the fourteenth to the twenty-first, they were to eat only unleavened bread, and no leaven was to be found in their houses under penalty of death.



UNLEAVENED BREAD.

The fourteenth and twenty-first were to

be kept with a holy convocation and Sabbatic rest. The Passover was to be kept to Jehovah throughout all their generations, "a feast by an ordinance forever." No stranger might share the feast unless he were first circumcised; but strangers were bound to observe the days of unleavened bread. To mark more solemnly the perpetual nature and vast importance of the feast, fathers were specially enjoined to instruct their children in its meaning through all future time.

The people did all that Moses commanded them, the Passover was eaten with the required solemnity, and each family set the mark of blood on the lintel and doorposts of its house. As the "Paschal Lamb" was killed at sunset, we may suppose that the Israelites had finished the solemn supper, and were awaiting, in awful suspense, the next great event, when the midnight cry of anguish arose through all the land of Egypt. At that moment Jehovah slew the first born in

every house, from the king to the captive; and by smiting also all the first born of cattle, he “executed judgment on all the gods of Egypt.”

B. C. 1491. The hardened heart of Pharaoh was broken by the stroke; and all his people joined with him to hurry the Israelites away. The Egyptians willingly gave them the jewels of silver and gold and the raiment, which they asked for by the command of Moses; and so “they spoiled the Egyptians.” They had not even time to prepare food, and only took the dough before it was leavened, in their kneading-troughs bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders, and baked unleavened cakes at their first halt. But, amid all this haste, some military order of march was preserved, and Moses forgot not to carry away the bones of Joseph. The host numbered 600,000 men on foot, besides children, from which the total of souls is estimated at not less than 2,500,000.* But they were accompanied by “a mixed multitude,” or great rabble, composed probably of Egyptians of the lowest caste, who proved a source of disorder. Their march was guided by Jehovah himself, who, from its commencement to their entrance into Canaan, displayed his banner, the *Shekinah*, in their van:—“Jehovah went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night.”

This EXODUS, or departure of the Israelites from Egypt, closed the 430 years of their pilgrimage, which began from the call of Abram out of Ur of the Chaldees.

* These numbers have given rise to great controversy; but the reader should compare De Quincey's graphic account (in the fourth volume of his works) of the “Revolt of the Tartars; or, Flight of the Kalmuck Khan and his People from the Russian Territories to the Frontiers of China.” On one day, the 5th of January, 1771, more than 400,000 Tartars commenced this Exodus. “It was a religious exodus, authorized by an oracle venerated throughout many nations of Asia—an exodus, therefore, in so far resembling the great scriptural Exodus of the Israelites, under Moses and Joshua, as well as in the very peculiar distinction of carrying along with them their entire families, women, children, slaves, their herds of cattle and of sheep, their horses and their camels.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE MARCH FROM EGYPT TO SINAI.

[A. M. 2513-2514. B. C. 1491-1490.]

THE whole journey of the Israelites from Egypt into the land of promise may be divided into three distinct portions:—

I. *The March out of Egypt to Mount Sinai*, there to worship Jehovah, as he had said to Moses. This occupied six weeks, making, with the fourteen days before the Passover, two months; and they were encamped before Sinai, receiving the divine laws, for the remaining ten months of the first ecclesiastical year. The tabernacle was set up on the first day of the first month (Abib) of the second year (about April 1, 1490 B. C.); and its dedication occupied that month. On the first day of the second month, Moses began to number the people, and their encampment was broken up on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year, about May 20, 1490 B. C.

II. *The March from Sinai to the borders of Canaan*, whence they were turned back for their refusal to enter the land. This distance, commonly eleven days' journey, was divided by three chief halts. The first stage occupied three days, followed by a halt of at least a month. The next halt was for a week at least. After the third journey, there was a period of forty days, during which the spies were searching the land; and they returned with ripe grapes and other fruits. All these indications bring us to the season of the Feast of Tabernacles, just six months after the Passover (Oct. 1490 B. C.).

III. *The Wandering in the Wilderness, and Entrance into Canaan*. This is often vaguely spoken of as a period of forty years, but, in the proper sense, the *wanderings* occupied thirty-seven and a half years. The people came again to Kadesh, whence they had been turned back, in the first month of the fortieth year. Advancing thence, they overthrew the kings Sihon and Og, and spoiled the Midianites; and reached the plains of Moab, on the east of Jordan, opposite to Jericho, by the end of the tenth month, early in January, 1451 B. C. The rest of that year was occupied by the final exhortation and death of Moses. We are not told the exact date of the passage of the Jordan; but the harvest-time identifies it with the season of the Passover; and

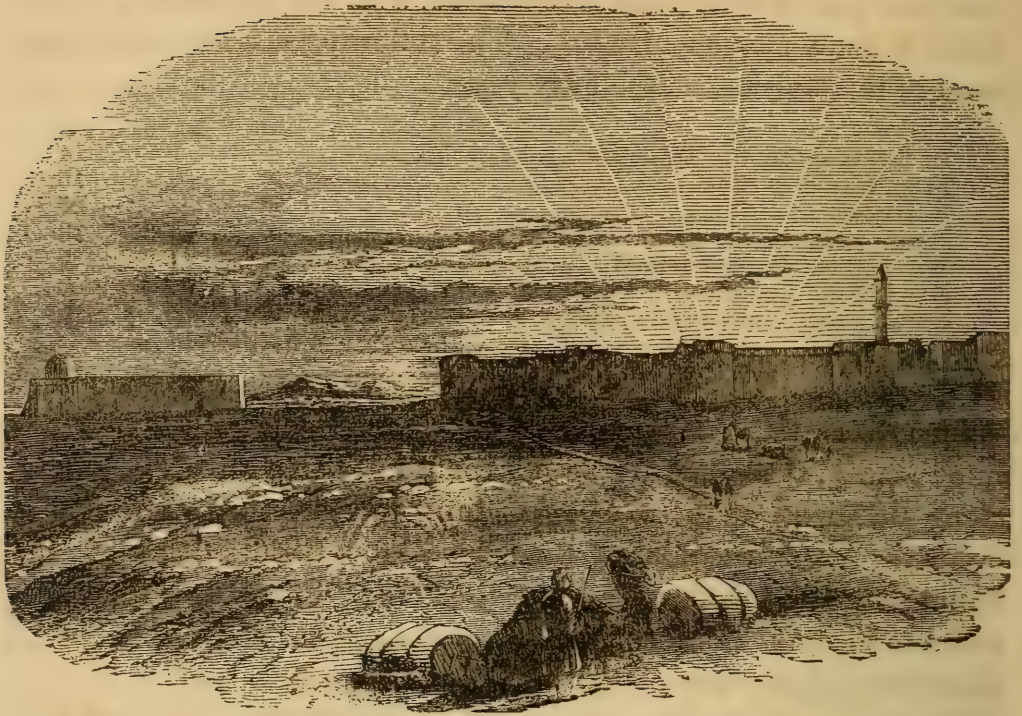
thus the cycle of forty years is completed, from the beginning of Abib, 1491, to the same date of 1451. The following is a tabulated statement of the divisions of the forty years.

	Years.	Months.	Days.
In Egypt before the Passover.....	0	0	14
From Egypt to Sinai.....	0	1	16
Encampment at Sinai.....	0	11	20
March to Kadesh (about).....	0	4	10
Wanderings in Wilderness.....	37	6	0
March from Kadesh to the plains of Moab.....	0	10	0
Encampment there to the passage of the Jordan.....	0	2	0
Total.....	40	0	0

Had the object been to lead them by the shortest route out of Egypt into Canaan, it might have been accomplished in a few days' journey along the shore of the Mediterranean. But they were not thus to evade the moral discipline of the wilderness. Besides that their first destination was fixed for "the mount of God," they were quite unprepared to meet the armies of the Philistines, and so "God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea."

At the very outset, we are met by a great difficulty about their point of departure. It is a simple and attractive theory which carries them straight along the valley, now called the *Wady-et-Tih*, running eastward from the fork of the Delta to the Red Sea, between two parallel offshoots of the hills which skirt the Nile, and of which the northern range bears the name of *Jebel-Atakah* (the *mountain of deliverance*). But this route is too simple: it could hardly fill up three days, even for such a host, and it was inconsistent with the final movements by which they became "entangled in the land," for they would have been so already, and they would have had no "turning" to make to encamp by the sea. Nor can this view be reconciled with their probable starting point. It is evident that they were gathered together in Goshen before their departure; and they are expressly said to have started from RAMESES. Now whether Rameses be the city named in Exodus i. 11, or the district so called in Genesis xlvii. 11, it must be sought along the east branch of the Nile lower down than Heliopolis.

From this starting-point they made two days' journey before reaching the edge of the wilderness at Etham. Thence, making a turn, which can only have been southward, they reached the Red Sea in one day's journey. There seems to be only one route that satisfies these conditions, that namely by the *Wady-et-Tumeylat*, through which ran the ancient canal ascribed to the Pharaohs. The mound called *El-Ab-baseyeh* in that valley offers a probable site for RAMESES; and the



THE EDGE OF THE WILDERNESS.

distance from it to the head of the Red Sea, about thirty miles in a direct line, answers very well to the three-days' journey of the vast, mixed, and encumbered troop, especially when an allowance is made for the deviation already mentioned. As to the further details, the name of the first resting-place, SUCCOTH, affords no help, as it only means *booths*. ETHAM, the second stage, being on the edge of the wilderness, may very well correspond to *Seba Biar* (the *Seven Wells*), which occupies such a position, about three miles from the western side of the ancient head of the *Gulf of Suez*, which extended much farther to the north than it does now. Thence their natural route into the Peninsula of Sinai would have been round the head of the gulf, but, by the express command of God, "they turned and encamped before PI-HAHIROTH, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baalzephon"—localities evidently on the west side of the *Gulf of Suez*.

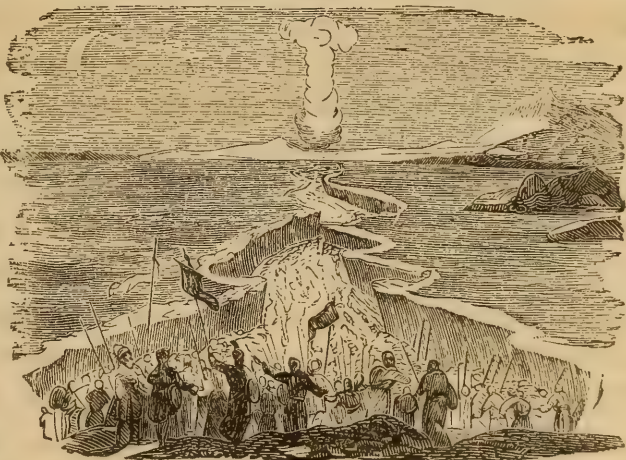
This incomprehensible movement led Pharaoh to exclaim, "They are entangled in the wilderness, the sea hath shut them in." And well might he say so, if their position was enclosed between the sea on their east, the *Jebel-Atakah*, which borders the north side of the *Wady-et-Tih*, on their south and west, and the wilderness in their rear, with the pursuing army pressing on to cut off their retreat. Add to this that the sea, where they encamped by it, must have been shallow

enough for its bed to be laid bare by the “strong east wind,” narrow enough for the host to pass over in a single night, and yet broad enough to receive the whole army of Pharaoh; and lastly, that the opposite bank must not be rocky or precipitous. These conditions seem to exclude any place in the mouth of the *Wady-et-Tih*, south of *Jebel-Atakah*, as well as the traditional line of passage opposite *Ayun Mûsa* (the *Spring of Moses*), and to restrict the place of passage to the neighborhood of *Suez*.

The great miracle itself, by which a way was cloven for the people through the sea, was a proof to them, to the Egyptians, and to all the neighboring nations, that the hand of Jehovah was with them, leading them by his own way, and ready to deliver them in every strait through all their future course. In this light it is celebrated in that sublime hymn of triumph, which furnishes the earliest example of responsive choral music.

In this light it is looked back upon by the sacred writers in every age, as the great miracle which inaugurated their history as a nation.

The King of Egypt and his servants, with hearts hardened even against the lesson taught by the death of the first born, repented of



THE PILLAR OF FIRE.

letting their slaves depart. With six hundred chosen chariots, and all his military array, he pursued and overtook them at Pi-hahiroth. The frightened people began to raise the cry, with which they so often assailed Moses, “Better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness.” But the way was made clear by faith and obedience. “Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah. . . . He shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace,” was the answer of Moses to the people, while God’s word to him was that which generally opens a way out of danger and distress:—“Speak unto the children of Israel that *they go forward*.” At the signal of the uplifted rod of Moses, a strong east wind blew all that night, and divided the waters as a wall on the right hand and on the left, while the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea on dry land. The guiding pillar of fire (with the angel of Jehovah himself) moved from

their van into their rear, casting its beams along their column, but creating behind them a darkness amid which the host of Pharaoh went after them into the bed of the sea. But, at the morning watch, Jehovah looked out of the pillar of fire and cloud, and troubled the Egyptians. Panic-stricken, they sought to fly; but their chariot-wheels were broken: the host of Israel had now reached the bank: the rod of Moses waved again over the gulf: "and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared; and the Egyptians fled against it;" but not one of them was left alive. "And the people feared Jehovah, and believed his servant Moses." The waters of the Red Sea were thenceforth a moral, as well as a physical gulf between them and Egypt. Its passage initiated a new dispensation: "they were all *baptized to Moses* in the cloud and in the sea."

Their route now lay southward down the east side of the *Gulf of Suez*, and at first along the shore. The station of *Ayun Mûsa* (the *Wells of Moses*), with its tamarisks and seventeen wells, may have served for their gathering after the passage. They marched for three days through the wilderness of SHUR or ETHAM, on the southwest margin of the great desert of Paran (*et-Tih*), where they found no water. The tract is still proverbial for its storms of wind and sand. It is a part of the belt of gravel which surrounds the mountains of the peninsula, and is crossed by several *wadys*, whose sides are fringed with tamarisks, acacias, and a few palm-trees. Near one of these, the *Wady el-'Amarah*, is a spring called *Ain Amarah*, not only in the position of MARAH, but with the *bitter* taste which gave it the name. The people, tormented with thirst, murmured against Moses, who, at the command of God, cast a certain tree into the waters which made them sweet. This was the first great trial of their patience; and God, who had healed the waters, promised to deliver them from all the diseases of Egypt if they would obey Him, and confirmed the promise by the name of "Jehovah the Healer."

They must have been cheered at reaching the oasis of B. C. 1491. ELIM, whose twelve wells and threescore palm-trees mark it as one of the *wadys* that break the desert; either the *Wady Ghurundel* or the *Wady Useit*. After passing the *Wady Taiyibeh*, the route descends through a defile on to a beautiful pebbly beach, where Dean Stanley places the ENCAMPMENT BY THE RED SEA, which is mentioned in *Numbers* next to Elim, but is omitted in *Exodus*. Here the Israelites had their last view of the Red Sea and the shores of Egypt.

The route now lay inland, and turning off from the Red Sea, they entered the *Wilderness of Sin* (probably the plain of *Murkhah*), which

leads up from the shore to the entrance of the mountains of Sinai. Another great trial now met them here. Their unleavened bread was exhausted, and they began to suffer with hunger. In their distress they began to murmur, saying it was better to have died by the flesh-pots of Egypt than to perish of hunger in the wilderness. God had not forgotten them, however, and was about to teach them that they must look to him for their daily bread, which he now rained down from heaven upon their camp in the form of manna. This manna must be regarded as altogether miraculous, and not in any sense a product of nature, since it is entirely different from the natural products of the Arabian deserts and other Oriental regions which bear its name, but which have not the qualities or use ascribed to the manna of Scripture. The manna fell silently in the night with the dew and was gathered every morning, and only in quantities sufficient for the daily use of the family. On the sixth day a double quantity was gathered to last during the Sabbath, on which day no manna was sent. This supply continued until the Israelites reached Canaan, and was a type of that blessed Bread of Life which came down from Heaven in the person of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. The rules laid down for the gathering of the manna gave occasion for the revival of the Sabbath, which had no doubt been neglected in Egypt, though the appeal of Moses to the people seems to imply that the law of the Sabbath was not entirely forgotten.

From this valley others lead up, by a series of steep ascents, into the recesses of Sinai; resembling the beds of rivers, but without water, and separated by defiles which sometimes become staircases of rock. Such were no doubt the stations of *DOPHKAH* and *ALUSH*, and such are the *Wadys Shellal* and *Mukatteb*. From the latter the route passes into the long and winding *Wady Feiran*, with its groves of tamarisks and palms, overhung by the granite rocks of *Mount Serbal*, perhaps the Horeb of Scripture. This valley answers in every respect to *REPHIDIM* (the *resting-places*), the very name of which implies a long halt.

Here the cry for water burst forth into an angry rebellion against Moses; and God vouchsafed a miracle for a permanent supply during their abode in the wilderness of Sinai. Moses was commanded to go before the people, with the elders of Israel, and to smite the rock in Horeb, and water flowed forth out of it. The place was called *MASSAH* (*temptation*), and *MERIBAH* (*chiding* or *strife*), in memory of the rebellion by which the people tempted Jehovah and doubted his presence among them. The spring thus opened seems to have formed a brook,

which the Israelites used during their whole sojourn near Sinai. Hence the rock is said to have "*followed them*" by St. Paul, who makes it a type of Christ, the source of the spiritual water of life.

It was in Rephidim that the newly-formed nation fought B. C. 1491. their first great battle. They were treacherously attacked by the Amalekites, the descendants of Eliphaz the son of Esau, who ranged over the south of Palestine and all Arabia Petræa, and who thus commanded the routes leading out of Egypt into Asia. They first made a treacherous assault on the rear of the Israelite column, and cut off the infirm and the stragglers. Moses thereupon ordered Joshua, whose name now occurs for the first time, to attack Amalek with a picked force of Hebrew warriors, and the great battle came off in Rephidim. It lasted until sunset, and resulted in the defeat of Amalek. During the battle Moses stood on a hill with the rod of God outstretched in his hand. Aaron and Hur the husband of Miriam stood by him, and held up his arms when they grew weary, for it was only while the rod was outstretched that the Israelites prevailed—a beautiful lesson to us of the power of prayer. After the victory, Moses set up an altar to mark the spot, and called it Jehovah Nissi (*Jehovah is my banner*). For this treacherous attack, the tribe of Amalek was henceforth doomed to execration and ultimate extinction. God commanded Moses to record the transaction in a book.

During the halt at Rephidim, Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, paid a visit to the camp, and brought with him the wife and sons of Moses, who had been sent back to Midian after the scene at the inn, related in the previous chapter. Moses received him with great honor, and told him all that the Lord had done for Israel. The priest of Midian joyfully acknowledged the God of Israel, and offered sacrifices to his name; and henceforth there was the closest friendship between the Israelites and the Kenites, his descendants. Seeing that Moses was overburdened with the administration of justice among the people, he advised him to commit those duties to certain chosen men, who should be appointed over tens, fifties, hundreds and thousands, to each of whom should be confided certain causes, and to reserve to himself the most important causes to lay them before God, as mediator for the people. Moses put this plan into execution at once, and Jethro soon after departed to his own country, leaving Hobab, his son, who became the guide of the Israelites from Sinai to the border of Canaan.

The next stage brought the Israelites to the WILDERNESS OF SINAI on the first day of the third month (Sivan, *June*), and here they

encamped before the mount. The site of their camp has been identified, to a high degree of probability, with the *Wady-er-Ráhah* (the *enclosed plain*) in front of the magnificent cliffs of *Ras Sufsafeh*. The people would reach this point by winding around the *Wady-esh-Sheykh*, the great thoroughfare of the desert, while Moses and the elders might mount to it by the steep pass of the *Nukb Hawy*. Never in the history of the world was such a scene beheld as that plain now presented. A whole nation was assembled alone with God. His hand had been seen and his voice heard at every step of their history

for 430 years up to this great crisis. He had called their progenitor Abraham from his father's house, and made with him the covenant, which had now reached its first great fulfilment. He had guided the family by wondrous ways till he brought them down to Egypt, where they grew into a nation under the discipline of affliction. Thence he had brought them forth with a mighty hand, and an outstretched arm, proving that he was the only God, and they the people of his choice. He had severed them



MOSES RECEIVING THE TABLES OF THE LAW.

from all the nations of the earth, and had divided the very sea, to let them pass into this secret shrine of nature, whose awful grandeur prepared their minds for the coming revelation. Thus far they only knew the token which God had given to Moses, "When thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God upon this mountain." They had reached the place, and they waited in awful adoration for what was to follow.

There was a season of preparation before the great appearance of

God on Sinai to give the law. First, Moses went up to God, whose voice called to him out of the mountain, telling him to remind the people of the wonders already wrought for them, and promising that, if they would obey God and keep his covenant, "then shall ye be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people (for all the earth is mine), and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation." These words mark the special character assigned to the Israelites, and still more to the spiritual Israel. Not that they were to be separated from all nations in proud exclusiveness, for their own sake: this was the great mistake of their history. But as "all the earth is Jehovah's," they were his in a special sense, to bring all nations back to him; kings and priests for others' good, and a holy nation for a pattern to all the rest. True, they failed in this great mission; but only for a time: their history is not finished, for it is only the first step in that of the spiritual Israel, who are yet to reign as kings and priests to God, and to bring all nations to the obedience of Christ. Meanwhile the elders and people accepted the covenant, and said, "All that Jehovah hath spoken, we will do," and Moses returned with their words to Jehovah.

Moses was next warned of the coming appearance of B. C. 1491. God in a thick cloud, to speak to him before all the people, that they might believe him forever. He was commanded to purify the people against the third day, and to set bounds round the mount, forbidding man or beast to touch it, under penalty of death, and these preparations occupied the next day.

The same reverence that was then enjoined forbids the vain attempt to describe the scene, which is related in the simple but sublime words of Moses, and recounted in the noblest strains of poetry, and whose terrors, which made even Moses himself to fear and quake, are most beautifully contrasted with the milder glories of the spiritual Sion. From amid the darkness, and above the trumpet's sound, God's voice was heard calling Moses up into the mount, to bid him charge the people lest they should break the bounds to gaze on God, and to prepare the elders to come up with him and Aaron when God should call them. Moses returned to the people, and repeated these injunctions.

Then followed the greatest event of the Old Covenant. The voice of God himself gave forth the law by which his people were to live; the TEN COMMANDMENTS, on which all other laws were to be founded, and which were themselves summed up under the Old Covenant as well as the New, in two great principles:—"Thou shalt love the

Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and mind and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself."

The Ten Commandments were the only part of the law given by the voice of God to the assembled people: "He added no more;" and they alone were afterward written on the two tables of stone. The form of the revelation was more than they could bear; and they prayed Moses that he would speak to them in the place of God, lest they should die. God approved their words, and Moses was invested with the office of *Mediator*, the type of "the Prophet raised up like him," the "one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." He drew near to the thick darkness where God was, while the people stood aloof; and he received a series of precepts, which stand apart from the laws afterward delivered, as a practical interpretation of the Ten Commandments.

These precepts were concluded by promises relating to the people's future course. Their destination was clearly stated, their bounds assigned, the conquest assured to them by a gradual exertion of the power of God, the blessings of life promised if they served God, and a special warning given against idolatry. Above all, the ANGEL JEHOVAH, who had already guided them out of Egypt, was still to be their guide to keep them in the way, and to bring them to the place appointed for them, and their captain to fight against their enemies. But if provoked and disobeyed, He would be a terror to themselves, "*for my name is in Him.*" Thus the whole promise is crowned with Christ. For this ANGEL is identified with God's own presence. He appeared to Joshua as JEHOVAH, the captain of the Lord's host, that is, the chief of the angels, the ARCH-ANGEL, a title which belongs only to the Son of God, the prince Michael. In this angel God himself was present, as the *Shepherd of his flock*, the *Holy One of Israel*; whom they tempted and provoked in the wilderness, and in vexing Him, they vexed God's Holy Spirit. Lastly, St. Stephen expressly declares Christ to have been the prophet whom God raised up, as he did Moses, and the angel who, as well as Moses, was with the church in the wilderness, and who spake to Moses in Mount Sinai. So ended the great day on which God came down to the earth to announce his law; the type of the milder revelation which was made when the evangelical exposition of that law was given by the same voice, though now clad in the form of the man Jesus, on the Mount of the Beatitudes.

One circumstance remains to be noticed. St. Stephen upbraids the Jews for not keeping the law, though they had received it by the

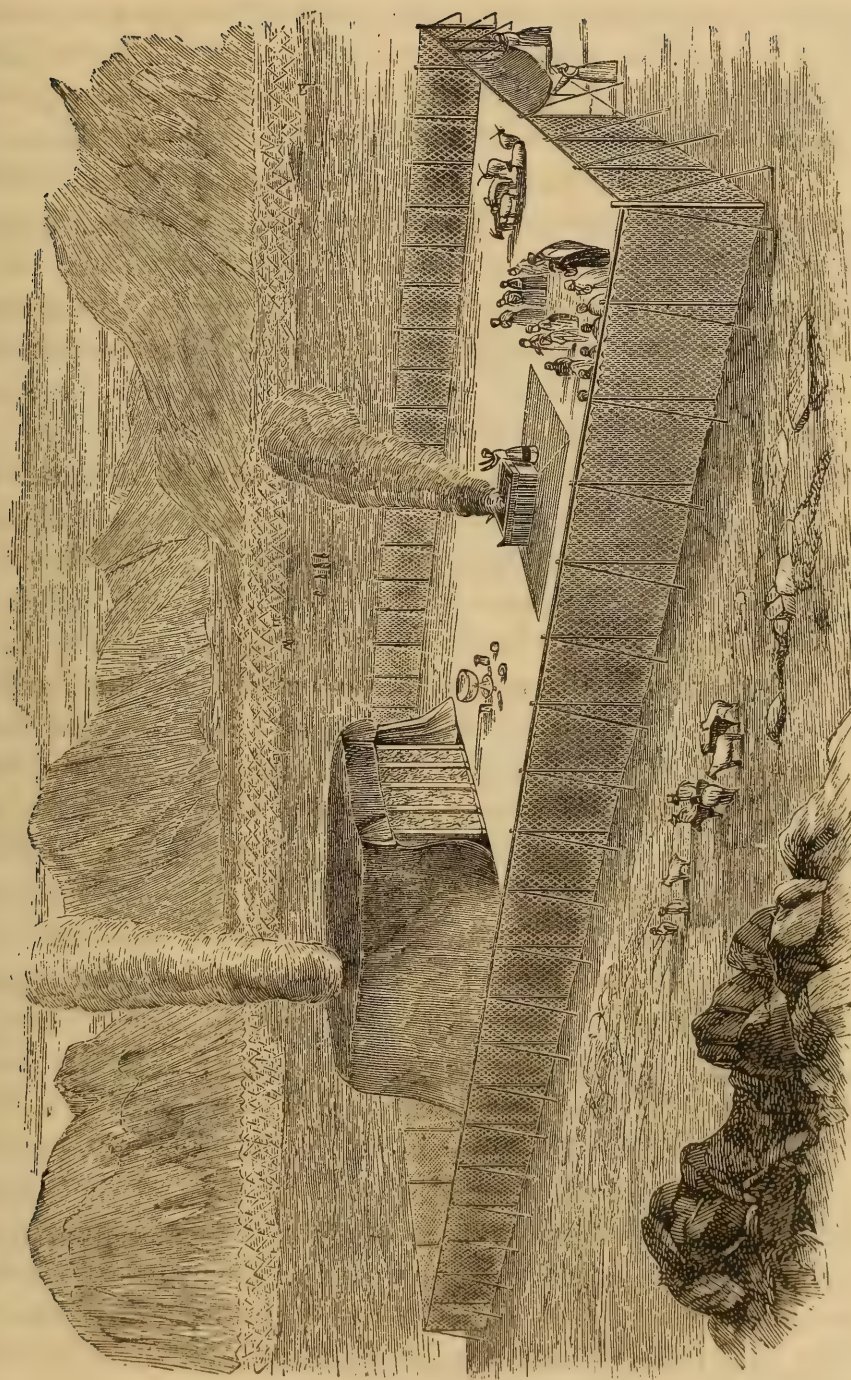


THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI.

disposition of angels. This appears evidently to be an allusion to those hosts of angels or "holy ones" whose presence at Sinai is more than once mentioned, and whom the Apostle contrasts with the innumerable company of angels on the spiritual Sion. These angels seem to have been present, not only to swell Jehovah's state, but to intimate the consent of the whole intelligent universe to that law which is forever "holy, just, and good."

The element of *terror*, which prevailed in the revelation given on Sinai, was the true type of the aspect of the law to the mind of sinful man. Pure and holy in itself, it became "death," when proposed as the condition of life; and its great purpose was to reveal to self-righteous man "the exceeding sinfulness of sin," that he might be led to receive the grace of God in Christ. Thus the clouds of Sinai did not exhibit, but concealed, the true glory of Jehovah; and He now vouchsafed a vision of that glory to Moses, with Aaron and his sons Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel. But first Moses wrote the precepts already given, and set up an altar and memorial pillars, one for each tribe, and sacrificed burnt-offerings and peace-offerings of oxen, and sprinkled with the blood the book of the covenant which he then read to the people, who renewed their promise of obedience, and were themselves also sprinkled with the blood, and so the "covenant of works" was ratified. The chosen party now went up, and saw God enthroned in his glory, as he was afterward seen by Ezekiel and John, and yet they lived. Moses was then called up alone into the mount, to receive the tables of stone and the law which God had written, while Aaron and Hur were left to govern the people. Followed only by his servant Joshua, Moses went up into the mount, which a cloud covered for six days, crowned with the glory of God as a burning fire. On the seventh day Moses was called into the cloud, and there he abode without food forty days and forty nights.

While God was instructing Moses in the ordinances of divine worship, the people had already relapsed into idolatry. We must remember that, as Egypt had been the scene of the people's childhood, their sojourn in the wilderness was their spiritual youth, the age of sensuous impressions and of unstable resolutions. The great works done for them were soon forgotten, while each present difficulty seemed insupportable. As the weeks passed by without the return of Moses, they began to think they had lost both their leader and their new-found god. They recalled the visible objects of worship, to which they had been used in Egypt, and they asked Aaron to make them gods to go before them. Weakly yielding to their de-

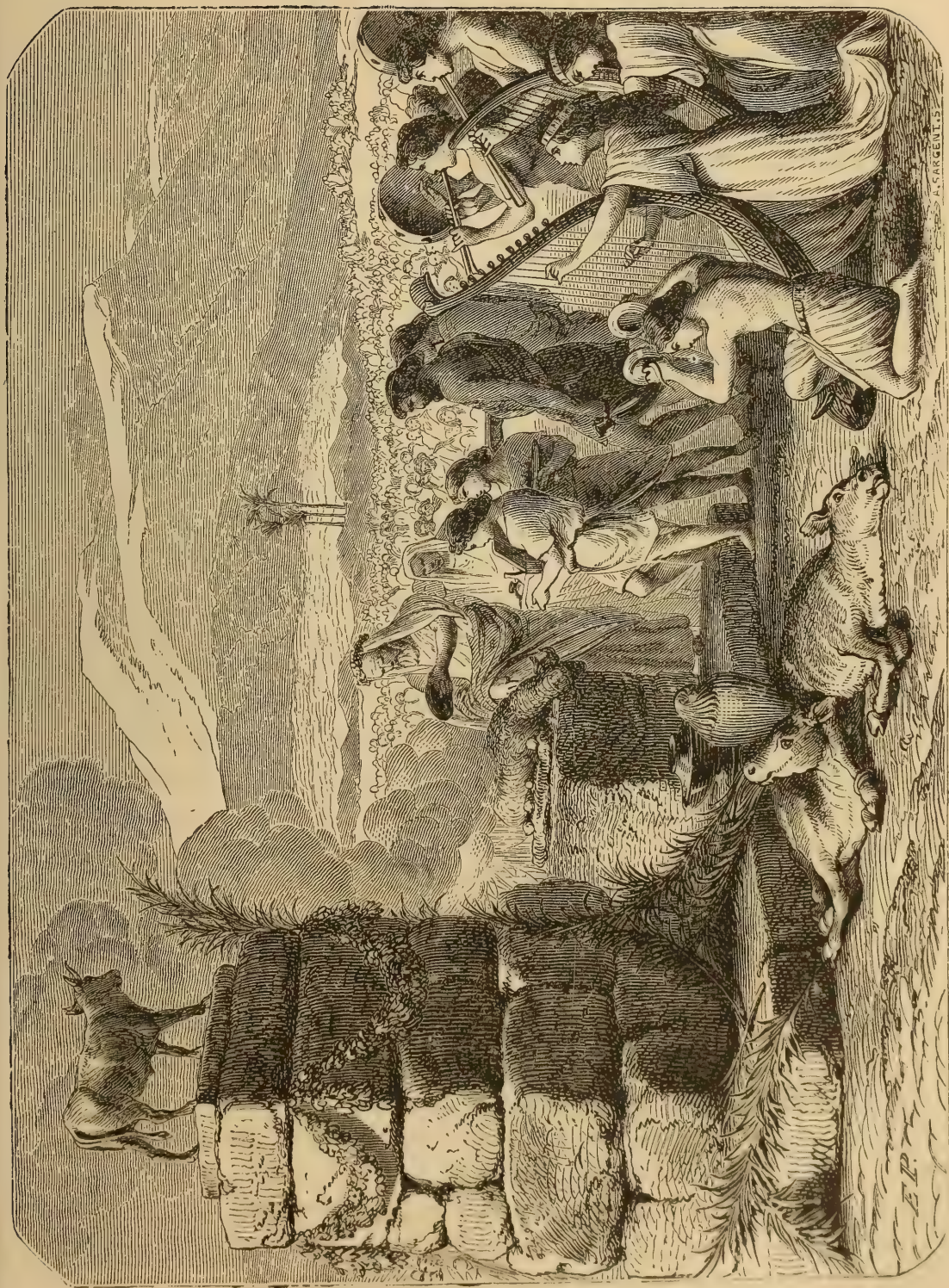


THE TABERNACLE.

mand, and, perhaps, hoping that they would not make the costly sacrifice, Aaron asked for their golden ear-rings, from which he made a "molten calf," the symbol of the Egyptian Apis. This he exhibited to the people as the image of the God who had brought them out of Egypt, and he built an altar before the idol. But yet it was in the name of Jehovah that he proclaimed a festival for the morrow, which the people celebrated with a banquet, followed by songs and lascivious dances. This was on the last of the forty days, and God sent Moses down from the mount, telling him of Israel's sin, and declaring his purpose to destroy them, and to make of him a new nation. With self-denying importunity, Moses pleaded for the people, by the honor of God in the eyes of the Egyptians, and by his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Israel; "and Jehovah repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people."

Moses now descended from the mount, carrying in his hands the two tables of stone, on which God's own finger had written the Ten Commandments. His path lay through a ravine, which cut off his view of the camp, but he soon heard their cry of revelry, which his warlike attendant Joshua mistook for the noise of battle. As he reached the plain, the disgraceful scene burst upon him, and in righteous anger he dashed the tables out of his hands, and broke them in pieces at the foot of the mount; giving at once a terrible significance for all future time to the phrase, a *broken law*, and a sign of man's inability to keep the law given on Sinai. For both Moses and the people, though in different ways, were showing, by their acts, that the first use to which man puts God's law is to break it. *Both* tables were broken, for idolatry had been followed by licentiousness. He next destroyed the calf by fire and pounding, strewed its dust upon the stream from which the people drank, and reproached Aaron, who could only offer feeble excuses. Then he executed a terrible example on the people. Standing in the gate of the camp, he cried, "Who is Jehovah's? to me!" and all his brethren of the tribe of Levi rallied round him, and went through the camp at his command, slaying about three thousand men, and not sparing their own kindred. This was the consecration of Levi to the service and priesthood of Jehovah. The blood shed by his righteous sentence expiated the violence done to the Shechemites, and turned into a blessing the curse that deed had brought on the father of their tribe, and their sacrifice of their own feelings and affections for the cause of God marked them as fit to offer continual sacrifices for his people.

The self-sacrifice of Moses went far greater lengths. On the mor-



THE MOLTEN CALF.

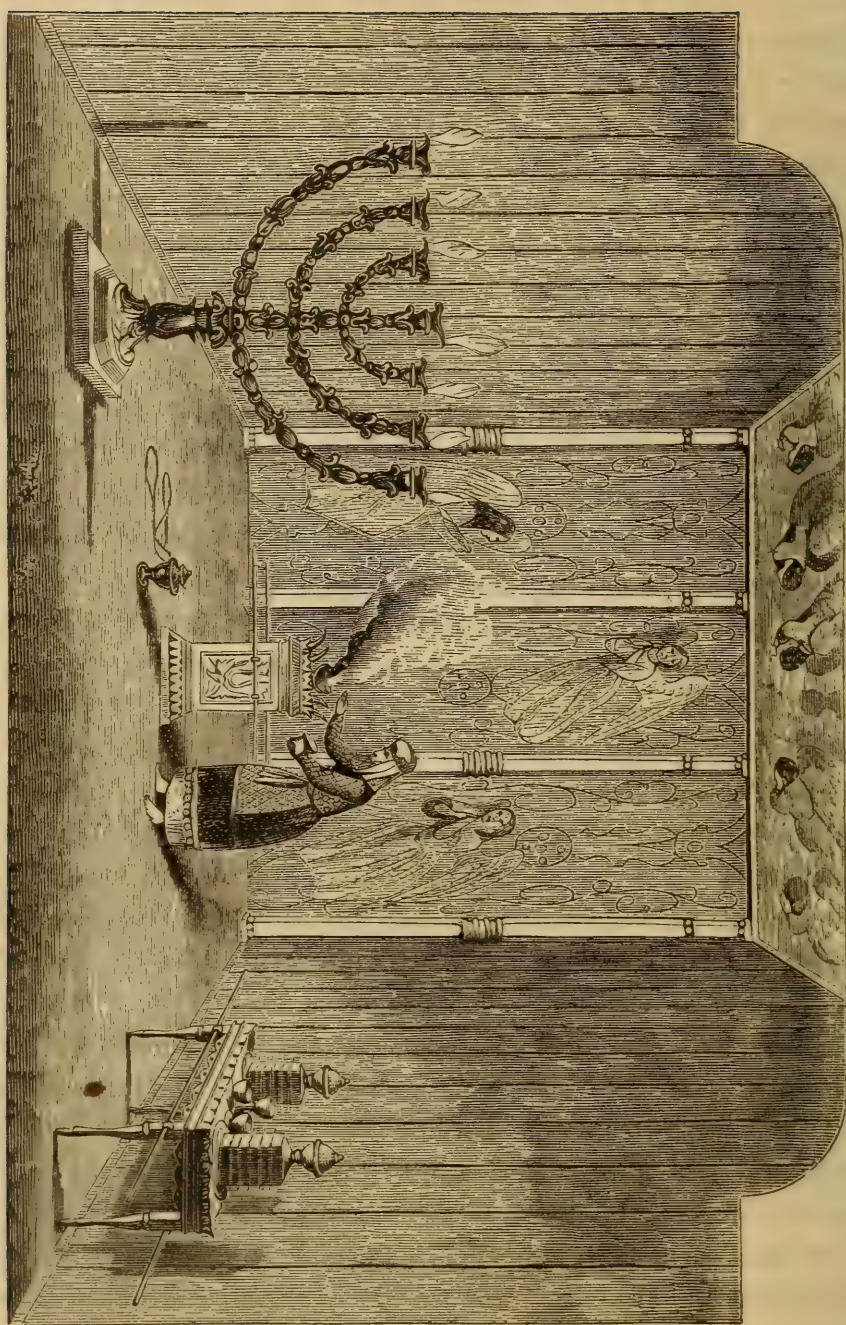
row, he reproved the people for their sin, but promised to intercede for them; and then he addressed to Jehovah these awful words: "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, *blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.*" The only parallel, *but one*, is the cry of Paul, "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren." It seems impious to suppose them willing to renounce their hope of eternal life; but all present share in God's covenant with his people they were willing to renounce. The exact sense of the prayer must remain an unfathomable mystery: its *spirit* was the spirit of him of whom Moses as mediator was the type, who went through with the like self-sacrifice, and drank its cup to the dregs: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, *being made a curse for us.*"

But no mere man could drink of that cup, and God replied to Moses that the sinner himself should be blotted out of his book, and he sent plagues upon the people. Once more he promised to send his angel before them, to be a mediator as well as leader. At this the people murmured, thinking that they were to lose God's own presence, and they put themselves into mourning. Moses removed the sacred tent, called the "*tabernacle of the congregation,*" out of the camp which had been profaned, and all who sought Jehovah went out to it. When Moses himself went out, and entered the tabernacle, the pillar of cloud descended to its door, "and Jehovah spake unto Moses, face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend," while all the people looked on from their tent doors and worshipped. When Moses returned into the camp, Joshua remained in the tabernacle.

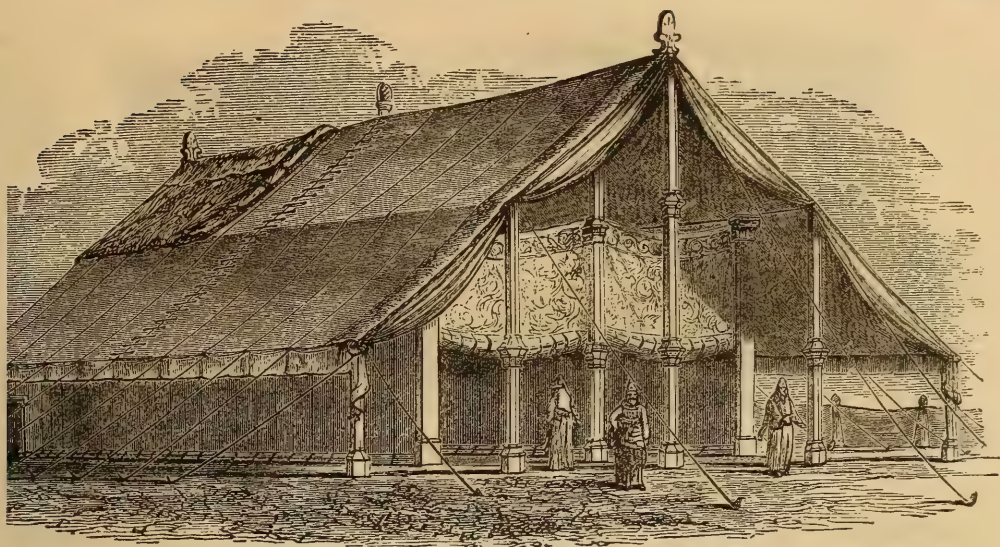
Having obtained pardon for the people, Moses prayed for a special encouragement to himself:—"Shew me now thy way, that I may know thee." Receiving the assurance that God's presence should be with him, to give him rest, he renewed the prayer, "Shew me thy glory." The answer seems to intimate that God's glory is in his goodness and in his grace and mercy; but that, in our present state, we can only follow the track which his glory leaves in the works of grace he does: we cannot bear to look face to face at his perfections in their essence. He vouchsafed to Moses the outward sign for which he asked, promising to place him in a cleft of the rock, and to hide him while the glory of Jehovah passed by, so that he could only see the train behind him.

The narrative may be partly conceived by the help of the like vision which was granted to Elijah in this wilderness of Sinai.

Moses went up alone into the mount, which was secured against



THE HOLY PLACE.

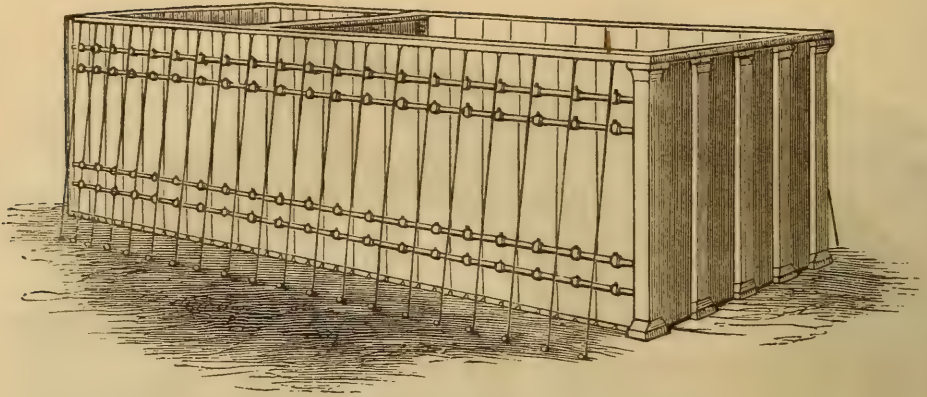


SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF THE TABERNACLE.

intrusion, carrying with him two tables of stone to replace those which he had broken, for God made repeated trials of the people's faith. Then Jehovah descended in a cloud, and proclaimed his name as the God of mercy, grace, long-suffering, goodness and truth, from generation to generation. At this proclamation of God's true glory, Moses came forth to intercede once more for his people; and God renewed his covenant, to work wonders for them, and to bring them into the promised land, adding a new warning against their falling into the idolatry of Canaan. This time also Moses remained in the mount for forty days and forty nights, and received anew the precepts of the law, as well as the two tables he had carried up, inscribed with the Ten Commandments by God himself.

When Moses came down from the mount, the light of God's glory shone so brightly from his face, that the people were unable to look at him, till he had covered it with a veil, while he recited to them the commandments that God had given him.

B. C. 1490. Moses now gathered a congregation of the people, and, after repeating the law of the Sabbath, he asked their free gifts for the tabernacle and its furniture. The spoil of the Egyptians was brought as a free-will offering to Jehovah, jewels and precious metals, skins and woven fabrics, spices, oils, and incense. Two men were filled by God with skill for the work; Bezaleel, the son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, and Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan; and they wrought with "every wise-hearted man, in whom Jehovah put wisdom and understanding to work for the service of the sanctuary." They soon found the offerings of the people far above



THE COVERINGS.

what was required ; and they made the tabernacle with its furniture and vessels, the cloths of service, and the garments of the priests, after the pattern shown to Moses in the mount, and Moses blessed them.

All things being thus prepared, Moses was commanded to set up the tabernacle and place in it the ark of the covenant, and to anoint Aaron and his sons to the priesthood. The solemn ceremony took place on the first day of the first month of the second year from the epoch of the Exodus, March to April, B. C. 1490. Jehovah vouchsafed a visible token of his presence and approval by covering the tabernacle with the cloud and filling it with his glory, so that Moses could not enter into the tabernacle, and by sending down on the altar the sacred fire, with which alone the sacrifices were henceforth to be offered. The scene thus simply and briefly related by Moses should be compared with the more elaborate description of the dedication of Solomon's temple, of which the tabernacle was the model. A whole month was spent in arranging the service of the sanctuary, as it is set forth in the Book of Leviticus, before the people prepared for their onward journey.

CHAPTER X.

THE ADVANCE FROM SINAI, AND THE WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS.

[A. M. 2514-2522. B. C. 1490-1452.]

ON the first day of the second month of the second year from the epoch of the Exodus (Jyar=May, 1490), Jehovah commanded Moses to number the people able to bear arms, from twenty years old and upward. The census was to be taken by Aaron, with a chosen assistant from each tribe, except that of Levi. The Levites were exempted from military service, and they were numbered separately.

The other tribes were made up to twelve by the division of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh. The following is the result, in the order given in the book of Numbers, which takes its title from this census:—

Reuben.....	46,500	(Joseph) : Ephraim.....	40,500
Simeon.....	59,300	(Joseph) : Manasseh.....	32,200
Gad.....	45,650	Benjamin.....	35,400
Judah.....	74,600	Dan.....	62,700
Issachar.....	54,400	Asher.....	41,500
Zebulun.....	57,400	Naphtali.....	53,400
Total of the military array.....		603,550	

These may be taken as the exact figures corresponding to the round number of 600,000, as given at the Exodus. From the identity of the total, and the improbability of their being two numberings in one year, this seems to be the same as the census mentioned before, in connection with the half-shekel tax for the service of the sanctuary.

The object of the census was military, in preparation for the march to Canaan. A captain was appointed for every tribe; and the whole host was divided into four camps, which surrounded the tabernacle during a halt, and went before and after it on the march, in the following order:—

I. On the *East*, and in the *van*: the camp of JUDAH, with Issachar and Zebulun, 186,400 men.

II. On the *South*, and *second*: the camp of REUBEN, with Simeon and Gad, 151,450 men.

The TABERNACLE and Levi.



EMBLEMS ON THE STANDARDS OF THE TRIBES.

III. On the *West*, and last but *one*: the camp of EPHRAIM with Manasseh and Benjamin, 108,100 men.

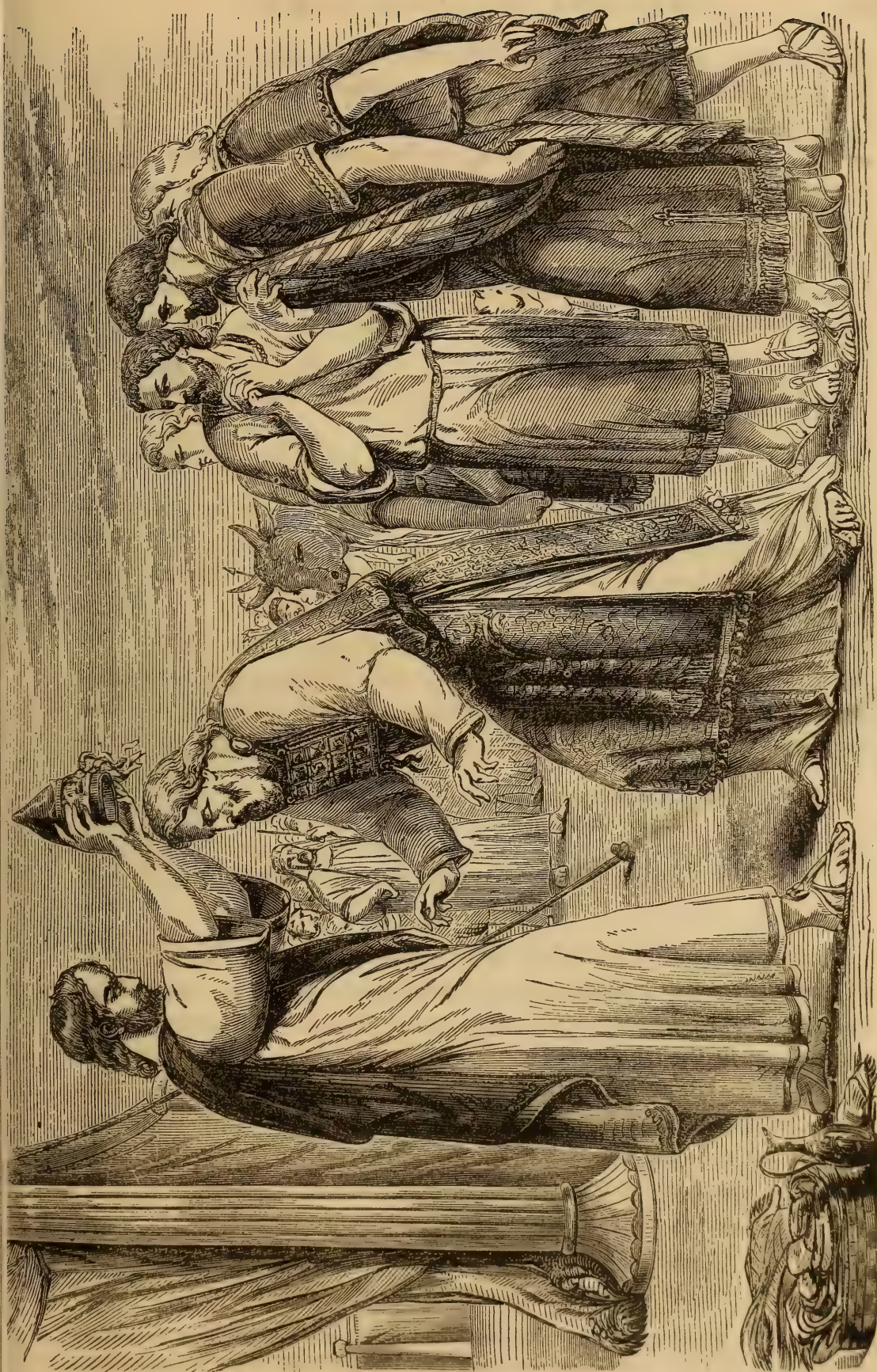
IV. On the *North*, and in the *rear*: the camp of DAN, with Asher and Naphtali, 157,600 men.

Each tribe had its standard.

Another object of the census was religious. The above numbers, besides excluding the tribe of Levi, included some who had no right there, as not being *sui juris*, namely, the *first-born*, who were consecrated to Jehovah. Of both these classes, the Levites and the first-born, the census included the males from one month old and upward, and there were found to be—

Of the first-born.....	22,273
Of the tribe of Levi.....	22,000
Difference.....	273

The Levites were taken for the service of Jehovah, in place of the first-born, man for man: the remaining 273 were redeemed for five



CONSECRATION OF AARON AND HIS SONS.

shekels each ; and this sum of 1365 shekels was given to Aaron and his sons. The cattle of the Levites were taken instead of the first-born cattle.

This substitution of the Levites for the first-born gave the former a sacrificial as well as a sacerdotal holiness to Jehovah, an idea extended to all the redeemed, as “the church of the first-born.”

The Levites were again numbered, from thirty * to fifty years, for the service of the sanctuary ; and to each of their three families their respective duties were assigned. The numbers were—

Of the Kohathites.....	2750
Of the sons of Gershon.....	2630
Of the sons of Merari.....	3200
<hr/>	
Total of priests and Levites.....	8580

The description of this census, in the book of Numbers, immediately after the setting up of the tabernacle, anticipates some events which occurred in the interval before the march was resumed—such as the purification of the camp by excluding the unclean, the institution of the order of *Nazarites*, and the offerings of the princes of Israel (the heads of the twelve tribes), at the dedication of the temple and of the altar. Here also we read the beautiful form prescribed for the blessing of Aaron and his sons upon the people in God’s name :—

“JEHOVAH bless thee : and keep thee.
JEHOVAH make his face to shine upon thee :
and be gracious unto thee.
JEHOVAH lift up his countenance upon thee :
and give thee peace.”

A special mention is made of the second celebration of the Passover in the wilderness of Sinai, with the addition of a new law permitting those who were defiled, or travelling, to keep it a month later.

We find in the Book of Leviticus an account of the death at this period of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, by fire from Jehovah, for offering “strange fire” on the altar of incense, instead of the sacred fire sent down from God. It appears from the sequel that the sacrilege was committed in drunken recklessness. Aaron and his surviving sons were forbidden to defile the priesthood by the utterance of their natural grief, and commanded to remain within the tabernacle, leaving the congregation to “bewail the burning which

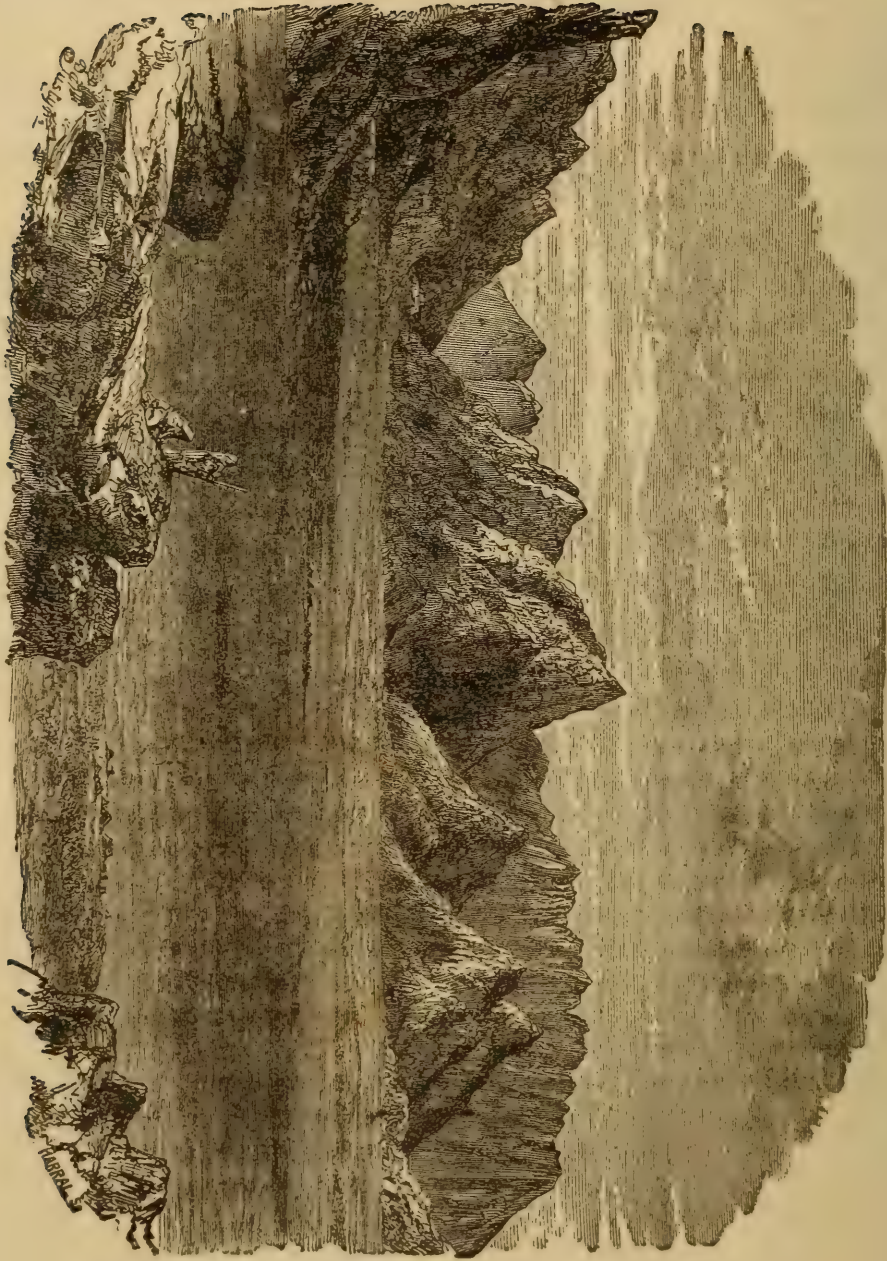
* The mention of twenty-five, in Numbers viii. 24, as the age of entrance, must be understood either of a probationary period during which they were trained for their duties, or of the lighter work of keeping the gates of the Tabernacle.

Jehovah had kindled." The law was laid down that the priests should drink no wine or strong drink when they went into the tabernacle, lest they should be incapacitated from distinguishing between the holy and the unholy, between the unclean and the clean. Even the survivors incurred the severe displeasure of Moses for not eating the sin-offering in the Holy Place.

About this time also occurred the stoning of a man to death by the people for the crime of blaspheming "the *Name*." He was the son of a Hebrew woman by an Egyptian father, and not a pure-blooded Hebrew.

At length God informed Moses that the people had B. C. 1490. dwelt on the mountain long enough, and that the time had come for them to continue their journey. They were directed to go, as the first aim of their journey, "to the mount of the Amorites," that is, the highlands of Judah and Ephraim, which rise on the north of the desert of *et-Tih*, and fill the central part of southern Palestine. To this is added the mention of "all the places nigh thereunto, in the *plain* (*Arabah*)," which seems here to mean the whole valley of the Jordan, and its lakes; "in the *hills*," probably of Judah, and perhaps including Mount Gilead, east of the Jordan; "in the *vale* (*shephelah*)," that is, the lowlands situated in the land of the Philistines; "in the *south*," the special portion of Judah; "by the *sea-side*," the great littoral region north of Carmel, as far as Phœnicia; "to the *land of the Canaanites*," or Northern Palestine; "and unto Lebanon;" "to the great river, the river Euphrates."

On the twentieth day of the second month of the second year (about May 20, 1490 B. C.), the cloud of Jehovah's presence was lifted up from the tabernacle, as the sign of departure; and the tabernacle itself was taken down. At the alarm blown by the two silver trumpets, which God had commanded to be made, each of the four camps set forward in its appointed order, and the host followed the cloud into the wilderness of Paran. This divine guidance relieved Moses from all responsibility as to the direction of the journey. Moses invited Hobab, either his father-in-law, or brother-in-law, to go with them, in those memorable words so often quoted in a wider sense—"We are journeying unto the place of which Jehovah said, I will give it you: come with us, and we will do thee good: for Jehovah hath spoken good concerning Israel;" and Hobab consented to guide them through the desert. He appears as the experienced Bedouin sheikh, to whom Moses looked for the material safety of his cumbrous caravan in the new and difficult ground before them. The tracks and passes of that "waste howling wilderness" were all familiar to him,



THE WILDERNESS OF SIN.

and his practised sight would be to them "instead of eyes" in discerning the distant clumps of verdure which betokened the wells or springs for the daily encampment, and in giving timely warning of the approach of Amalekites, or other spoilers of the desert. "The ark of the covenant of Jehovah went before them, to search out a resting-place for them. And the cloud of Jehovah was upon them by day, when they went out of the camp." When the ark set forward, Moses cried, "Rise up, O Jehovah, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee." And when it rested, he said, "Return, O Jehovah, unto the ten thousand thousands of Israel." Thus they went three days' journey into the wilderness of Paran.

In following the route of the Israelites, we must try to determine two or three chief positions. The general direction is northward from Sinai "to the mount of the Amorites," the highlands of Southern Palestine. The two extremes are the camp before Sinai on the south, and the "city" of KADESH, or Kadesh-barnea, on the north. The distance between these points was eleven days' journey (about 165 miles), "by the way of Mount Seir." This is evidently mentioned as the ordinary route, and it seems to be implied (though this must not be assumed as certain) that it was followed by the Israelites. If it were so, their course would lie nearly along, or parallel to the *Gulf of Akabah*, and up the wide plain of the *Arabah*, which runs northward from the head of the gulf, between Mount Seir on the east and the desert of *et-Tih* on the west. Their present journey must be carefully distinguished from their final march into Palestine, at the end of the thirty-eight years' wandering in the wilderness. On that occasion they descended the *Arabah*, after being refused permission to pass through Edom, rested at Elath (*Akabah*), at the head of the Gulf of Akabah; and whence, turning the southern point of Mount Seir, they skirted its eastern side to the country of Moab, east of the Jordan. But, on their first march, there is no clear evidence that they rested at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*, or passed up the *Arabah*; and the probabilities are very nicely balanced. Much of the difficulty arises from confounding the directions in which they proposed to enter Palestine on the two occasions. Their final entrance was made from the east, by way of the plains of Moab; but their first entrance was to have been from the south, by way of Hebron. This is clear from the command to march to the mountain of the Amorites: from the description of the circuit made by the spies, and especially from their visiting Hebron and Eshcol. Whatever, therefore, the

route to Kadesh may have been, that station was a final starting-point for Hebron ; and thus we have some guide for the latter part of the journey.

Between "the mount of the Amorites" and the group of Sinai, lies the great table-land now called the desert of *et-Tih* (the *wandering*). There can be no doubt of its general correspondence to the *wilderness of Paran*, in which the cloud rested, when it was first lifted up from the tabernacle. This arid tract of limestone answers well to the description of Moses : "When we departed from Horeb, we went through *all that great and terrible wilderness*, which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites ; and we came to Kadesh-barnea." Its limits are clearly marked out by the mountain ranges, which divide it on the southwest from the desert of Shur, on the south from that of Sinai, and on the east from the *Arabah*. The range which divides it on the south from the desert of Sinai is also called *et-Tih* ; and this the Israelites seem to have crossed, in passing out of the wilderness of Sinai to that of Paran. But it is not clear that they made this passage in their first journey of three days. It took them some time to get clear of the *wadys* about Sinai ; and although Paran is mentioned from the first as the region into which they passed, the three important stations of TABERAH, KIBROTH-HATTA AVAH, and HAZEROTH can hardly be reckoned to Paran, as they are said to have encamped in the wilderness of Paran after leaving Hazeroth. Unfortunately these three names furnish little, if any, clew to the route they took from Sinai. TABERAH (a *burning*) records the awful judgment that befell the people, who now began again to murmur against Jehovah. "Fire burnt among them, and consumed those that were in the uttermost parts of the camp ;" doubtless, from the order of the encampment, the mixed multitude who came with the people out of Egypt.

The name of the next station, KIBROTH-HATTA AVAH (the *graves of lust*), is of similar origin. On this occasion too the rebellion began with "the mixed multitude." Their lust for better food spread to the Israelites, who, remembering the fish and the vegetables of Egypt, loathed the manna, and asked for flesh. God sent them quails, on which they surfeited themselves for a whole month ; and while the flesh was yet between their teeth, they were smitten with a great plague, which gave the place its name. The mention of the sea in two passages of this narrative has been used as an argument that the route thus far was along the valleys which run eastward from Sinai to the Gulf of Akabah ; but the sea is near to any part of the peninsula, and the flights of birds which have attracted the attention of travellers are characteristic of the whole region.

A very important institution arose out of the rebellion. Moses complained to Jehovah that the burden of the people was too great for him to bear alone. He was directed to choose seventy of the elders of Israel, and to present them before the tabernacle; where Jehovah came down in the cloud, and gave them a share of the Spirit that was on Moses, and they prophesied. Two of them who had not come out to the tabernacle, Eldad and Medad, prophesied in the camp; an intimation of the truth, so often taught by the prophets, that even in the old dispensation the power of God's Spirit transcended the forms and places of his own appointment. But the devout zealot is slow to receive this truth; and so Joshua prayed Moses to forbid them, just as the disciples asked Christ to forbid those who wrought miracles, but did not follow in his train; and both received answers in the same spirit.

The appointment of the seventy elders has often been regarded as the germ of the *Sanhedrim*. They seem rather to have been a Senate, whose office was confined to assisting Moses in the government, and ceased with the cessation of his leadership. No trace of the *Sanhedrim* is found till the return from the Babylonish captivity. It is more certain that the manner of their consecration prefigured the order of the *Prophets*. The irresistible force with which the divine Spirit impelled them to prophesy has several parallels in the Jewish history, and is yet to be fulfilled in the pouring out of God's Spirit on all flesh.

For the next halting-place, HAZEROTH (the *enclosures*), a site has been found at the *Wady Huderah*, on the main route from Sinai to the shores of the Gulf of Akabah. It lies on the margin between the granite of the *Tur* and the sandstone of the *Debbet-er-Ramleh*, and therefore properly neither in the desert of Sinai, nor in that of Paran. Close to *Huderah* is a brook called *El-Ain* (the water), of itself a strong argument for this route, and inviting an encampment for a considerable time, such as the name seems to imply.

At Hazeroth Moses was troubled by a seditious opposition from Miriam and Aaron. They spake against him because of the *Cushite* woman whom he had married, probably his Midianite wife, Zipporah; and placed their authority on a level with his. On this occasion we have that celebrated description of the character of Moses: "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men that were on the face of the earth." We have also that testimony to his faithfulness as a servant set over the house of God, which the Apostle uses as a type of Christ's government over his own house, the Church. Jehovah

called forth Aaron and Miriam, with Moses, to the tabernacle, and declared his pleasure to converse with Moses openly, mouth to mouth, and not, as to other prophets, in visions, dreams, and dark speeches (parables); and reproved them for speaking against him. Miriam was smitten with leprosy; and, though she was healed at the prayer of Moses, Aaron, as the high-priest, was obliged to shut her out from the camp for seven days; after which "the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran."

Here is the Gordian knot of the topography. We are not told at what point they passed into the wilderness of Paran, nor how many stages they made in it. We find them next at KADESH, whence the spies were sent out; but to determine the position of Kadesh itself is the great problem of the whole route. We obtain no help from the list of stations, in which Kadesh is not mentioned, and the name of Hazeroth is followed by several unknown places, of which it is even uncertain whether they belong to this journey, or to the years of wandering in the wilderness. The latter seems the more probable alternative, since the mention of Mount Hor clearly refers to the fortieth year, and at least the eight preceding stations are closely connected with it; while the halt at Kadesh must be understood of a return to that place after the long wanderings. The only escape from these difficulties is by the hypothesis that Kadesh served as a sort of headquarters during the thirty-eight years of wandering. The Israelites arrived at Kadesh forty days before the vintage, or about the latter part of August; and they made there a longer halt than at any other place, except before Sinai.

B. C. 1490. Upon reaching Kadesh, Jehovah informed the people that they had now reached the mountain of the Amorites, into which they were to ascend to possess the land promised to their fathers and to them. First, however, the land was to be searched by twelve spies. These were at once selected, the heads of the twelve tribes being chosen. Their names are given at length in the Bible, but only two of them are memorable, Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, of the tribe of Judah, and Joshua, the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim. They entered the land and searched it for forty days, penetrating as far to the north as Rehob on the way to Hamath, (*i. e.* Antilibanus), ascending the Ghor and the valley of the Jordan on their route. On their return from Rehob, they went to Hebron, the ancient home of their father Abraham, and searched the surrounding country. In the neighboring valley of Eschol they cut down a cluster of grapes as an evidence of the fertility of the land. The cluster was so large that



GRAPES BROUGHT BACK BY THE SPIES.

it was necessary for two men to bear it between them on a staff. To this was added a collection of ripe figs and pomgranates. After an abode of a year and a half in the desert, we may imagine how beautiful the land of promise appeared to them at this time, the season of the first ripe grapes.

Returning to the camp they reported that, "It is a good land that Jehovah our God doth give us; surely it floweth with milk and honey." The people were delighted by this report, which was confirmed by the fruits brought by the spies; but their ardor was suddenly dampened when the spies told of the difficulties which lay in the way of acquiring possession of the land. "Nevertheless," they said, "the people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled and are very great; and, moreover, we saw the children of Anak there. The Amalekites dwell in the land of the south; and the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites, dwell in the mountains; and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and by the coast of Jordan." The people were dismayed by this intelligence, but Caleb, afterward supported by Joshua, endeavored to calm their fears, telling them they were perfectly able to conquer the land. The other spies, however, neutralized these efforts, by exaggerating both the strength of the land and the physical power of its inhabitants, and by assuring the Israelites that the land was so fertile that it always invited attack from the surrounding nations, and would not be a peaceable possession for them if they should conquer it. "It is," said they, "a land

that eateth up the inhabitants thereof." The people spent the night in bewailing their lost hopes.

In the morning the camp was in open rebellion, and the mutineers clamored for the election of a captain who should lead them back to Egypt. Moses and Aaron fell down before the people and besought them to return to their allegiance to Jehovah, and Caleb and Joshua repeated their assurances of victory; but all in vain. The Rebels were furious, and in their anger had taken up stones to stone their leaders, when suddenly the glory of Jehovah blazed forth from the tabernacle, and stayed them. God spake to Moses, and informed him of his purpose to destroy Israel, to disinherit them, and to make of him a nation. Once more, as at Sinai, the intercession of Moses prevailed; but, while consenting to pardon the nation, Jehovah swore by himself that "the earth should be filled with his glory," in the example he would make of the men who had rebelled against him; not one of whom, save Caleb,* should see the promised land. The sentence was to be put into execution at once, and the people were ordered to depart on the morrow for the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea. There they were to wander for forty years—a year for each day that the spies had searched the land—till all the men of twenty years old and upward had left their carcasses in the desert; and then at length their children, having shared their wanderings, should enter on their inheritance. As an earnest of the judgment, the ten faithless spies were slain by a plague.

The people now changed their mind, but it was too late. Then, in spite of the warning of Moses, they impiously marched up into the mountain, seeking to seize the land in spite of the sentence of God. They were met by the combined forces of the Amorites, Amalekites, and Canaanites, and were defeated with frightful slaughter, and pursued as far as Hormah, and even to Mount Seir.

The thirty-eight years (or rather exactly thirty-seven
 B. C. years and a half) occupied in the execution of God's
 1490-1452. judgment on "the generation that grieved him in the wilderness, and to whom he swore in his wrath, They shall not enter into my rest," form almost a blank in the sacred history. Their

* Joshua is not mentioned in this declaration (Numbers xiv. 24), probably because his destined leadership was already known to Moses, as his new name implies; but he is expressly named with Caleb in the repetition of the sentence to the people (Numbers xiv. 30). Still as Caleb was the first to withstand the rebellion, he receives the higher praise and reward. Hebron itself was made his inheritance.



THE ISRAELITES DEFEATED BY THE CANAANITES.

close may be fixed at the period of the final march from Kadesh to Mount Hor, and thence down through the *Arabah*, and up the eastern side of Mount Seir, to the plains of Moab. But the intervening portions of the narrative are most difficult to assign to their proper place—whether to the first or final stay at Kadesh, or to the years between. The mystery which hangs over this period seems like an awful silence into which the rebels sink away.

After the rout in Hormah, the people “abode in Kadesh many days.” This phrase may possibly cover the whole period of the wandering; and Kadesh may very well be taken for a general name of the wilderness. The direction in which the people started on their wanderings is defined, “*by the way of the Red Sea*,” which seems

clearly to mean down the *Arabah* to the head of the Elanitic Gulf. Now it seems that the passage in Deut. ii. 1, must be referred to this same "turning into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea," and not to the final march, the signal for which is recorded at v. 3; and this is confirmed by the computation of the thirty-eight years of wandering from the time they left Kadesh-barnea. If this be so, we have a clew to the direction of the wandering in the words, "and we compassed Mount Seir many days;" words which point to the *Arabah*. With this agrees the notice of their last march back to Kadesh, being from Ezion-geber at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*.

There is another light, in which the question has hardly been yet regarded. We have often felt staggered at the idea of this vast multitude being led up and down the awful desolations of the *Tih*, amid terrific sufferings to men, women, children, and cattle, with no assignable purpose, except to spend out the allotted years; and we would rather believe that God mitigated their punishment, than that he added any unnecessary suffering to the sentence of the gradual death of the grown-up generation. Nor do we read of any such sufferings as they must have endured had they plunged into the *Tih*: it is not till their return to Kadesh that we find them wanting water. Is it not more consistent with the spirit of the narrative, and with the ways of God, to suppose that their wanderings had at least an apparent object, which determined their direction and extent? When they found that they could not scale the mountain passes of the Amorites, their southward journey might well have for its object to find some passage through Edom to the east by the route they at last followed; and it may have been with this hope that they "compassed Mount Seir for many days." Then, as in the end, they may have met with a refusal from the Edomites; and so have waited about their head-quarters at Kadesh, trying sometimes one passage and sometimes another, but shut out on both sides; and meanwhile leading a nomad life, chiefly among the pastures of the *Arabah*, till God's appointed time had come. This view is strongly confirmed by Judges xi. 16-18, where it is said that, *on coming up out of Egypt*, Israel sent messengers both to the kings of Edom and of Moab, asking for a passage; and, *after their refusal*, Israel abode in Kadesh. Then they went along through the wilderness, and encompassed the land of Edom, etc. In the poetry of the Hebrews, Mount Seir and Edom are constantly connected with the wanderings.

There are five chapters in the Book of Numbers referring to this interval, but to what part of it we cannot say. Besides sundry religious laws, they record the following events:—

I. The death by stoning of a man who was found gathering sticks on the Sabbath day. His offence was the doing *servile work*; its spirit was presumptuous disobedience to Jehovah, and the penalty had already been declared. The case was expressly referred by Moses to Jehovah, and it is recorded as an example that the law of the Sabbath was not to be a dead letter.

II. The rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram was an attempt to deprive the priesthood of its special sanctity, by a perversion of the truth declared by God himself, that all the people were "an holy nation and a royal priesthood." It was led by Korah, a Levite, with 250 princes famous in the congregation, who claimed equality with the priests; and he was joined by Dathan and Abiram, and others of the tribe of Reuben, whose claim probably rested on the primogeniture of their ancestor. At God's command, Korah and his company presented themselves with Moses and Aaron at the door of the tabernacle, each with his censer, favored as it would seem by the congregation. Then the voice of God called to Moses and Aaron to separate themselves from the congregation, that he might destroy them. For the third time the intercessor obtained the people's pardon: they were bidden to remove from the tents of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; and, at the word of Moses, the earth opened and swallowed up the rebels, with their families and all that belonged to them, while fire burst out from the tabernacle and consumed the 250 princes. Their brazen censers, as being sacred, were gathered by Aaron out of the fire, to make plates for a covering of the altar of burnt-offering.

III. The people now murmured at the fate of the men whose rebellion they had favored, and, at the very moment when they gathered against Moses and Aaron before the tabernacle, Jehovah appeared in the cloud, and sent a pestilence among them. Then followed one of the most striking examples of the intercession of Moses and the mediation of the high-priest. Seeing that "wrath was gone out from Jehovah," Moses bade Aaron to fill his censer with coals from the altar and with incense, as an atonement for the people, and to stand between the living and the dead; and so the plague was stayed. A most striking symbol of Christ's mediation to save those who are doomed to the death of sin.

IV. After these things, a new sign was given of Jehovah's special favor to the house of Aaron. Twelve rods, or sceptres, were chosen for the several tribes, and laid up in the tabernacle before the ark, the name of AARON being inscribed on the rod of Levi. In the morning Moses went into the tabernacle and brought forth the rods, and returned



AARON'S ROD THAT BUDDED.

them to the princes of the tribes, when Aaron's rod was seen covered with buds and blossoms, and full-grown almonds. The rest were still dry sticks ; but his was a living and fruitful sceptre. It was a vivid emblem of "the rod of Jesse," the "Branch," springing up without the sustenance of nature, which in the prophets represents the spiritual and life-giving power of Messiah. By the command of God it was laid up in the ark, for a perpetual memorial against the like rebellions. The people, now terrified into submission, cried that they only drew near the tabernacle to perish, and Jehovah repeated the law, committing the charge of the sanctuary to the Levites.

CHAPTER XI.

FINAL MARCH FROM KADESH TO THE JORDAN—DEATH OF MOSES.

[A. M. 2552-2553. B. C. 1452-1451.]

IN the first month of the fortieth year of the epoch of the Exodus (April, B. C. 1452), we find the Israelites again in the wilderness of Sin, at Kadesh, whither they seem to have marched up the *Arabah** from Ezion-geber, at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*. The doom under which the most of the old generation had perished, now reached the house of Amram. Miriam, the elder sister of Moses and Aaron, died and was buried here. She is spoken of as a prophetess, as sharing the sacred mission of her brothers; and tradition makes her the wife of Hur, and grandmother of the artist Bezaleel; and it is said that the mourning for her, as for her brothers, lasted thirty days. In the time of Jerome, her tomb was shown near Petra.

* Although this word appears in the Authorized Version in its original shape only in Josh. xviii. 18, yet in the Hebrew text it is of frequent occurrence. It is used generally to indicate a barren, uninhabitable district, but "the Arabah" indicates more particularly the deep sunken valley or trench which forms the most striking among the many striking natural features of Palestine, and which extends with great uniformity of formation from the slopes of Hermon to the Elanitic Gulf (*Gulf of Akabah*) of the Red Sea—the most remarkable depression known to exist on the surface of the globe. Through the northern portion of this extraordinary fissure the Jordan rushes through the lakes of Huleh and Gennesareth down its tortuous course to the deep chasm of the Dead Sea. This portion, about 150 miles in length, is known among the Arabs by the name of *El-Ghor*. The southern boundary of the Ghor is the wall of cliffs which crosses the valley about ten miles south of the Dead Sea. From their summits, southward to the Gulf of Akabah, the valley changes its name, or, it would be more accurate to say, retains its old name of *Wady-el-Arabah*.

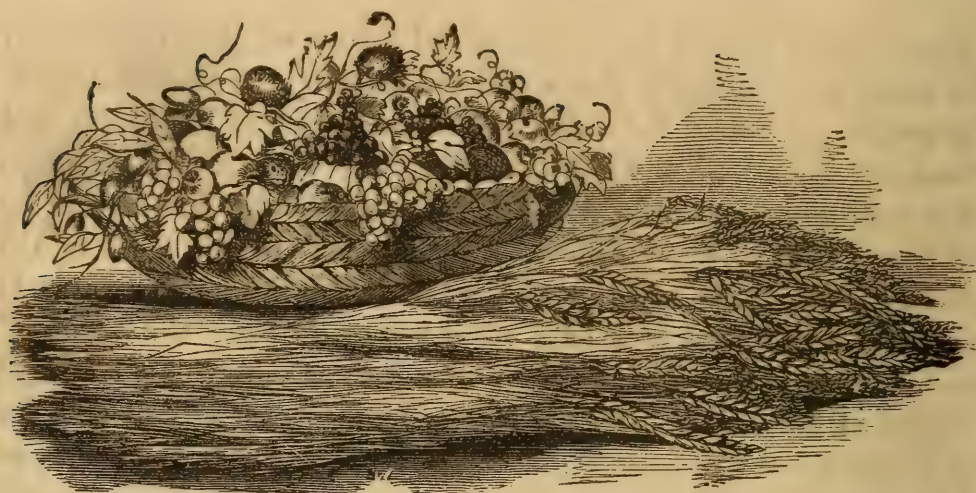
At present our attention may be confined to the southern division, to that portion of this singular valley which has from the most remote date borne, as it still continues to bear, the name of *Arabah*. A deep interest will always attach to this remarkable district, from the fact that it must have been the scene of a large portion of the wanderings of the children of Israel after their repulse from the south of the promised land. Wherever Kadesh and Hormah may hereafter be found to lie, we know with certainty, even in our present state of ignorance, that they must have been at the north of the Arabah; and therefore "the way of the Red Sea," by which they journeyed "from Mount Hor to compass the land of

Here, too, Moses and Aaron committed the sin which brought them also under the sentence of death without entering the promised land. The people murmured for water, as they had done at Rephidim, and Moses and Aaron asked God what they must do in this emergency. They were commanded by Jehovah to assemble the people, and he and Aaron were to stand before the rock or cliff in the sight of the people. Then Moses was to take the rod in his hand and simply to speak to the rock, and it should yield water—it being the design of the Almighty to display his power by a greater miracle than he had wrought at Rephidim. This time the trial was too strong both for the patience and the humanity of Moses. Upbraiding the people as rebels, he asked, “Must *we* fetch you water out of this rock?”—and he smote the rock twice with his rod. The water gushed forth in an abundant stream, which probably followed the march of the people

Edom,” after the refusal of the King of Edom to allow them a passage through his country, must have been southward, down the Arabah toward the head of the gulf, till, as is nearly certain, they turned up one of the wadys on the left, and so made their way by the back of the mountain of Seir to the land of Moab on the east of the Dead Sea.

The whole length of the Arabah proper, from the cliffs south of the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of Akabah, appears to be rather more than 100 miles. In breadth it varies. North of Petra, that is, about seventy miles from the Gulf of Akabah, it is at its widest, being perhaps from fourteen to sixteen miles across; but it contracts gradually to the south till at the gulf the opening to the sea is but four, or, according to some travellers, two miles wide. The mountains which form the walls of this vast valley or trench are the legitimate successors of those which shut in the Ghor, only in every way grander and more desert-like. On the west are the long horizontal lines of the limestone ranges of the *Tih*, “always faithful to their tabular outline and blanched desolation,” mounting up from the valley by huge steps with level barren tracks on the top of each, and crowned by the vast plateau of the “Wilderness of the Wanderings.” This western wall ranges in height from 1500 to 1800 feet above the floor of the Arabah, and through it break in the wadys and passes from the desert above—unimportant toward the south, but farther north larger and of more permanent character. The chief of these wadys is the *Wady-el-Jerafeh*, which emerges about sixty miles from Akabah, and leads its waters, when any are flowing into the *Wady-el-Jeib*, and through it to the marshy ground under the cliffs south of the Dead Sea.

Two principal passes occur in this range. First, the very steep and difficult ascent close to the Akabah, by which the road of the Mecca pilgrims between the Akabah and Suez mounts from the valley to the level of the plateau of the *Tih*. It bears apparently no other name than *en-Nukb*, “the Pass.” The second—*es-Sufah*—has a more direct connection with the Bible history, being probably that at which the Israelites were repulsed by the Canaanites (Deut. i. 44; Num. xiv. 43-45). It is on the road from Petra to Hebron, above *Ain-el-Weibeh*, and is not like the former, from the Arabah to the plateau, but from the plateau itself to a higher level 1000 feet above it.



FIRST FRUITS.

down the Arabah. But at the same time the word of Jehovah came to Moses and Aaron that, because they had disobeyed his command in the manner of working the miracle, and had thus failed to believe and honor him before the people, they should not lead Israel into the promised land, nor enter it themselves. The place of the miracle was called Meribah (*strife*), or, more fully, Meribah-Kadah.

At length the word of Jehovah came to put a term to their wanderings, by the welcome command to “turn northward,” that is, we think, up the *Ghor*, in order to enter the promised land by the way followed by the spies round the edge of the Dead Sea. In order to secure a peaceable passage by the most expeditious route, Moses sent messengers to the king of Edom, on whose borders they then were, informing him what God had done for Israel, and asking leave to pass through his country, as they were both descended from Isaac and Rebekah; and assuring him that they would commit no acts of hostility or trespass, but confine themselves to the highway during the march, and that they would pay for the water they or their animals should drink. The Edomite monarch not only refused the request, but assembled his army, which was very formidable, to defend his frontiers in case the Israelites attempted to force a passage.

The only route now left to the tribes was down the Arabah, and following this line they marched from Kadesh to Mount Hor, on the borders of the land of Edom—the majestic “mountain of the prophet Aaron” (Jebel Nebi-Harûn), which stands on the eastern edge of the Arabah, above which it rises 4000 feet, having Petra at its eastern foot. And now, the time drawing near for the passage of Israel into



NATIONAL SIN-OFFERING.

the promised land, into which Aaron could not enter because of his transgression at Meribah, God gave Aaron notice of his approaching death, and commanded Moses to take Aaron and Eleazar his son, who was to succeed him in the office of high-priest, to the mount, there to strip Aaron of his priestly garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; which when Moses had done, Aaron died on Mount Hor, being 123 years old, and was buried there by the Israelites, who mourned for him thirty days. This event is conspicuous in the sacred narrative not only as the death of the brother and colleague of Moses, but because it involved the death of the first high-priest, and the investiture of his successor.

Aaron died on the first day of the fifth month from the epoch of the Exodus (*Ab*=July and August, 1452 B. C.), at the age of 123. He was therefore born in 1575 B. C., four years before the birth of Moses. As the first-born of the house of Amram, the priesthood of *that house* would be a part of his birthright. His natural eloquence fitted him to be the organ of Moses in his mission to Egypt; and he not only spoke for him, but wrought the miracles at his bidding. Throughout the scenes in the desert, he is associated with Moses in leading the people; but Moses stands above him as mediator with God, and as favored with his direct and open revelations. Even

when Aaron is made high-priest, he receives his authority from Moses. When left alone to govern the people, he at once yielded to their wilfulness, believing probably that it was a wise concession to give them a visible symbol of God's presence; and so he became the minister of idolatry and debauchery. His feeble excuse on this occasion betrays that unstable character which could not go alone without his brother; but, as is usual with such characters, he made a rash attempt to assert his independence, under the influence of Miriam. On all other occasions we find him sharing the cares of Moses, and joining even in his errors, as in the sin which shut them both out from the promised land. It has been well observed that the very defects of Aaron's character, and especially his sin and repentance in the matter of the golden calf, fitted him the more for the office of a high-priest—"Who can have compassion on the ignorant and the erring, for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity." And he could also sympathize with deep suffering, such as he felt when his sons Nadab and Abihu were slain for their sacrilege—"and Aaron held his peace." All these points are placed by the Apostle in striking contrast to Christ's priesthood, whose perfect and sinless human nature makes him have sympathy without infirmity.

Aaron's wife was named Elisheba. Of his four sons, two survived him—Eleazar and Ithamar. The family of the former held the high-priesthood till the time of Eli, who belonged to the house of Ithamar. The descendants of Eli retained it down to the reign of Solomon, who deposed Abiathar, and gave the office to Zadok, of the family of Eleazar. The traditional tomb of Aaron, on one of the two summits of Mount Hor, is marked by a Mohammedan chapel, the dome of which forms a white spot on the dark red sandstone.

The march of the Israelites was now down the Arabah, out of which they turned by way of Ezion-geber and Elath into the wilderness of Moab. The site of *Ezion-geber* (the *Giant's back-bone*) is uncertain: we only know that it was at the head of the *Gulf of Akabah*, and a great port for the commerce with the Indian Ocean, which took that route in the days of Solomon and Jehoshaphat. It was afterward eclipsed by ELATH (the *palm-trees*), which still identify it with the *Ælana* of later times, and the modern *Akabah*. The gulf which bore its name of old, as now (*Sinus Ælaniticus*, *Gulf of Akabah*), yielded its importance as a highway of commerce to the *Gulf of Suez*, in consequence of the building of Alexandria; but the beauties of its red shores and clear blue waters, filled with red coralline sea-weed, are still the same. To this place "the Israelites came on their return

from Kadesh, and through a gap in the eastern hills they finally turned off to Moab. It was a new Red Sea for them: and they little knew the glory which it would acquire, when it became the channel of all the wealth of Solomon."

They now finally passed out of the neighborhood of the Red Sea into the elevated region which lies to the east of the series of valleys that extend from the head of the Gulf of Akabah to the sources of the Jordan. Here they found, not the Canaanites whom they were to subdue, but tribes kindred to themselves, whom they were forbidden to molest; the descendants of Esau and of Lot. First they skirted the eastern side of Mount Seir, the home of the Edomites, who would seem to have yielded them, in this direction, the friendly passage

which they could hardly have resisted on the open desert. The route lay along the margin of the great *desert of Nejd*, "and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way." God punished their murmurs by sending among them serpents, whose fiery bite was fatal. On their prayer of repentance a remedy was found.

Moses was commanded



THE BRAZEN SERPENT.

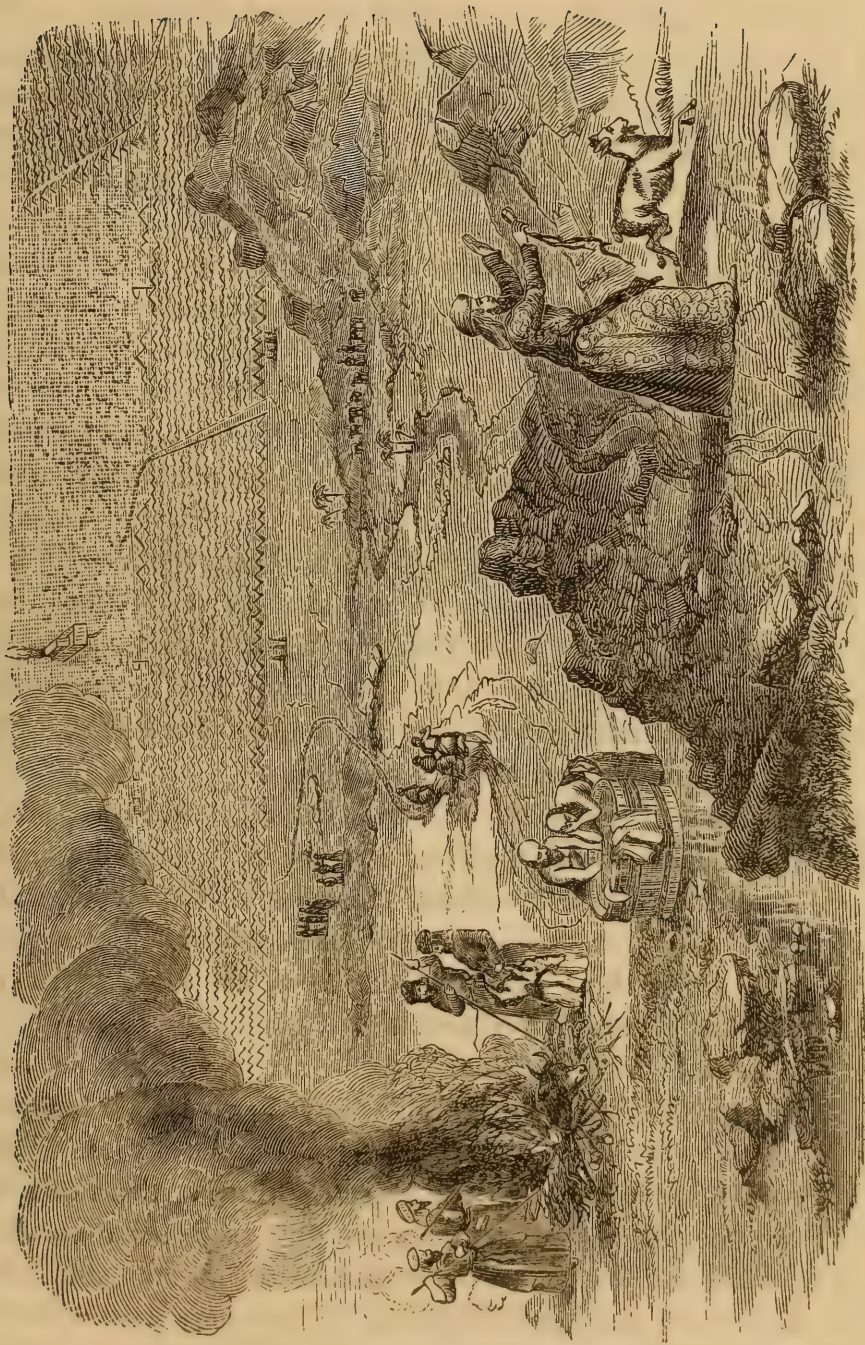
to make a serpent of brass, whose polished surface shone like fire, and to set it up on the banner-pole in the midst of the people; and whoever was bitten by a serpent had but to look up at it and live. In recounting the perils of the wilderness, Moses speaks of the "fiery serpents and scorpions;" and these reptiles still abound in the region about the Gulf of Akabah. But a far deeper interest belongs to this incident of the pilgrimage of Israel. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life."

Preserved as a relic, whether on the spot of its first erection or elsewhere, the Brazen Serpent, called by the name of Nehushtan, became an object of idolatrous veneration, probably in connection with the Ophite worship that was adopted in the reign of Ahaz, with all the

other idolatries of the neighboring nations; and the zeal of Hezekiah destroyed it with the other idols of his father. But the passion for relics is not extinguished by the destruction of its objects. In A. D. 971, a Milanese envoy to Constantinople, being asked to select a present from the imperial treasures, chose a brazen serpent, which the Greeks assured him was made of the same metal that Hezekiah had broken up; and this serpent, probably the idol of some Ophite sect, is still shown in the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan as that which was lifted up by Moses in the wilderness.

B. C. 1452. The Israelites were at this time at Punon, whither they were come from Zalmonah, their first camp after they removed from Mount Hor. From Punon they went and encamped at Oboth, and thence to Ije-abarim in the desert on the east border of Moab. Breaking up their camp here, they marched to Zared, and afterward encamped by the River of Arnon, which is in the wilderness, and runs to the frontiers of the Amorites, dividing the lands of Ammon and Moab. From this point the march led to the plains of the Jordan opposite to Jericho, and here the thirty-eight years of wandering ended. Before reaching the Jordan stirring events occurred.

Having been forbidden by God to molest Moab or Ammon, Moses sent a message to Sihon, the warlike king of the Amorites, asking permission to pass in peace through his territory, to the point opposite Jericho, where the Israelites designed passing the Jordan into the promised land, and assured him that his territory and possessions should be scrupulously respected. The Amorite monarch, fearing doubtless to admit so formidable a body into the heart of his kingdom, not only refused the Israelites permission to pass through his land, but promptly assembled his forces and marched into the wilderness to attack them. The battle took place at Jahaz. It was a decisive victory for Israel. Sihon, his sons, and all his people, even to the women and children, were slain, and the country passed into the hands of the conquerors. This victory was followed up promptly by the capture of the strong city of Jaazer, after which the Israelites crossed the Jabbok into the territory of Bashan, where the giant Og, another Amorite king, reigned. Og reigned over sixty fenced cities in the district of Argob, and upon the approach of the Israelites, led out his army to dispute their passage. In the bloody battle of Edrei he was defeated, and slain with his sons and people. Among the spoil was the iron bedstead of Og, 9 cubits long and 4 cubits broad ($13\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 6), which was preserved in Rabbath-ammon as a memorial of his vast stature; for he was the last of the giant race of the Rephaim,



THE SCAPE GOAT.

who had dwelt of old in Ashtaroth-Karnaim, the capitol of Og. These victories gave to the Israelites the whole region east of the Jordan as far as the desert, from the Arnon on the south to Mount Hermon or Sirion on the north; the region soon after allotted to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

The host now came to the desert plains of Moab, where they made their last encampment east of the Jordan. They pitched their tents among the long groves of acacias which cover the topmost of the three terraces that here form the basin of the Jordan, and in this delightful spot they made one of their most important halts. Beyond the Jordan they could see the green meadows of Jericho, their first intended conquest; but in a little while their attention was called to the appearance of an armed host on the hills of Abarim, which rose close behind them.

The approach of the victorious tribes filled the surrounding nations with alarm, and aroused the Moabites out of their doubtful neutrality. The Moabitish king, Balak the son of Zippor (the king who had been defeated by Sihon), seeing that Israel was too strong for him in the open field, made a confederacy with the sheikhs of Midian, several of whom appear to have led their Bedouin life within the territories of Moab, owing a certain allegiance to the king. It was the united forces of these leaders that now appeared on the heights of Abarim. Meanwhile Balak sought aid from another quarter.

Balak proposed to his allies that they should send to Balaam, the son of Beor, a prophet who dwelt at Pethor, in Mesopotamia, whose fame was spread far and wide among the tribes of the desert, and ask him to come to the Moabitish camp and curse Israel. Balaam seems to have been one of those who retained the worship of the true God, by whom he was favored with prophetic visions, but he appears also to have practised the more questionable arts of divination, and to have made gain of his supernatural knowledge. Balak believed so firmly in his marvellous power, that he was convinced that if Balaam would but curse Israel, he and his allies could drive them out of the land. Therefore, by general consent, the allies selected a number of their chief men, and sent them to Balaam with presents, and ordered them to deliver, in the name of Balak, the message with which they were charged: "Come now, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land; for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." Upon receiving this message from the king,

Balaam desired the bearers to tarry with him that night, for he could give them no answer till he had consulted the Lord. The temptation was too great for Balaam's integrity, for Balak had promised him tempting rewards if he would do his will. Both as a prophet, and from the fame which had gone abroad concerning Israel, he must have known that they were the people of his God, and that it was his duty to refuse on the spot any request to curse or threaten them in the name of Jehovah. It was his duty to send Balak's messengers away at once, but he hesitated, and was lost, but not without repeated warnings. When God questioned him concerning the men in his house, he answered equivocally, but received the positive command, "Thou shalt not go with them, nor curse that people, for they are blessed;" and in the morning he sent the messengers away.

Balak again sent more numerous and more honorable envoys, accompanying his entreaties with promises of rich rewards and great honors. Balaam again did wrong in not peremptorily refusing to entertain their request, and simply declared that he could not, for all the wealth of Balak, exceed the command of God, to whom he again referred the case, hoping, doubtless, that God would relent and allow him to earn the "wages of unrighteousness." And this time God did let him have his own way, thus visiting him with the severest punishment which he reserves for the wilful sinner. Balaam was commanded to go with the men, but—as he himself had already said—to utter only the words that God should put into his mouth; and in all that follows, we see how vainly he strove to break through the prescribed limit, and to earn the wages of his apostasy.

Notwithstanding this permission to go, God was resolved that Balaam should be warned again by a full knowledge of his displeasure. The prophet started off in the morning with the princes of Moab; but as he was on the road, the angel of the Lord stood in the way with a drawn sword in his hand. Blinded by his eagerness to gain the wages of his impiety, Balaam did not see the angel, but it pleased God to give the ass on which the prophet rode, such quickness of sight, that she both saw the angel and shunned him by turning out of the road into the field. Balaam struck the ass sharply, and turned her into the road again, and as he did so the angel stood in another narrow way between two walls which enclosed some vineyards. The ass, seeing the angel, swerved against the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot. This so incensed him that he beat her again. Then the angel went and stood in a place so narrow that the ass could not turn, and the poor beast fell down under him.

B. C. 1452.

At this Balaam flew into a passion, and beat her violently with his staff.

God now rebuked the wilfulness of the prophet by miraculously giving the ass the power of speech, and she said to her rider, "What have I done to thee, that thou shouldest beat me these three times?" "Because," said he, "thou hast deserved it, in mocking me: had I a sword in my hand I would kill thee." The ass replied, "Am I not thine ass, upon which thou hast been used to ride ever since I was thine; did I ever serve thee so before?" He answered, "No." Such an incident might have alarmed a mind less prepossessed than that of Balaam, which remained blinded, till God himself opened his eyes, and let him see the angel standing in the way with his sword drawn in his hand; at the sight of which, he bowed himself down, and fell on his face. The angel expostulated with him, and

told him his undertaking was perverse, in attempting to go against the express command of God, and that, therefore, he was come to stop him: and, but for his ass, which he had so barbarously abused, he had slain him.

Balaam, self-convicted, acknowledged his crime, and offered to return home again, if so be his



THE HIGH-PRIEST.

journey was displeasing to God. However, the Lord resolved out of this man's wicked inclination to raise some advantage; and, therefore, since he was gone so far, he would not send him back, but make him, who was hired to curse, be the instrument of pronouncing a blessing on his people.

Having thus chastised Balaam on the way, he suffered him to go on; but with this charge, that he should only speak what God should tell him.

Balaam then went on his journey with the princes of Moab; and when Balak understood that Balaam was coming, that he might the more oblige him by personal civilities, he came out to meet him (himself receiving him upon the confines of his dominion). At their meeting, the king in a friendly manner blamed Balaam for refusing



SIN-OFFERING OF THE POOR.

to come to him upon his first sending, since it was in his power to advance him. But Balaam, to excuse himself, let him know what restraint the Lord had laid upon him. Then entertaining him publicly with his princes and great men that day, the next day he brought him up into the high places of Baal, that from thence he might take a view of the camp of Israel.

Whilst they were here, the prophet directed the king to order seven altars to be erected for him; and seven oxen, with seven rams, to be prepared; which being done, they both together offered an ox and a ram upon each altar. Then leaving Balak to stand by his burnt-offering, Balaam withdrew to consult the Lord, who met and instructed him what to say; and returning to Balak, whom he found standing at the altar, and the princes of Moab with him, he thus addressed himself to them: "Thou hast caused me, O king, to come from Aram, out of the mountains of the east to curse the family of Jacob, and bid defiance to Israel. But how shall I curse those whom God hath not cursed? and how shall I defy those whom the Lord hath not defied? From the top of the rocks I see their protector, and from the hills I behold him. Behold, this people shall be separated to God, and distinguished from all other people in religion, laws, and course of life; they shall not be reckoned among the nations." Then setting forth the prosperity and increase of Israel, he wished that his lot might be with them in life and death.

Balak, as much alarmed as incensed at the prophecy of Balaam, so contrary to his expectation, passionately inquired,—“What hast thou done? I sent for thee to curse mine enemies, and thou hast blessed

them." Balaam excused himself by the necessity of his instructions, from which at this time it was not in his power to deviate.

However, as Balak was not discouraged; from the change of the place he hoped a change of fortune or better success; and, therefore, taking Balaam into the field of Zophim to the top of Pisgah, he tried whether he could curse from thence.

Balaam, who was willing to please him, had seven altars there, and a bullock and a ram offered on each. Then withdrawing again, as before, to consult the Lord, he received fresh instructions. Balak now began to understand the interview between the Lord and Balaam; and upon his return to him and his attendants, who were big with expectation of the result, demanded what the Lord had spoken? Upon which Balaam, to bespeak the greater attention and regard to what he should say, began thus: "Consider, O Balak, thou son of Zippor, consider that God, who hath already blessed Israel, and forbidden me to curse them, is not like a man, that he should renounce his promise, or repent of what he does. Hath he promised, and shall he not perform? Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good? Behold I have received commission to bless, and he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it. He does not approve of afflictions or outrages against the posterity of Jacob, nor of vexation or trouble against the posterity of Israel. The Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a king is in him. God hath brought him out of Egypt; he hath, as it were, the strength of an unicorn. Surely no enchantment can prevail against Jacob, nor any divination against Israel. So that considering what God shall work this time for the deliverance of his people, all the world shall wonder, and say, what hath God wrought! who hath put his people out of the reach of fraud or force, and turned the intended curse into a blessing. And to show their future strength and success, the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up themselves as a young lion: they shall not lie down until they eat of the prey, and drink of the blood of the slain."

● Balak was so incensed at this peremptory prophecy of the immediate interposition of providence in favor of God's chosen people, that he forbade Balaam to exercise his prophetic talent; though soon after his eagerness to have Israel cursed made him change his mind; for he called for Balaam, and entreated him to try another place, in hopes God would permit him to curse Israel. Hereupon Balaam followed Balak to the top of Mount Peor, a hill that looked towards the wilderness.

Whatsoever ground Balak might have for his hopes, it is certain

Balaam knew the positive will of God in this case was to bless and not to curse; and this he had declared to be irreversible, when he told Balak God was not like fickle man. Yet stimulated with the blind desire of reward, he consented to Balak to tempt the Lord afresh; for he there erected seven altars and laid seven sacrifices thereon.

But having in vain tried all his arts of divination, and seeing that God was resolved to continue blessing Israel (without withdrawing, as before, under pretence to consult the Lord), looking on the camp of Israel, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him, and he cried out in an ecstasy, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!" Then by significant metaphors, he foretold the extent, fertility, and strength of Israel; and those that blessed them should be blessed, and those that cursed them should be cursed.

Balak now upbraided Balaam with deceit and falsehood, and smiting his hands together, being no longer able to restrain his rage, bade him haste and be gone; "For I thought," said he, "to have promoted thee to great honor, if thou hadst answered my design in cursing Israel, but the Lord hath hindered thy preferment."



BALAAM AND BALAK.

B. C.
1452-1451. Balaam had recourse to his old excuse, that he

could not exceed the commands of the Lord, but must speak what he put in his mouth. And though he was willing to gratify the king of Moab in some sort, and perhaps (considering his covetous temper) to entitle himself to some reward, he offered to advertise them now at parting, what the Israelites should do to his people in the latter days. But still, against his own inclination, he bestowed blessings on Israel, and prophesied a star should come forth from Jacob, and a rod from Israel; that it should smite the chiefs of Moab, and destroy the children of Seth; that Edom should fall under its power; and that the Amalekites and Kenites should be extirpated. In fine, he foretold that the western nations, the Greeks and Romans, should vanquish the Assyrians, destroy the Hebrews, and perish themselves.

But the monstrous wickedness of this man is further apparent; for

after these predictions, as if vexed at his own disappointment in missing the reward he expected, and to be revenged on the Israelites as the occasion of it, he instructed the Moabites and Midianites in a wicked artifice; which was to send their daughters to the camp of the Israelites, to draw those people into idolatry; the sure method to deprive them of the assistance of God, who protected them. This artifice succeeded; for the next account we have of the Israelites is, that they lay encamped at Shittim; where many of them were deluded by the Moabitish and Midianitish women, and were drawn in, not only to commit whoredom with them, but to assist at their sacrifices, and worship their gods, even Baal-peor.

But God, who hated sin in his chosen people, suffered not their iniquity to go unpunished; for he showed terrible resentment against both their atrocious crimes, commanding Moses to take the chiefs of those that had joined themselves to Baal-peor, and hang them up before the Lord in the sight of all the people.

Moses accordingly gave charge to the judges of Israel to see execution done on the men under their charge that sacrificed to Baal-peor. But the divine justice did not stop here. Their whoredom must be punished as well as their idolatry; which was aggravated vastly by a person of considerable rank and dignity.

Bold Zimri, the son of Salu, prince of a chief house among the Simeonites, took Cozbi, the daughter of Zur, who was also a prince of a chief house in Midian, and daringly brought her to the Israelitish camp in contempt of Moses, and in sight of the congregation, who, because of the late execution done upon their princes, stood weeping before the door of the tabernacle; and leading her openly into his tent, there lay with her.

This superlative impudence and open violation of God's law, none offered to resent, but Phinehas, Aaron's grandson, who, rising up from the congregation, and filled with a divine zeal, took a javelin in his hand, and followed them to the tent; where, in the very act of whoredom, he thrust them both through.

This zealous act of Phinehas put a stop to the plague, which God sent among the people for this audacious act of Zimri, and the other lewdness and impieties of his comrades. However, there died on this occasion no less than four and twenty thousand. Phinehas's holy zeal for God's honor gained him not only a high commendation, but a perpetual settlement of the priesthood on himself and his posterity.

These disorders thus quieted, and the offenders punished, the next thing was to take vengeance of the Midianites, who had debauched

the Israelites with their idolatries and whoredoms. To effect this, Moses commanded a detachment of twelve thousand picked men, a thousand from each tribe, to march against the Midianites; and with this force went the zealous Phinehas, who carried with him the holy instruments or trumpets, to animate the people.

Such was the exertion of the divine power in behalf of the Israelites, that though very inferior in numbers, they slew five kings and all their men; and among the slain was the wicked prophet Balaam. The cities of Midian were taken and burned, and immense quantities of spoil taken, and the women who had been saved alive were slain by the command of Moses, the female children only being spared. At the same time a law was made for the equitable division of the spoil between those who went forth to battle, and those who remained in the camp.

Before this war another census had been taken, by which the num-



GATHERING MANNA.

ber was found to be about the same as before Sinai, thirty-eight and a half years before (the exact decrease was 820); and Joshua was consecrated by the high-priest Eleazar to be the successor of Moses.

The Israelites thus taking possession of the country on this side Jordan, the tribes of

Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, observing it to be a fertile soil, and good pasturage, desired of Moses that they might settle in that country, upon condition that they should march with the other tribes to conquer the land where they were to settle; that they would not return till the others were in possession; and that they would claim no part of the lands that were beyond Jordan.

Moses, at first, thought they intended to venture no farther, but had a mind to sit down in a country ready gained, and leave their brethren, the rest of the tribes. Upon which he blamed them for offering such a proposal to discourage the rest of the Israelites; but when he understood their real design, upon condition they performed their promise, he granted their request. In the final account of the settlement of the country, we read how faithfully the two tribes and a

half performed their promise. Still, they can hardly be acquitted of a certain selfish grasping at present advantage; and their fault brought its own punishment, for their position exposed them to attack, and they were the first of the Israelites who were carried into captivity.

Moses then enumerated the several stations and removes which the children of Israel made from Rameses in Egypt, to the river Jordan in Canaan, and described the bounds of the promised land, and gave the names of the persons appointed to divide it among the tribes of Israel.

Orders were afterward given, that the children of Israel should assign to the Levites eight and forty cities, with suburbs to them, in which the Levites might live among the tribes, and of which number, six were appointed to be cities of refuge for the manslayer to fly to, who had happened to kill a man by chance.

But provision was made that he who should be duly convicted of wilful murder, should be put to death; and in capital cases it was provided, that none should be convicted of such crimes by the evidence of one single man.

There was a law likewise made, that every daughter, who should possess an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, should be married to one of the tribes of her father, that so the children of Israel might enjoy every one the inheritance of his father; and the inheritance not to be transferred to another tribe. This was grounded upon a law made before, which empowered daughters to inherit land, where the heirs male should be deficient; and was the case of Zelophehad's daughters, who, upon obtaining this act, were required to marry within the family of their own father's tribe.

The work of Moses was now finished: he had already B. C. 1451. received the command of God to ascend Mount Abarim, and view the land into which he must not enter, and his successor had been solemnly ordained. But before his death, however, he assembled the people of Israel, on the first day of the eleventh month, in the fortieth year from their departure out of Egypt, (the people being yet in the plains of Moab by Jordan, and near Jericho,) and repeated to them briefly all that had befallen their fathers since they left Egypt, the gracious dealings of God with them, their unruliness, disobedience, and rebellions, which had so often provoked the Lord to punish them, and by which means they brought upon them that grievous sentence, "That they should not enter into that good land." Then he repeated the decalogue, and divers other laws and precepts, formerly given, though not without some variation, with the addition of some new

laws on divers subjects,* and some explanations of the old; exhorting them to a strict observation of them, promising that they should soon enter into the land of Canaan, and also commanded them to destroy all the idols of the inhabitants of the country, and to extirpate the people.

He encouraged them to be faithful unto God, assuring them, if they kept his commandments, they should have blessings heaped upon them, and threatened them with all manner of calamities, if they departed from them. He renewed the covenant with the people in the name of the Lord; commanding them with a loud voice, to proclaim on the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, beyond Jordan, blessings to all those who kept the covenant, and curses to those who broke it: and to erect an altar in the land of Canaan, on which they should write the terms and conditions of their covenant with God.

These things, with rehearsals sometimes of their fathers', and their own prevarications, Moses not only delivered to the people by word of mouth, but wrote them in a book, which he gave into the custody and care of the Levites, with direction from the Lord, that they should put it into the side of the ark, to be kept there for a witness against Israel, if they should rebel.

Besides this, Moses, by the immediate direction of God, composed a song, in which were at large described, by the many benefits and favors of God to his people, their ingratitude to, and forgetfulness of him; the punishments by which he corrected them, with threatening of greater judgments, if they persisted to provoke him by a repetition of their follies.

This song Moses recited to the people, and gave order that they should learn it, and repeat it often; that when for their transgressing the law, many calamities and troubles should befall them, this song might be a witness for God against them.

Moses now received the final summons for his departure. But first, he uttered, not now as the legislator and teacher of his people, but as the prophet, wrapped in the visions of the future, his blessing on the twelve tribes.

“And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo (*the head*), the summit of Pisgah (*the heights*), that is over against Jericho. And Jehovah showed him all the land of Gilead unto Dan, and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, even unto the utmost sea, and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm-trees, unto Zoar.” Thus minutely does the supplement to the Book of Deuter-

* See Appendix I. at the close of the volume.

onomy describe the scene which lay open before Moses, when he was alone with God upon the sacred mountain of the Moabites ; embracing the four great masses of the inheritance on the east, the north, the centre, and the south, with the plain that lay at his feet. Not that his eye, though still undimmed by his thrice forty years, could literally behold all that is here named : “ the foreground of the picture alone was clearly discernible ; its dim distances were to be supplied by what was beyond, though suggested by what was within, the range of the actual prospect of the seer.” After receiving the last assurance that this was the land promised to Abraham and his seed, “ Moses the servant of Jehovah died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of Jehovah.” God himself buried him “ in a ravine before Bethpeor,” in front of the very sanctuary of “ the abomination of the Moabites.” The allusion of St. Jude seems to imply that the fallen angel, who was really worshipped there, disputed this invasion of his sanctuary with the “ divine prince, the chief of the angels ” (Michael, the archangel), who rebuked him with the same calm authority which he used on the mount of the temptation. Another, and a different profanation, by the idolatrous zeal of later ages for the so-called “ Holy Places,” was guarded against by the concealment of the spot ; and we almost shrink from mentioning the absurd attempt to contradict the mystery by the rude mosque, on the opposite side of the Dead Sea, which pretends to mark “ the tomb of the prophet Moses.” That of him which it was really left for posterity to seek, besides the record of his deeds, was his living likeness in the prophet whom God promised to raise up of his brethren, as he had raised up him, even Christ.

The children of Israel mourned for Moses in the plains
B. C. 1451. of Moab thirty days ; and they rendered obedience to Joshua, the son of Nun, on whom Moses had laid his hands, and who was full of the spirit of wisdom.

In portraying the character of Moses, we avail ourselves of the graphic description of Dean Stanley :

It has sometimes been attempted to reduce this great character into a mere passive instrument of the Divine Will, as though he had himself borne no conscious part in the actions in which he figures, or the messages which he delivers. This, however, is as incompatible with the general tenor of the scriptural account, as it is with the common language in which he has been described by the church in all ages. The frequent addresses of the Divinity to him no more contravene his personal activity and intelligence, than in the case of Elijah, Isaiah, or St. Paul. In the New Testament the Mosaic legislation is especi-

ally ascribed to him:—"Moses gave you circumcision." "Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you." "Did not Moses give you the law?" "Moses accuseth you." St. Paul speaks of him as the founder of the Jewish religion: "They were all baptized unto Moses." He is constantly called "a Prophet." In the poetical language of the Old Testament, and in the popular language both of Jews and Christians, he is known as "the lawgiver." He must be considered, like all the saints and heroes of the Bible, as a man of marvellous gifts, raised up by Divine Providence for a special purpose; but as led into a closer communion with the invisible world than was vouchsafed to any other in the Old Testament.

There are two main characters in which he appears, as a leader and as a prophet.

I. C. his natural gifts as a *Leader*, we have but few means of judging. The two main difficulties which he encountered were the reluctance of the people to submit to his guidance, and the impracticable nature of the country which they had to traverse. The patience with which he bore their murmurs has been described—at the Red Sea, at the apostasy of the golden calf, at the rebellion of Korah, at the complaints of Aaron and Miriam. On approaching Palestine, the office of the leader becomes blended with that of the general or the conqueror. By Moses the spies were sent to explore the country. Against his advice took place the first disastrous battle at Hormah. To his guidance is ascribed the circuitous route by which the nation approached Palestine from the east, and to his generalship the two successful campaigns in which SIHON and OG were defeated. The narrative is told so shortly, that we are in danger of forgetting that at this last stage of his life Moses must have been as much a conqueror and victorious soldier as Joshua.

II. His character as a *Prophet* is, from the nature of the case, more distinctly brought out. He is the first as he is the greatest example of a prophet in the Old Testament. The name is indeed applied to Abraham before, but so casually as not to enforce our attention. But, in the case of Moses, it is given with peculiar emphasis. In a certain sense, he appears as the centre of a prophetic circle, now for the first time named. His brother and sister were both endowed with prophetic gifts. Aaron's fluent speech enabled him to act the part of prophet for Moses in the first instance, and Miriam is expressly called "the Prophetess." The seventy elders, and Eldad and Medad also, all "prophesied." But Moses (at least after the Exodus) rose high above all these. The others are spoken of as more or less inferior.

Their communications were made to them in dreams and figures. But "Moses was not so." With him the divine revelations were made, "mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of JEHOVAH shall he behold."

The prophetic office of Moses, however, can only be fully considered in connection with his whole character and appearance. "By a prophet Jehovah brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved." He was in a sense peculiar to himself the founder and representative of his people. And, in accordance with this complete identification of himself with his nation, is the only strong personal trait which we are able to gather from his history. "The man Moses was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth." The word "meek" is hardly an adequate reading of the Hebrew term, which should be rather "much enduring;" and, in fact, his onslaught on the Egyptian, and his sudden dashing the tables on the ground, indicate rather the reverse of what we should call "meekness." It represents what we should now designate by the word "disinterested." All that is told of him indicates a withdrawal of himself, a preference of the cause of his nation to his own interests, which makes him the most complete example of Jewish patriotism. He joins his countrymen in their degrading servitude. He forgets himself to avenge their wrongs. He desires that his brother may take the lead instead of himself. He wishes that not he only, but all the nation, were gifted alike:—"Enviest thou for my sake?" When the offer is made that the people should be destroyed, and that he should be made "a great nation," he prays that they may be forgiven—"if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." His sons were not raised to honor. The leadership of the people passed, after his death, to another tribe. In the books which bear his name, Abraham, and not himself, appears as the real father of the nation. In spite of his great pre-eminence, they are never "the children of Moses."

In the New Testament Moses is spoken of as a likeness of Christ; and, as this is a point of view which has been almost lost in the church, compared with the more familiar comparisons of Christ to Adam, David, Joshua, and yet has as firm a basis in fact as any of them, it may be well to draw it out in detail.

1. Moses is, as it would seem, the only character of the Old Testament to whom Christ expressly likens himself—"Moses wrote of me." It is uncertain to what passage our Lord alludes, but the general opinion seems to be the true one—that it is the remarkable

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prediction—"The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from *the midst of thee*, from thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken. . . I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." This passage is also expressly quoted by Stephen, and it is probably in allusion to it, that at the transfiguration, in the presence of Moses and Elijah, the words were uttered, "Hear ye Him." It suggests three main points of likeness:—(a.) Christ was, like Moses, the great prophet of the people—the last, as Moses was the first. In greatness of position, none came between them. (b.) Christ, like Moses, is a lawgiver: "Him shall ye hear." (c.) Christ, like Moses, was a prophet out of the midst of the nation—"from their brethren." As Moses was the entire representative of his people, feeling for them more than for himself, absorbed in their interests, hopes, and fears, so, with reverence be it said, was Christ.

2. In Hebrews and Acts Christ is described, though more obscurely, as the Moses of the new dispensation—as the apostle, or messenger, or mediator, of God to the people—as the controller and leader of the flock or household of God.

3. The details of their lives are sometimes, though not often, compared. Stephen dwells, evidently with this view, on the likeness of Moses in striving to act as a peacemaker, and misunderstood and rejected on that very account. The death of Moses suggests the ascension of Christ; and the retardation of the rise of the Christian Church, till after its founder was withdrawn, gives a moral as well as a material resemblance. But this, though dwelt upon in the services of the Church, has not been expressly laid down in the Bible.

BOOK IV.

JOSHUA TO SAUL; OR, TRANSITION FROM THE THEOCRACY TO
THE MONARCHY.

[A. M. 2553—2948. B. C. 1451—1095.]

CHAPTER XII.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

BEFORE accompanying the Israelites into the Land of Promise, it will be well to take a brief survey of its physical features, since they exercised an important influence upon the history of the chosen people. But first as to its name.

The name of the "Holy Land," which has been most frequently used to designate the country from the Middle Ages down to our own time, occurs but once in Scripture. The name of "Palestina" or "Palestine," which was applied to the country soon after the Christian era, is used in Scripture as equivalent to "Philistia," or the land of the Philistines. The ordinary names by which the land is designated in the Bible are the following:—

(1.) During the Patriarchal Period, the Conquest, and the Age of the Judges, and also where those early periods are referred to in the later literature, it is spoken of as "Canaan," or more frequently "the land of Canaan," meaning thereby "the country west of the Jordan," as opposed to "the land of Gilead" on the east.

(2.) During the Monarchy the name usually, though not frequently, employed, is "the land of Israel." It is Ezekiel's favorite expression. The pious and loyal aspirations of Hosea find vent in the expression "land of Jehovah." In Zechariah it is, as we have already seen, "the Holy Land;" and in Daniel "the glorious land." Occasionally it appears to be mentioned simply as "the land;" as in Ruth i. 1; Jer. xxii. 27; 1 Macc. xiv. 4; Luke iv. 25, and, perhaps, even xxiii. 44.

(3.) Between the Captivity and the time of our Lord the name "Judæa" had extended itself from the southern portion to the whole of the country, even that beyond Jordan. In the Book of Judith it is applied to the portion between the plain of Esdraelon and Samaria,

as it is in Luke; though it is also used in the stricter sense of Judæa proper, that is, the most southern of the three main divisions west of Jordan. In this narrower sense it is employed throughout the 1st Book of Maccabees.

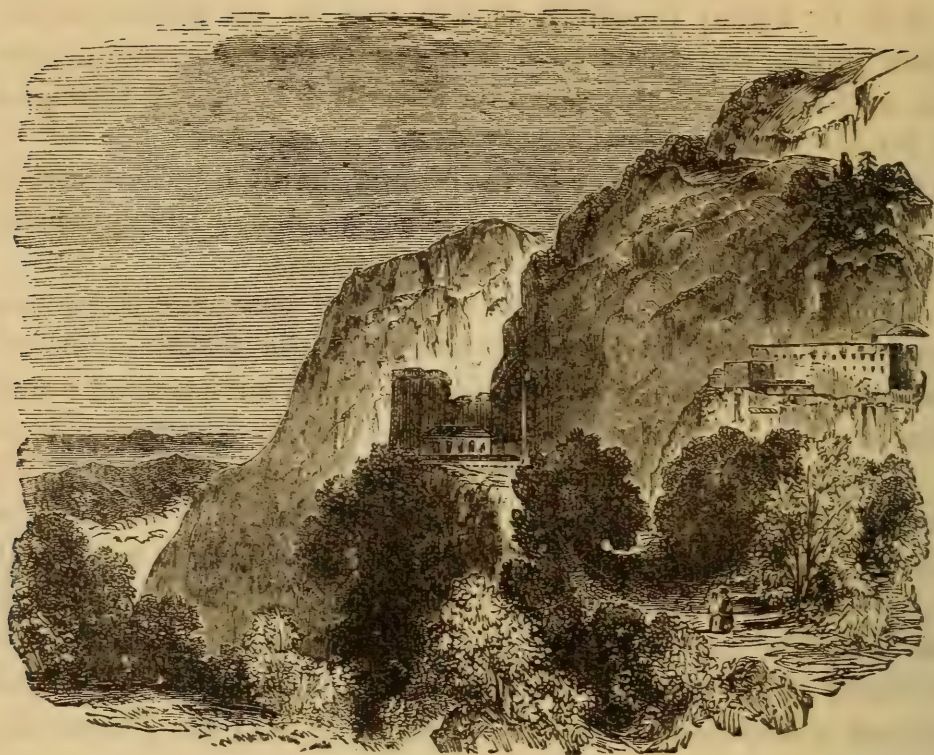
(4.) The Roman division of the country hardly coincided with the biblical one, and it does not appear that the Romans had any distinct name for that which we understand by Palestine.

The Holy Land is not in size or physical characteristics proportioned to its moral and historical position, as the theatre of the most momentous events in the world's history. It is but a strip of country about the size of Wales, less than 140 miles in length, and barely 40 in average breadth, on the very frontier of the east, hemmed in between the Mediterranean Sea on the one hand, and the enormous trench of the Jordan Valley on the other, by which it is effectually cut off from the main-land of Asia behind it. On the north it is shut in by the high ranges of Lebanon and Ante-Lebanon, and by the chasm of the *Litâny*. On the south it is no less enclosed by the arid and inhospitable deserts of the upper part of the Peninsula of Sinai.

Its position on the map of the world—as the world was when the Holy Land first made its appearance in history—is a remarkable one.

(1.) It is on the very outpost—on the extremest western edge of the East. On the shore of the Mediterranean it stands, as if it had advanced as far as possible toward the West, separated therefrom by that which, when the time arrived, proved to be no barrier, but the readiest medium of communication—the wide waters of the “Great Sea.” Thus it was open to all the gradual influences of the rising communities of the West, while it was saved from the retrogression and decrepitude which have ultimately been the doom of all purely Eastern States whose connections were limited to the East only. (2.) There was, however, one channel, and but one, by which it could reach and be reached by the great Oriental empires. The only road by which the two great rivals of the ancient world could approach one another—by which alone Egypt could get to Assyria, and Assyria to Egypt—lay along the broad flat strip of coast which formed the maritime portion of the Holy Land, and thence by the plain of the Lebanon to the Euphrates. (3.) After this, the Holy Land became (like the Netherlands in Europe) the convenient arena on which, in successive ages, the hostile powers who contended for the empire of the East fought their battles.

It is essentially a mountainous country. Not that it contains inde-



MOUNT LEBANON.

pendent mountain chains, as in Greece, for example, but that every part of the highland is in greater or less undulation. But it is not only a mountainous country. The mass of hills which occupies the centre of the country is bordered or framed on both sides, east and west, by a broad belt of lowland, sunk deep below its own level. The slopes or cliffs which form, as it were, the retaining walls of this depression, are furrowed and cleft by the torrent beds which discharge the waters of the hills, and form the means of communication between the upper and lower level. On the west this lowland interposes between the mountains and the sea, and is the PLAIN OF PHILISTIA and of SHARON. On the east it is the broad bottom of the JORDAN VALLEY, deep down in which rushes the one river of Palestine to its grave in the Dead Sea. Such is the first general impression of the physiognomy of the Holy Land. It is a physiognomy compounded of the three main features already named—the plains, the highland hills, and the torrent beds; features which are marked in the words of its earliest describers, and which must be comprehended by every one who wishes to understand the country, and the intimate connection existing between its structure and its history.

About half-way up the coast the maritime plain is suddenly interrupted by a long ridge thrown out from the central mass, rising

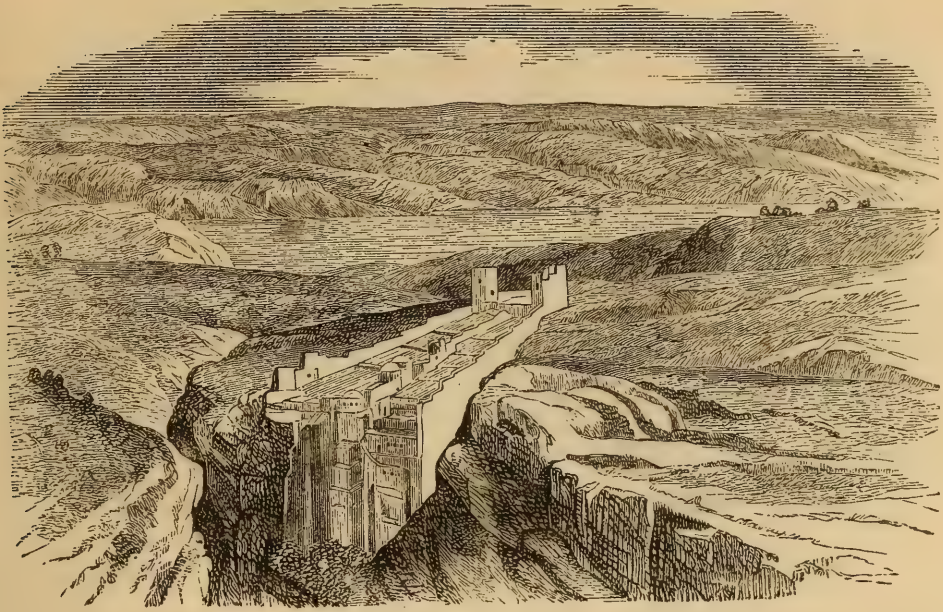
considerably above the general level, and terminating in a bold promontory on the very edge of the Mediterranean. This ridge is MOUNT CARMEL. On its upper side, the plain, as if to compensate for its temporary displacement, invades the centre of the country and forms an undulating hollow right across it from the Mediterranean to the Jordan Valley. This central lowland, which divides with its broad depression the mountains of Ephraim from the mountains of Galilee, is the Plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, the great battle-field of Palestine. North of Carmel the lowland resumes its position by the sea-side till it is again interrupted, and finally put an end to, by the northern mountains which push their way out of the sea, ending in the white promontory of the *Rhas Nakhûra*. Above this is the ancient Phœnicia. Behind Phœnicia—north of Esdraelon, and enclosed between it, the Litâny, and the upper Valley of the Jordan—is a continuation of the mountain district, rising gradually in occasional elevation until it reaches the main ranges of Lebanon and Ante-Lebanon (or Hermon), as from their lofty heights they overlook the whole land below them.

The country thus roughly portrayed, and which, as before stated, is less than 140 miles in length, and not more than forty in average breadth, is, to all intents and purposes, the whole land of Israel. The northern portion is GALILEE; the centre, SAMARIA, the south, JUDÆA. This is the land of Canaan which was bestowed on Abraham; the covenanted home of his descendants. The two tribes and a half remained on the uplands beyond Jordan; and the result was, that these tribes soon ceased to have any close connection with the others, or to form any virtual part of the nation. But even this definition might without further impropriety be further circumscribed; for during the greater part of the Old Testament times the chief events of the history were confined to the districts south of Esdraelon, which contained the cities of Hebron, Jerusalem, Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria, the Mount of Olives, and Mount Carmel. The battles of the Conquest and the early struggles of the era of the Judges once passed, Galilee subsided into obscurity and unimportance till the time of Christ.

The highland district, surrounded and intersected by its broad lowland plains, preserves from north to south a remarkably even and horizontal profile. Its average height may be taken as 1500 to 1800 feet above the Mediterranean. It can hardly be denominated a plateau, yet so evenly is the general level preserved, and so thickly do the hills stand behind and between one another, that when seen from

the coast or the maritime plain, it has quite the appearance of a wall. This general monotony of profile is, however, accentuated at intervals by certain centres of elevation. Between these elevated points runs the water-shed of the country, sending off on either hand—to the Jordan valley on the east, and the Mediterranean on the west—the long tortuous arms of its many torrent beds. The valleys on the two sides of the water-shed differ considerably in character. Those on the east are extremely steep and rugged. This is the case during the whole length of the southern and middle portions of the country. It is only when the junction between the plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan valley is reached, that the slopes become gradual and the ground fit for the manœuvres of anything but detached bodies of foot soldiers. But, rugged and difficult as they are, they form the only access to the upper country from this side; and every man, or body of men, who reached the territory of Judah, Benjamin, or Ephraim, from the Jordan valley, must have climbed one or other of them. The western valleys are more gradual in their slope. The level of the external plain on this side is higher, and therefore the fall less, while at the same time the distance to be traversed is much greater. Here, again, the valleys are the only means of communication between the lowland and the highland. From Jaffa and the central part of the plain, there are two of these roads “going up to Jerusalem;” the one to the right by Ramleh and the Wady Aly; the other to the left by Lydda, and thence by the Beth-horons, or the Wady Suleiman, and Gibeon. The former of these is modern, but the latter is the scene of many a famous incident in ancient history.

When the highlands of the country are more closely examined, a considerable difference will be found to exist in the natural condition and appearance of their different portions. The south, as being nearer the arid desert, and farther removed from the drainage of the mountains, is drier and less productive than the north. The tract below Hebron, which forms the link between the hills of Judah and the desert, was known to the ancient Hebrews by a term originally derived from its dryness (*Negeb*). This was THE SOUTH country. As the traveller advances north of this tract there is an improvement; but perhaps no country equally cultivated is more monotonous, bare, or uninviting in its aspect, than a great part of the highlands of Judah and Benjamin during the largest portion of the year. The spring covers even those bald, gray rocks with verdure and color, and fills the ravines with torrents of rushing water; but in summer and autumn the look of the country from Hebron up to Bethel is very dreary

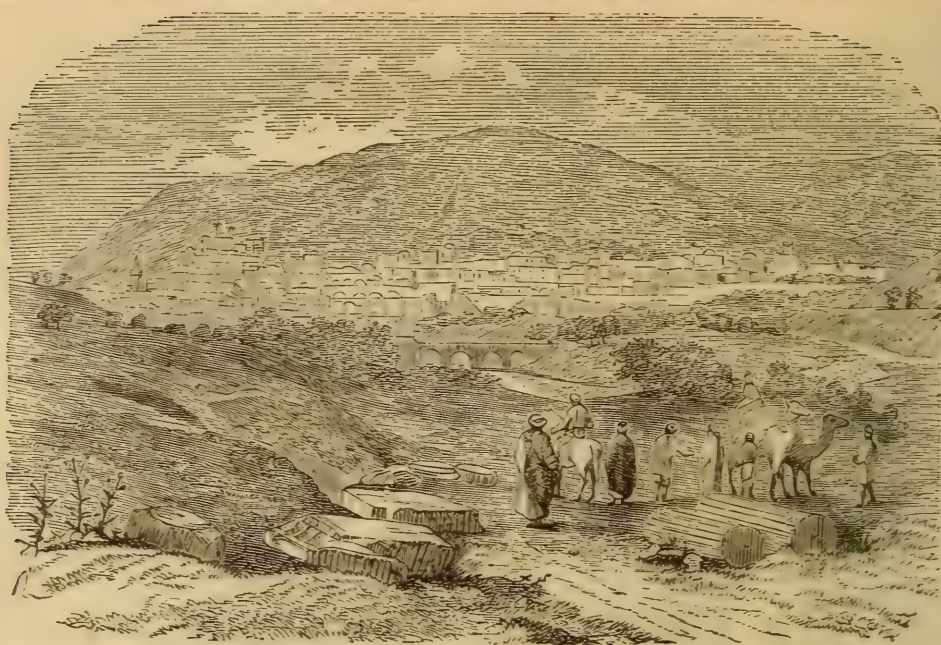


THE DEAD SEA.

and desolate. At Jerusalem this reaches its climax. To the west and northwest of the highlands, where the sea-breezes are felt, there is considerably more vegetation.

Hitherto we have spoken of the central and northern portions of Judæa. Its eastern portion—a tract some nine or ten miles in width, by about thirty-five in length—which intervenes between the centre and the abrupt descent to the Dead Sea, is far more wild and desolate, and that not for a portion of the year only, but throughout it. This must have been always what it is now—an uninhabited desert, because uninhabitable.

No descriptive sketch of this part of the country can be complete which does not allude to the caverns, characteristic of all limestone districts, but here existing in astonishing numbers. Every hill and ravine is pierced with them, some very large, and of curious formation—perhaps partly natural, partly artificial—others mere grottoes. Many of them are connected with most important and interesting events of the ancient history of the country. Especially is this true of the district now under consideration. Machpelah, Makkedah, Adullam, Engedi, names inseparably connected with the lives, adventures, and deaths of Abraham, Joshua, David, and other Old Testament worthies, are all within the small circle of the territory of Judæa. Moreover, there is perhaps hardly one of these caverns, however small, which has not at some time or other furnished a hiding-

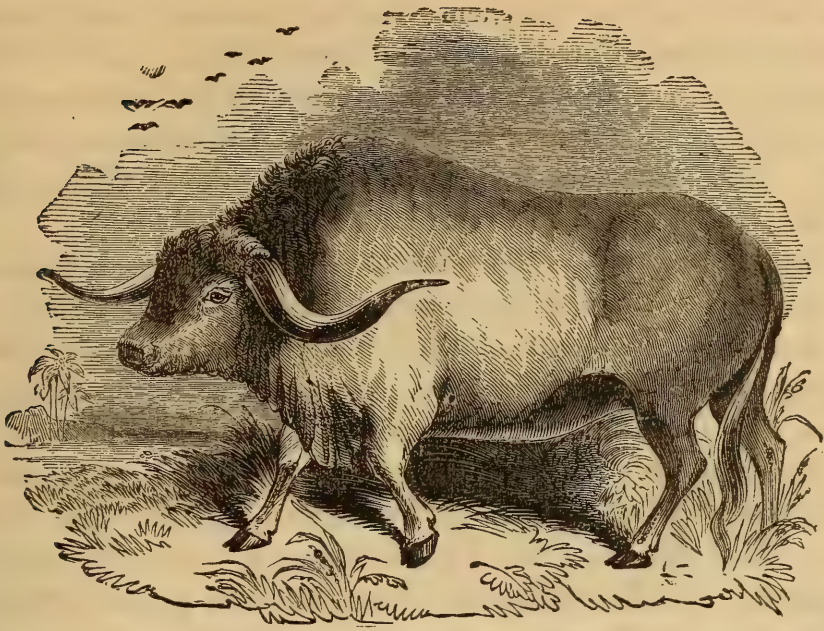


VIEW OF NABLUS AND MOUNT GERIZIM FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

place to some ancient Hebrew from the sweeping incursions of Philistine or Amalekite.

The bareness and dryness which prevail more or less in Judæa are owing partly to the absence of the wood, partly to its proximity to the desert, and partly to a scarcity of water, arising from its distance from the Lebanon. But to this discouraging aspect there are some important exceptions. The valley of *Urtâs*, south of Bethlehem, contains springs which in abundance and excellence rival even those of *Nablûs*; the huge "Pools of Solomon" are enough to supply a district for many miles round them; and the cultivation now going on in that neighborhood shows what might be done with a soil which requires only irrigation and a moderate amount of labor to evoke a boundless produce.

It is obvious that in the ancient days of the nation, when Judah and Benjamin possessed the teeming population indicated in the Bible, the condition and aspect of the country must have been very different. Of this there are not wanting sure evidences. There is no country in which the ruined towns bear so large a proportion to those still existing. Hardly a hill-top of the many within sight that is not covered with vestiges of some fortress or city. But, besides this, forests appear to have stood in many parts of Judæa until the repeated invasions and sieges caused their fall; and all this vegetation must have reacted on the moisture of the climate, and, by preserving the water in many a ravine and natural reservoir where now it is rapidly



THE SYRIAN OX.

dried by the fierce sun of the early summer, must have influenced materially the look and the resources of the country.

Advancing northward from Judæa, the country (Samaria) becomes gradually more open and pleasant. Plains of good soil occur between the hills, at first small, but afterward comparatively large. The hills assume here a more varied aspect than in the southern districts; springs are more abundant and more permanent, until at last, when the district of *Jebel Nablûs* is reached—the ancient Mount Ephraim—the traveller encounters an atmosphere and an amount of vegetation and water which is greatly superior to anything he has met with in Judæa, and even sufficient to recall much of the scenery of the West. Perhaps the springs are the only objects which in themselves, and apart from their associations, really strike an English traveller with astonishment and admiration. Such glorious fountains as those of *Ain-jalûd* or the *Ras-el-Mukâtta*, where a great body of the clearest water wells silently but swiftly out from deep blue recesses worn in the foot of a low cliff of limestone rock, and at once forms a considerable stream, are very rarely to be met with out of irregular, rocky, mountainous countries; and being such unusual sights, can hardly be looked on by the traveller without surprise and emotion. The valleys which lead down from the upper level in this district to the valley of the Jordan are less precipitous than in Judæa, the eastern district of the *Jebel Nablûs* contains some of the most fertile and valuable spots in the Holy Land. Hardly less rich is the extensive region which

lies north of the city of Shechem (*Nablûs*), between it and Carmel, in which the mountains gradually break down into the plain of Sharon. But with all its richness, and all its advance on the southern part of the country, there is a strange dearth of natural wood about this central district. It is this which makes the wooded sides of Carmel and the park-like scenery of the adjacent plains so remarkable.

No sooner, however, is the plain of Esdraelon passed, than a considerable improvement is perceptible, the low hills which spread down from the mountains of Galilee, and form the barrier between the plains of Akka and Esdraelon, are covered with timber, of moderate size, it is true, but of thick vigorous growth, and pleasant to the eye. Eastward of these hills, rises the round mass of Tabor, dark with its copses of oak, and set off by contrast with the bare slopes of Jebel-el-Duhy (the so-called "Little Hermon") and the white hills of Nazareth. North of Tabor and Nazareth is the plain of El-Buttauf, an upland tract hitherto very imperfectly described, but apparently of a nature similar to Esdraelon, though much more elevated. The notices of this romantic district in the Bible are but scanty; in fact, till the date of the New Testament, when it had acquired the name of Galilee, it may be said for all purposes of history to be hardly mentioned. And even in the New Testament times the interest is confined to a very small portion—the south and southwest corner, containing Nazareth, Cana and Nain, on the confines of Esdraelon and Capernaum, Tiberias and Gennesareth, on the margin of the lake.

Few things are a more constant source of surprise to the stranger in the Holy Land than the manner in which the hill-tops are, throughout, selected for habitation. A town in a valley is a rare exception. On the other hand, scarce a single eminence of the multitude always in sight but is crowned with its city or village, inhabited or in ruins, often so placed as if not accessibility but inaccessibility had been the object of its builders. And indeed such was their object. These groups of naked forlorn structures, piled irregularly one over the other on the curve of the hill-top, are the lineal descendants, if indeed they do not sometimes contain the actual remains of the "fenced cities, great and walled up to heaven," which are so frequently mentioned in the records of the Israelite conquest. These hill towns were not what gave the Israelites their main difficulty in the occupation of the country. Wherever strength of arm and fleetness of foot availed, there those hardy warriors, fierce as lions, sudden and swift as eagles, sure-footed and fleet as the wild deer on the hills, easily conquered. It was in the plains, where the horses and chariots of the Canaanites



THE SYRIAN GOAT.

and Philistines had space to manœuvre, that they failed in dislodging the aborigines. "Judah drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron . . . neither could Manasseh drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean . . . nor Megiddo," in the plain of Esdraelon . . . "nor could Ephraim drive out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer," on the maritime plain near Ramleh . . . "nor could Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho" . . . "and the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the mountain, for they would not suffer them to come down into the valley." Thus in this case the ordinary conditions of conquest were reversed—the conquerors took the hills, the conquered kept the plains. To a people so exclusive as the Jews there must have been a constant satisfaction in the elevation and inaccessibility of their highland regions. This is evident in every page of their literature, which is tinged throughout with a highland coloring. The "mountains" were to "bring peace," the "little hills, justice to the people:" when plenty came, the corn was to flourish on the "top of the mountains." In like manner the mountains were to be joyful before Jehovah when he came to judge his people. What gave its keenest sting to the Babylonian conquest, was the consideration that the "mountains of Israel," the "ancient high places," were become a "prey and a derision;" while, on the other hand, one of the most joyful circumstances of the restoration is, that the mountains "shall yield their fruit as before, and be settled after their old estates." We have the

testimony of the heathens that in their estimation Jehovah was the "God of the mountains," and they showed their appreciation of the fact by fighting, when possible, in the lowlands. The contrast is strongly brought out in the repeated expression of the psalmists. "Some," like Canaanites and Philistines of the lowlands, "put their trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we"—we mountaineers, from our "sanctuary" on the heights of "Zion"—"will remember the name of Jehovah our God," "the God of Jacob our Father," the shepherd-warrior, whose only weapons were sword and bow—the God who is now a high fortress for us—"at whose command both chariot and horse are fallen," "who burneth the chariots in the fire."

A few words must be said in general description of the maritime lowland, which intervenes between the sea and the highlands. This region, only slightly elevated above the level of the Mediterranean, extends without interruption from *El-Arish*, south of Gaza, to Mount Carmel. It naturally divides itself into two portions, each of about half its length:—the lower one the wider; the upper one the narrower. The lower half is the plain of the Philistines—Philistia, or, as the Hebrews called it, the *Shefelah*, or lowland. The upper half is the Sharon or Saron of the Old and New Testaments. The PHILISTINE PLAIN is on an average fifteen or sixteen miles in width from the coast to the first beginning of the belt of hills which forms the gradual approach to the high land of the mountains of Judah. The larger towns, as Gaza and Ashdod, which stand near the shore, are surrounded with huge groves of olive, sycamore and palm, as in the days of King David. The whole plain appears to consist of brown loamy soil, light, but rich, and almost without a stone. It is now, as it was when the Philistines possessed it, one enormous cornfield; an ocean of wheat covers the wide expanse between the hills and the sand dunes of the sea-shore, without interruption of any kind—no break or hedge, hardly even a single olive-tree. Its fertility is marvellous; for the prodigious crops which it raises are produced, and probably have been produced almost year by year for the last forty centuries, without any of the appliances which we find necessary for success. The PLAIN OF SHARON is much narrower than Philistia. It is about ten miles wide from the sea to the foot of the mountains, which are here of a more abrupt character than those of Philistia, and without the intermediate hilly region there occurring.

It is probable that the Israelites never permanently occupied more than a small portion of this rich and favored region. Its principal towns were, it is true, allotted to the different tribes; but this was in



THE WILD ASS.

anticipation of the intended conquest. The five cities of the Philistines remained in their possession, and the district was regarded as one independent of and apart from Israel. In like manner, Dor remained in the hands of the Canaanites, and Gezer in the hands of the Philistines till taken from them in Solomon's time by his father-in-law. We find that toward the end of the monarchy, the tribe of Benjamin was in possession of Lydd, Jimzu, Ono, and other places in the plain; but it was only by a gradual process of extension from their native hills, in the rough ground of which they were safe from the attack of cavalry and chariots. But, though the Jews never had any hold on the region, it had its own population, and towns probably not inferior to any in Syria. Both Gaza and Askelon had regular ports. Ashdod, though on the open plain, resisted for twenty-nine years the attack of the whole Egyptian force: a similar attack to that which reduced Jerusalem without a blow, and was sufficient on another occasion to destroy it after a siege of a year and a half, even when fortified by the works of a score of successive monarchs.

The one ancient port of the Jews, the "beautiful" city of Joppa,

occupied a position central between the Shefelah and Sharon. Roads led from these various cities to each other, to Jerusalem, Neapolis, and Sebaste in the interior, and to Ptolemais and Gaza, on the north and south. The commerce of Damascus, and, beyond Damascus, of Persia and India, passed this way to Egypt, Rome, and the infant colonies of the West; and that traffic, and the constant movement of troops backward and forward, must have made this plain one of the busiest and most populous regions of Syria at the time of Christ.

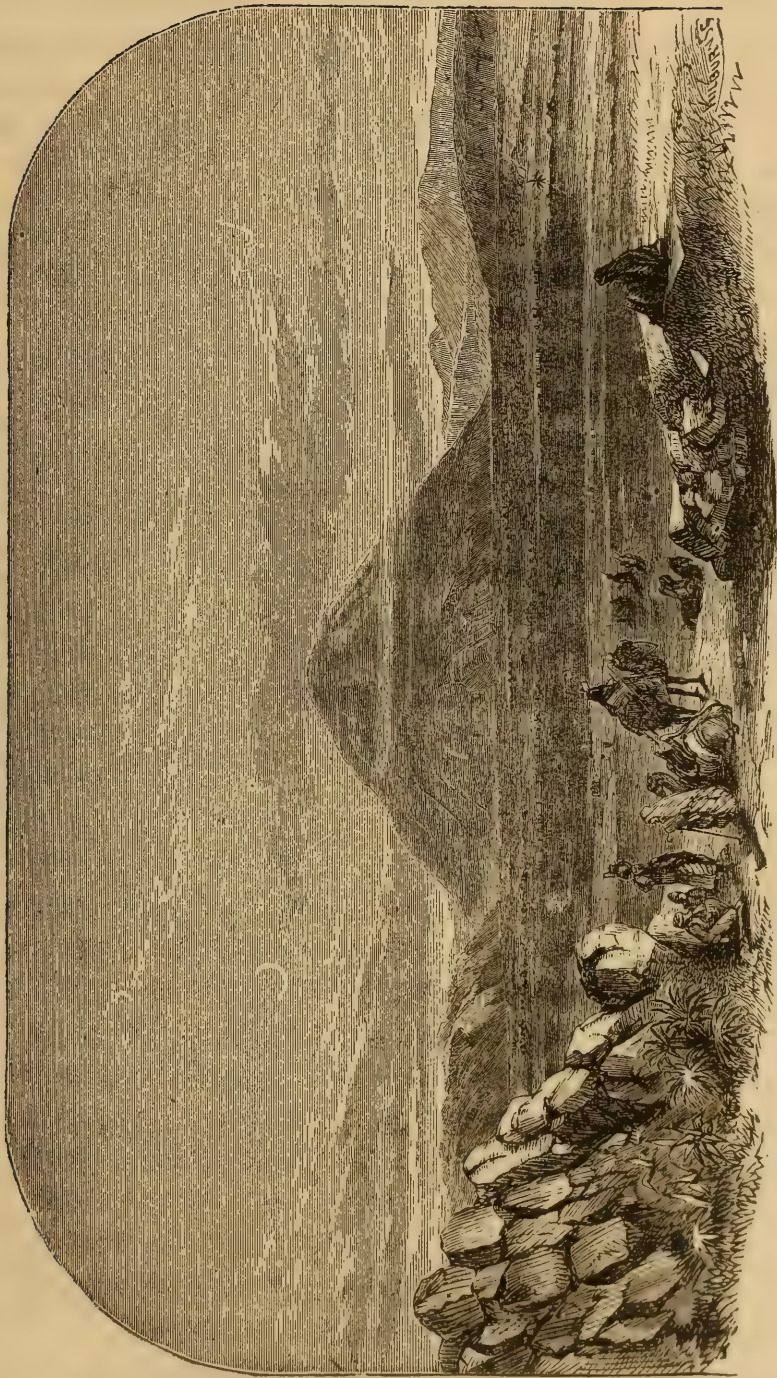
The characteristics already described are hardly peculiar to Palestine. Her hilly surface and general height, her rocky ground and thin soil, her torrent beds wide and dry for the greater part of the year, even her belt of maritime lowland—these she shares with other lands, though it would perhaps be difficult to find them united else-

where. But there is one feature, as yet only alluded to, in which she stands alone. This feature is the JORDAN—the one river of the country. The valley through which the Jordan rushes down its extraordinary descent begins with the river at its remotest springs of *Hasbeiya*, on the N. W. side of Hermon, and accompanies it to the lower end of the Dead Sea,



JORDAN.

a length of about 150 miles. During the whole of this distance its course is straight, and its direction nearly due north and south. The springs of *Hasbeiya* are 1700 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, and the northern end of the Dead Sea is 1317 feet below it, so that between these two points the valley falls with more or less regularity through a height of more than 3000 feet. But though the *river* disappears at this point, the *valley* still continues its descent below the waters of the Dead Sea till it reaches a further depth of 1308 feet. So that the bottom of this extraordinary crevasse is actually more than 2600 feet below the surface of the ocean. In width, the valley varies. In its upper and shallower portion, as between



MOUNT TABOR.

Banias and the Lake of Merom (*Hûleh*), it is about five miles across. Between the Lake of Merom and the Sea of Galilee it contracts, and becomes more of an ordinary ravine or glen. It is in its third and lower portion that the valley assumes its more definite and regular character. During the greater part of this portion, it is about seven miles wide from the one wall to the other. The eastern mountains preserve their straight line of direction, and their massive horizontal wall-like aspect, during almost the whole distance. The western mountains are more irregular in height, their slopes less vertical. North of Jericho they recede in a kind of wide amphitheatre, and the valley becomes twelve miles broad, a breadth which it thenceforth retains to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. Buried as it is between such lofty ranges, and shielded from every breeze, the climate of the Jordan Valley is extremely hot and relaxing. Its enervating influence is shown by the inhabitants of Jericho. All the irrigation necessary for the towns, or for the cultivation which formerly existed, is obtained from the torrents and springs of the western mountains. For all purposes to which a river is ordinarily applied, the Jordan is useless. So rapid that its course is one continued cataract; so crooked that, in the whole of its lower and main course, it has hardly half a mile straight; so broken with rapids and other impediments, that no boat can swim for more than the same distance continuously; so deep below the surface of the adjacent country that it is invisible, and can only with difficulty be approached; resolutely refusing all communication with the ocean, and ending in a lake, the peculiar conditions of which render navigation impossible—with all these characteristics, the Jordan, in any sense which we attach to the word “river,” is no river at all; unless for irrigation and navigation, it is what its Arabic name signifies, nothing but a “great watering-place.”

The DEAD SEA, which is the final receptacle of the Jordan, is about 46 miles in length, and $10\frac{1}{3}$ miles in its greatest width. The depression of its surface, and the depth which it attains below that surface, combined with the absence of any outlet, render it one of the most remarkable spots on the globe. The surface of the lake is 1316 feet below the level of the Mediterranean at Jaffa, and its greatest depth 1308 feet.

Monotonous and uninviting as much of the Holy Land will appear to readers accustomed to the climate and verdure of our own favored country, we must remember that to the Israelites, after their long and weary wanderings in the frightful and burning desert, it was indeed a very paradise.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONQUEST AND DIVISION OF THE HOLY LAND.

[B. C. 1451-1426.]

MOSES, the lawgiver, was succeeded by JOSHUA, the military chief, on whom devolved the work of leading the people into their inheritance, and giving them "rest." He was the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim. His name at first was Oshea (*help* or *Saviour*), which Moses changed, by prefixing the name of Jehovah to JOSHUA, that is, *God is the Saviour*; and this name, so descriptive of his work, was a type of the higher work of

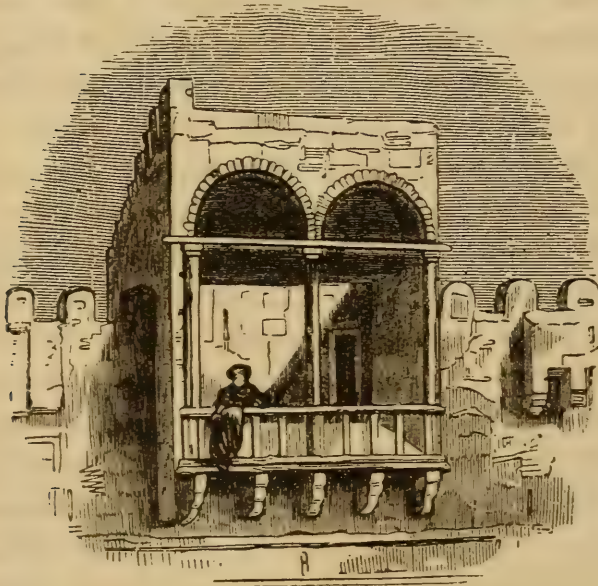
JESUS, in "saving his people from their sins." He was B. C. 1451.

probably above eighty years of age, having been above forty at the beginning of the wandering in the wilderness. He had grown up to mature age in the state of Egyptian bondage; he had shared the experience and trials of the wilderness, as the chosen servant of Moses; he had proved his military capacity at Rephidim and in the conquest of the land east of Jordan; and his steadfast obedience to Kadesh, when he stood alone with Caleb, "faithful among the faithless;" and he lived for about twenty-five years more to finish his allotted work. These three periods of his life thus embrace the whole history of the moulding of the nation from its state of hopeless bondage, when Moses fled to Midian, till God "brought them in and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance." His character was in accordance with his career: a devout warrior, blameless and fearless, who has been taught by serving as a youth how to command as a man; who earns by manly vigor a quiet, honored old age; who combines strength with gentleness, ever looking up for and obeying the Divine impulse with the simplicity of a child, while he wields great power, and directs it calmly, and without swerving, to the accomplishment of a high unselfish purpose. He is one of the very few worthies of the Old Testament on whose character there is no stain, though his history is recorded with unusual fulness. We have already noticed his appointment and consecration as the successor of Moses.

As soon as the mourning for Moses was ended, God appeared to

Joshua, and commanded him to lead the people over Jordan, with a renewed description of their land, an assurance of victory, an exhortation to courage and to obedience maintained by meditation on the book of the law, and a promise of God's presence. Joshua prepared the host against the third day, and summoned the two tribes and a half to perform their promise of marching in the van. He had already sent two spies to Jericho, which was to be the first object of attack. This great city stood in a spacious plain, about six miles west of Jordan, and opposite to the camp of Israel, in the midst of a grove of noble palm-trees, whence it was called "Jericho, the city of palms." It had a "king," like all the great cities of Canaan. The description of its spoil proves the wealth it derived from its position on the high road

of the commerce that passed from the East over the Jordan to Philistia and Egypt; and the "goodly Babylonish garment" in particular attests its use of the products of the Chaldæan capital. It appeared to possess advantages for a capital far exceeding those of Jerusalem, to which it might have become a formidable rival, but for the curse laid upon it by Joshua. It was strongly fortified and well guard-



HOUSE ON THE WALL OF A CITY.

ed, the gates being shut at night. The houses on the walls indicate the solidity of the walls themselves.

The two spies were received into one of these houses by a harlot named RAHAB, in whose mind the terror that had fallen on the Canaanites, when they heard all that God had done for Israel, had produced belief in Jehovah, as the God of heaven and of earth, and in his purpose to give them the land. In this faith she hid the spies; misdirected the officers of the king, who came in search of them, and sent them out of the city in fruitless pursuit; and then let down the spies from a window of her house over the city wall, after they had sworn to save her family in the destruction of the city. A scarlet thread, in the window from which she had let them down, was the



RAHAB CONCEALING THE SPIES.

sign by which the house was to be known. The spies fled to the mountain for three days, to avoid the pursuers who had gone out in search of them, and then returned to Joshua, with the report that Jehovah had delivered the land into their hands; for all the inhabitants were fainting with fear because of them.

The next morning Joshua broke up the camp at Shittim, and moved down to the edge of the Jordan, which at this season, the harvest (*April*), overflowed its banks, in consequence of the melting of the snow about its sources in the Antilibanus. On the third day, the officers instructed the people in the order of their march, and Joshua bade them sanctify themselves in preparation for the wonder that God should do on the morrow. In the morning, the priests that bore the ark advanced in front of the host to the water's edge; and their feet were no sooner dipped in the water, than the river was divided, the waters that came down from above being heaped up as a wall, and the lower portion flowing down toward the Dead Sea, and leaving the channel bare. The priests advanced into the midst of the river's bed with the ark, and there stood firm till all the people had passed over. Meanwhile twelve chosen men, one from each tribe, took twelve stones from the spot where the priests stood firm, and brought them out of the river, leaving in their place twelve other stones from the dry land. When all this was done, Joshua commanded the priests to come up out of Jordan; and the moment that their feet were lifted over the margin of the water into the dry land, the waters of the river returned, and overflowed the banks as before.

The host encamped that night at Gilgal, in the plains of Jericho, and there Joshua set up the twelve stones that had been brought out of the river's bed, for a perpetual memorial of the division of the waters before the ark of Jehovah, to let his people pass into their land, just as the Red Sea had been divided to let them pass out of Egypt.

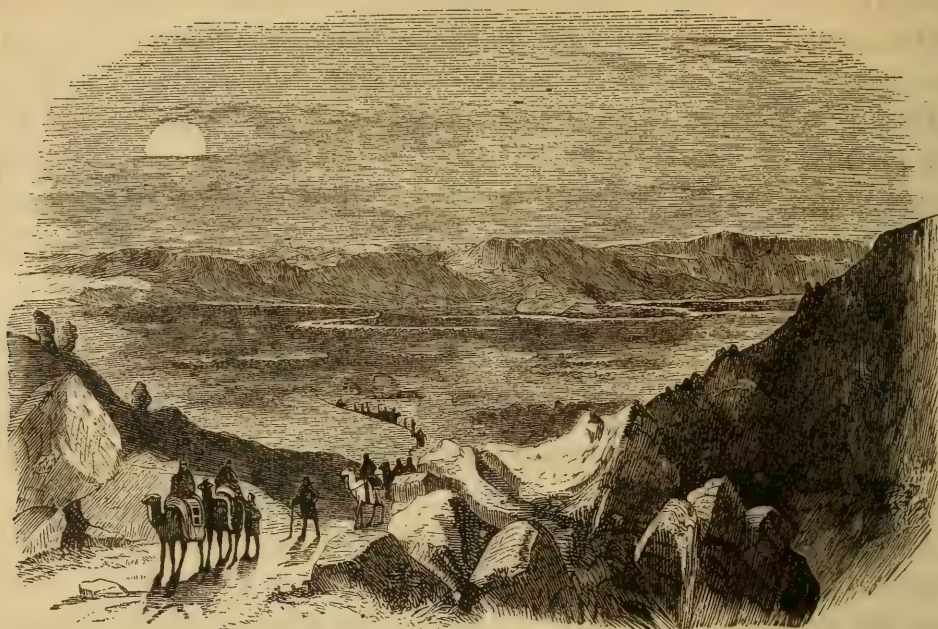
The passage of the Jordan was completed on the tenth day of the first month (Nisan=April, B. C. 1451). This was the day appointed for the selection of the Paschal Lamb, and on the evening of the fourteenth the people kept the Passover for the first time on the sacred soil of their inheritance, exactly forty years after their fathers had first kept it before leaving Egypt. But first, God commanded Joshua to circumcise the people; for the circumcised generation who had left Egypt had died in the wilderness, and none of the present generation had been circumcised. It seems strange that this essential seal of the covenant should have been neglected under the leadership of Moses himself; but his attention may have been too

closely occupied with the public affairs of the people to inquire into a matter which rested with the heads of families. Be this as it may, the omission led to a great national observance, which may be regarded as a renewal of the covenant with Abraham in the very land the promise of which had been sealed with the same sign. Perhaps this is implied in the terms of the command to Joshua to "circumcise the people *again*." In memory of the "rolling away of their reproach," the place was called *Gilgal*, i. e., *rolling*.

Here, on the morrow after the Passover, the new generation tasted bread for the first time. They ate unleavened bread and parched corn of the old crop of the land; and at the same time the manna ceased. From that day forward they began to eat the fruits of the year.

We must not fail to notice the picture of their security and their command of the open country, implied in these proceedings. They were not only unmolested during their circumcision and the Passover, but they were supplied with old and new corn, whether by the agency or by the flight of the country people, while the cities were "closely shut up for fear of them," and the news of their passage of the Jordan had so terrified the kings of the Amorites and the Canaanites, from the Jordan to the sea, "that their heart melted, neither was there any spirit in them any more, because of the children of Israel."

As Joshua was meditating how to attack Jericho, a vision was vouchsafed to him, to teach him that the work was God's. Looking up toward the city, he saw a warrior opposite to him with a drawn sword in his hand, who, in reply to Joshua's challenge, announced that he had come forth as the "Captain (or prince) of the host of Jehovah." This title, so often afterward applied to the Son of God, revealed him to Joshua, who fell down before him to worship, and to receive the commands of his supreme general. After bidding him to put off his shoe, for the place was holy, Jehovah promised him the conquest of Jericho, and prescribed the manner of its capture. The host were to compass the city for seven days: the first six days once, the chosen warriors marching in front of the ark, before which seven priests bore seven trumpets of rams' horns; the rest of the people following, and all preserving silence, while the trumpets alone sounded a continued defiance. On the seventh day the circuit was repeated seven times; and at the seventh, the trumpets pealed forth one long loud blast; the people raised a mighty shout; the wall of the city fell down flat; and each man rushed in straight from the place where he had stood, as Joshua had commanded. Before its capture, the city,



PLAIN OF JERICHO.

with all its inhabitants, was “accursed,” or “devoted,” as the first-fruits of the spoil of Canaan—a thing “most holy to Jehovah;” and the law prescribed that all living beings so devoted should be put to death without redemption, and all the property destroyed, or dedicated to God. Only the household of Rahab were excepted from the curse; and the two spies were sent to bring her and her kindred safe out beyond the camp. Then the men and women, young and old, and the oxen, sheep, and asses were put to the edge of the sword: the city was burnt with fire, and its buildings razed to the ground; the silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, were placed in the sacred treasury; and Joshua imprecated a solemn curse on the man who should rebuild Jericho. The curse was literally fulfilled in the fate of Hiel, the Bethelite, who rebuilt Jericho in the reign of Ahab (about B. C. 925): his first-born son, Abiram, died as he was laying the foundation, and his youngest son, Segub, while he was setting up the gates.

No less striking was the blessing which followed Rahab for her conduct, which is recorded as the greatest example of *faith*, and of the *works* which spring from faith, in the old heathen world. Besides being a heathen, she was a harlot, for there is no ground for the interpretation of the word as meaning an inn-keeper; though there is much to prove that she was not utterly depraved. But her mind and heart received in simple faith the proofs of Jehovah’s power and pur-

poses; she served his people with courage, ingenuity, and devotion; and so she "entered into the kingdom of God." She was rewarded by a most distinguished place among the families of Israel. She married Salmon (perhaps one of the spies), and became the mother of Boaz, the great-grandfather of David. Hers is thus one of the four female names, all of them foreigners, recorded in the genealogy of Christ; and it is one of the profoundest moral, as well as spiritual, lessons of his gospel, that he did not disdain such an ancestry.

The fall of Jericho itself is placed by the Apostle among the great triumphs of *faith*. It was an example of the power of simple obedience to plans of action prescribed by God; and an earnest of the conquests to be achieved by the same principle. And this is true also of the destruction of the city. Not only as the first which the Israelites took, but as perhaps the most conspicuous city of Canaan for the advantages of its position, its commerce, wealth, and luxury, and unquestionably also for the abominable vices that had now "filled up the iniquity of the Canaanites," its doom was the pattern of that denounced on the cities of the land.

There was, however, one man among the Israelites, whose lust of spoil made him unfaithful. His act brought a curse upon all Israel, so that they failed in their next enterprise, the attack on Ai. This was the place east of Bethel, between which and Bethel Abraham had pitched his tent: it lay among the hills, probably at the head of one of the passes leading up from the valley of the Jordan. The spies whom Joshua had sent reported it an easy conquest; and only about 3000 men were detached to take it. They were repulsed and chased to Shebarim, with the loss of thirty-six men. The hearts of the people melted, and Joshua, with all the elders, fell down before the ark as mourners, and uttered earnest expostulations to Jehovah. The oracle replied that Israel had sinned in taking of the accursed thing and concealing it among their goods. Joshua was commanded to sanctify the people against the morrow, and then to cast lots for the offender, who was to be slain and burned, with all belonging to him. This decision by lot involved no chance, but in the whole history of the Jews it was one of the most regular methods of revealing the will of God, especially in reference to some individual. "The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposal thereof is Jehovah's." Accordingly, the lot fell first on the tribe of Judah, then on the family of Zerah, then on the house of Zabdi, whose members were brought individually before Jehovah, and Achan the son of Carmi was taken. Exhorted by Joshua to give glory to God, Achan confessed that he

had taken from the spoil of Jericho a goodly Babylonish garment, and 200 shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels' weight, and had hid them in the earth in his tent, where they were found by men sent by Joshua. The offender was stoned, and afterward burned, with his children, his cattle, and his tent, and a great heap of stones was raised over them to mark the place, which received the name of Achor (*trouble*). His case is a striking example of the effect of sin, as involving the destruction of the guiltless: "That man perished not alone in his iniquity."

Encouraged anew by God, Joshua formed a plan for taking Ai by stratagem, which met with complete success. The city was destroyed, with all its inhabitants, the cattle only being reserved as the spoil of Jehovah. The King of Ai was hanged on a tree, and buried under a great heap of stones, the only memorial of the city. It seems to be implied that Bethel was taken at the same time.

The victory at Ai secured the passes from the valley of the Jordan, and gave the Israelites access to the open country in the centre of Palestine. Joshua now marched to Shechem, where he held the solemn ceremony of the Blessing and the Curse on Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, as prescribed by Moses. On his return, a force was doubtless left at Ai to secure the passes, but the main body of the army remained encamped at Gilgal, in the valley of the Jordan.

The above events form the first stage in the conquest of Canaan.

A great league was now formed by all the kings west of Jordan, in the hills, the valleys, and the sea-coasts, as far north as Lebanon, against the Israelites. The people of Gibeon alone sought for peace by a curious stratagem. Gibeon (now *El-Jib*), "a royal city, greater than Ai," was the chief of the four cities of the Hivites, lying immediately opposite the pass of Ai, and at the head of the pass of Beth-horon. It would therefore have been the next object of the attack of the Israelites. Assuming the appearance of wayworn travellers, with old shoes and sacks, rent and patched wine-skins, and dry and mouldy bread, an embassy of the Gibeonites went to Joshua, and declared that they had come from a very far country, where they had heard the name of Jehovah and the fame of his mighty deeds, to seek for a league with his people. Their bread had been hot, they said, and their garments and wine and skins new when they started.

The trick imposed upon Joshua and the princes of the congregation, who omitted to consult the oracle. They made peace with the Gibeonites, and swore to them by Jehovah to save their lives. Three days afterward they learned the truth, and reached their cities by a

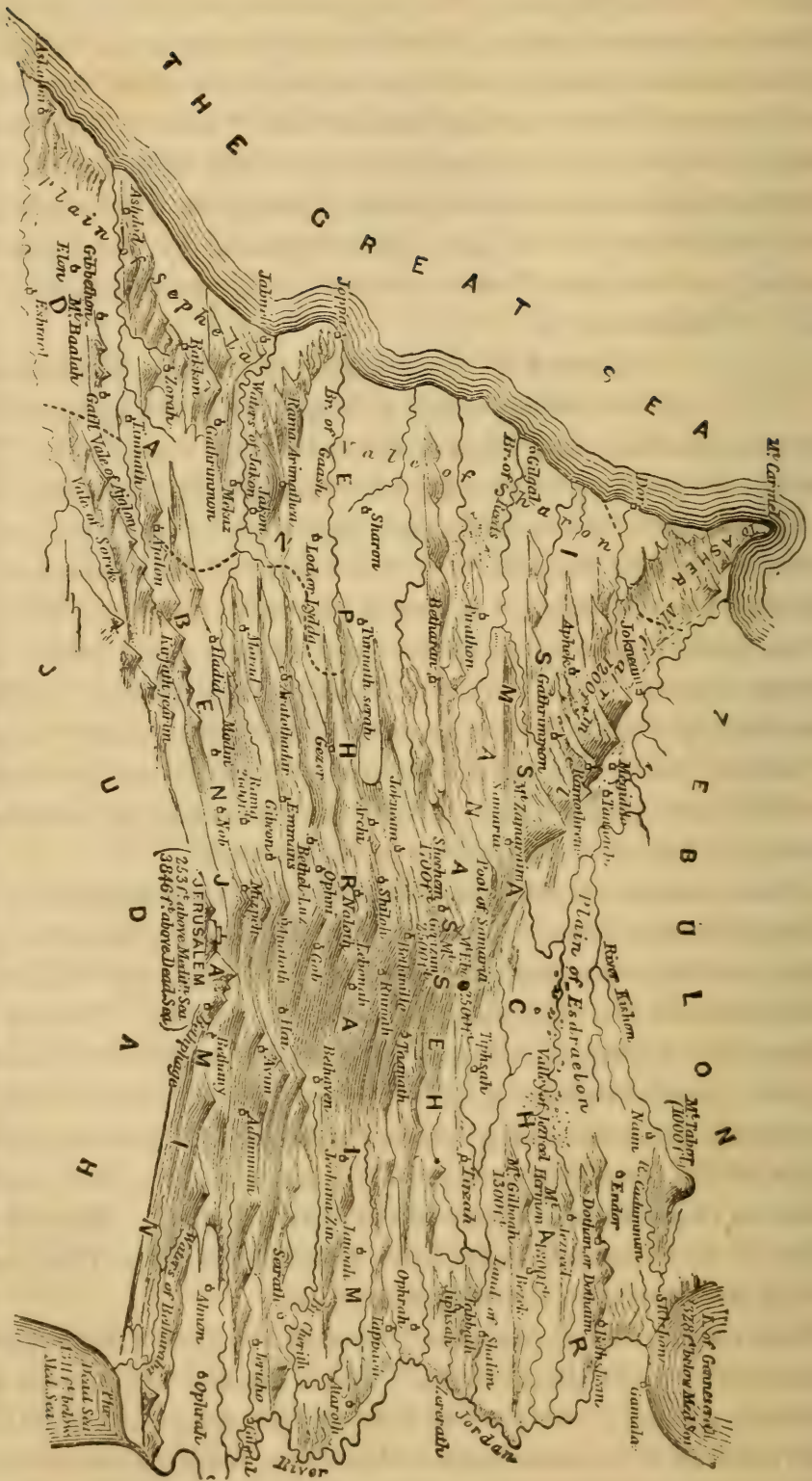
three days' march. The oath was held sacred, in spite of the murmurs of the congregation; but, to punish their deceit, Joshua put the Gibeonites under a curse, by which they became devoted to Jehovah in irredeemable bondage, and they were employed as "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God" forever. The treaty evidently included all the four cities, of which Gibeon was the chief. The transaction affords a memorable example of a principle more than once insisted on in the law, and expressed by the Psalmist in his blessing on the man "who sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." (Psalms xv. 4.)

B. C. 1451. Alarmed by the defection of Gibeon, Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, made a league with the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, and laid siege to the city. The Gibeonites sent for help to Joshua, who marched by night from the camp at Gilgal, took the confederated Amorites by surprise, and utterly routed them near Beth-horon. "The battle of Beth-horon or Gibeon," remarks Dean Stanley, "is one of the most important in the history of the world; and yet the very name of this great battle is far less known to most of us than that of Marathon or Cannæ." Beth-horon (the *house of Caverns*) was the name of two villages, an "upper" and a "nether," or lower, on the steep road from Gibeon to Azekah and the Philistine plain, which is still the great road of communication from the interior of the country to the sea-coast.

From Gibeon to the Upper Beth-horon is a distance of about four miles of broken ascent and descent. The ascent, however, predominates, and this therefore appears to be the "going up" to Beth-horon, which formed the first stage of Joshua's pursuit. With the upper village the descent commences; the road is rough and difficult, even for the mountain-paths of Palestine, now over sheets of smooth rock flat as the flag-stones of a London pavement, now over the upturned edges of the limestone strata, and now among the loose rectangular stones so characteristic of the whole of this district. After about three miles of this descent, a slight rise leads to the lower village standing on the last outpost of the Benjamite hills.

This rough descent from the Upper to the Lower Beth-horon is the "going down to Beth-horon," which formed the second stage of Joshua's pursuit. As they fled down this steep pass, the Canaanites were overtaken by a miraculous hail-storm, which slew more than had fallen in the battle. It was then that Joshua, after a prayer to Jehovah, who had promised him this great victory, "said in the sight of Israel—

PANORAMIC PLAN OF THE COUNTRY OF THE TRIBES OF ISSACHAR, EPHRAIM, MANASSEH, DAN AND BENJAMIN, IN PALESTINE.



“ ‘Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon ;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.’ ”

And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves of their enemies. Is not this written in the Book of Jasher ?” The miraculous suspense of the “greater and the lesser light” in their full course enabled Joshua to continue his pursuit to Makkedah, a place in the *Shefelah*, or maritime plain, where the five kings hid themselves in a cave. Joshua stayed not even then, but bidding the people roll great stones to the mouth of the cave, and set a guard over it, he pressed the rear of the fugitives, and made an end of slaying them with a very great slaughter till they were consumed, that the rest which remained of them entered into fenced cities. “And all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace ; none moved his tongue against any of the children of Israel.”

The five kings were now brought forth from the cave, and Joshua bade all the captains place their feet upon their necks, in token of what Jehovah would do to all their enemies. Then he slew them, and hanged them on five trees till the evening. Their bodies were cast into the cave, and its mouth was closed with great stones, just as that most memorable sun at length went down, and closed the day, “like which there was none before it or after it, that Jehovah hearkened unto the voice of a man ; for Jehovah fought for Israel.”

This great battle was followed by the conquest of the seven kings of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir, whose cities, chief and dependent, were utterly destroyed, with all their inhabitants, and all creatures that breathed, as Jehovah had commanded. In this one campaign Joshua subdued the southern half of Palestine, both highlands and lowlands, from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza, the eastern and western limits of the southern frontier ; and he led back the people to the camp at Gilgal.

Our attention is now called to the north, the country
B. C. 1445. about the “Sea of Chinneroth” (the Lake of Galilee), the Upper Jordan, and the bases of Mount Lebanon. Jabin, king of Hazor, the chief city of Northern Palestine, formed a league against Israel with all the kings of the north as far as Mount Hermon, and with all the nations that were still unsubdued. Their army was “as the sand on the sea-shore for multitude,” and they had many chariots and horses. Joshua routed them by the waters of Merom, and chased them as far as “Great Zidon” and the valley of Mizpeh (probably the great valley of Cœle-Syria). In obedience to God’s prohibition

of cavalry, Joshua cut the hoof-sinews of the horses and burnt the chariots, which he might have been tempted to keep as the choicest prizes of victory. Joshua next "turned back," perhaps on some new provocation, and took Hazor, putting its king and all the inhabitants to the sword, and likewise with the other cities of the confederates; but the cities themselves were left standing except Hazor, which he burnt, as being "the head of all those kingdoms." As the result of this *third campaign*, Israel was master of the whole land from Mount Halak (the *smooth mountain*), at the ascent to Mount Seir, on the south, to Baal-gad, under Mount Hermon, on the north. But a much longer time was required for the subjugation of the numerous kings, who held each his own fortified city, and "Joshua made war a long time with all those kings." It was five years at least, and probably six, before the land rested from war (B. C. 1445). Even then the old inhabitants held out in many separate parts, for the further trial of Israel's faith and courage, as Moses had foretold.

The results of the whole conquest, besides the previous victories over Sihon and Og, are summed up in the subjugation of thirty-one kings of cities on the west of the Jordan, belonging to the seven nations, which had been mentioned in the first promise to Abraham, the Amorites, Canaanites, Girgashites, Hittites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Perizzites. Special notice is taken of the extermination of the giant Anakim, who had struck such terror into the spies, and who were only left in the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod, though they had before occupied the whole of the central highlands, with Hebron and other cities.

The defeat of these thirty-one kings did not involve, in every case, the capture of their cities. Jerusalem, for example, was not taken till after the death of Joshua, and its citadel remained in the hands of the Jebusites till the time of David. Many other cities held out for a long time.

But, besides such isolated posts, there were whole tracts of country—"very much land"—yet to be subdued, within the limits which God had originally named, and which he now once more promised. These were, speaking generally, the plains along the Mediterranean, the coast of Phœnicia, and the ranges of Lebanon. On the southwest, there was the whole country and five cities of the Philistines, who were destined to be such formidable enemies to Israel, from Sihor, on the frontier of Egypt, to Ekron. Next were the Canaanites of the west coast, as far as Aphek, which seems to have been near Sidon, the Sidonians, "and all Lebanon," which is however so described as to



PANORAMIC PLAN OF THE COUNTRY OF THE TRIBES OF JUDAH AND SIMÉON.

include only the southern slopes, or foot-hills. These conquests were not reserved for Joshua, who was now "old and stricken in years;" but he was commanded to include them in the division of the land among the tribes.

Joshua was now commanded to divide the land by lot B. C. 1445. among the nine tribes and a half; the two and a half having already received their allotment from Moses on the east of Jordan; and the Levites receiving no inheritance among their brethren, "for Jehovah, God of Israel, was their inheritance." Their withdrawal from the number of the tribes was compensated by the division of Joseph into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. In describing the allotment generally, we follow the order of the Book of Joshua, in which, says Dean Stanley, "we have what may without offence be termed the *Domesday Book* of the conquest of Canaan."

First, the territories of the two and a half tribes on the east of Jordan :

I. REUBEN lay first on the south from the Arnon, over the kingdom of Sihon, the northern boundary being a little above the latitude of Jericho.

II. GAD came next to the north, possessing Mount Gilead and half of Ammon. On the side of Jordan, their northern border just touched the Sea of Chinneroth, and was drawn thence toward the southeast. The Jabbok divided their territory into two nearly equal parts.

III.—1. The *half-tribe* of MANASSEH had all the kingdom of Og, king of Bashan, including half of Mount Gilead, which was the special inheritance of Machir, the son of Manasseh, and reaching to the base of Mount Hermon on the north. In all three cases, the eastern frontier toward the desert and the *Hauran* was necessarily indefinite. These allotments are expressly mentioned as having been made by Moses.

The division of the land among the nine and a half tribes west of Jordan was made by Eleazar the high-priest and Joshua, with "the heads of the fathers of the tribes," by a solemn lot cast before Jehovah. It took place on two different occasions. First, while the people were still encamped at Gilgal, and perhaps before the conquest of the north was finished, the tribes of Judah and Joseph received, as their respective allotments, the greater part of the south and the centre of the land.

IV. JUDAH seems to have had the first share in consequence of Caleb's laying claim to Hebron, the special inheritance promised by Moses as a reward of his fidelity. His claim was admitted, and Joshua



PANORAMIC PLAN OF THE COUNTRY OF THE TRIBES OF ASHER, NAPHTALI ZEBULUN AND MANASSEH, IN PALESTINE.

added his blessing. Caleb, who at the age of eighty-five was still as strong for war as when he was forty, drove out the Anakim from Hebron, and then attacked Debir, which was taken by his nephew Othniel, whose valor was rewarded with the hand of Caleb's daughter, Achsah. Her demand of a special inheritance from her father, who gave her the upper and the nether springs, is an interesting picture of patriarchal life. The general inheritance of Judah began at the wilderness of Zin, on the border of Edom, while their southern border stretched across the wilderness to "the river of Egypt." The Dead Sea formed their east coast, and the northern border was drawn from the mouth of Jordan westward, past the south side of the hill of Jerusalem (which lay therefore outside the boundary) to Kirjath-jearim, in Mount Ephraim, whence the western border skirted the land of the Philistines, and touched the Mediterranean.

V. The tribe of JOSEPH had the centre of the land across from Jordan to the Mediterranean. EPHRAIM lay north of Judah; but between them were the districts afterward allotted to Benjamin and Dan. The southern border was drawn from the Jordan along the north side of the plain of Jericho to Bethel, whence it took a bend southward to Beth-horon, and thence up again to the sea near Joppa. The northern border passed west from the Jordan opposite the mouth of the Jabbok past Michmethah to the mouth of the river Kanah (the "reedy," probably the *Nahr Falaik* or *Wady-al-Khassab*, which has the same signification). Besides the sacred valley of Shechem, it included some of the finest parts of Palestine, the mountains of Ephraim, and the great and fertile maritime plain of Sharon, proverbial for its roses.

III.—2. MANASSEH, in addition to the land of Bashan and Gilead, east of the Jordan, which had been allotted to Machir and his son Gilead, had a lot on the west of Jordan, north of Ephraim. The extent of the territories of this tribe is accounted for, first, by the reward due to the valor of Machir, and next by the right established by the daughters of Zelophead to a share of the inheritance. The northern frontier is very difficult to determine, some very important towns of Manasseh being expressly named as within the lots of Asher and Issachar. Further we find the children of Joseph complaining to Joshua that they had only one lot, namely, Mount Ephraim, instead of the two given them by Jacob, and that they could not drive out the Canaanites from Beth-shean and the valley of Jezreel, because of their chariots of iron, and Joshua assigns to them "the wooded mountain," which can hardly be any other than Carmel.

During the long time that the encampment at Gilgal remained the head-quarters of the Israelites, they seem to have preserved the military system organized in the desert, with the tabernacle in the centre of the camp. But at length they removed to SHILOH, south of Shechem, in the territory of Ephraim, and there they set up the tabernacle, where it remained till the time of Samuel. There were still seven tribes that had not received their inheritance; and Joshua reproved them for their slackness in taking possession of the land. We are not told on what principles the portions already allotted had been divided, except that on the east of Jordan the boundaries were assigned to Moses. Now, however, three men were appointed from each tribe to make a survey of the rest of the land, and to divide it into seven portions, which, with their several cities, they described in a book. The survey being finished, Joshua cast lots for the seven portions before the tabernacle in Shiloh. The result was as follows, the tribes being named in the order in which their lots came out:

VI. BENJAMIN had the eastern part of the territory that lay between Judah and Ephraim, embracing the plain of Jericho and the northern highlands of the later Judæa, a region admirably suited to the wild and martial character of the tribe.

VII. SIMEON had an inheritance taken out of the portion already allotted to Judah, for whom it was found to be too large, namely, the southwestern part of the maritime plain, with the land bordering on the desert, as far eastward as Beer-sheba. Their western coast lay along the Mediterranean to the north of Askelon.

VIII. ZEBULUN received the mountain range which forms the northern border of the great plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, between the eastern slopes of Carmel on the west, and the southwest shore of the Sea of Chinneroth and the course of the Jordan, to about opposite the mouth of the Hieromax on the east. The rich mountain passes which led down to the valley of Jezreel seem to be referred to in the blessing of Moses, "Rejoice, O Zebulun, in thy goings out."

IX. ISSACHAR'S inheritance corresponded almost exactly to the great valley of Jezreel, otherwise called the plain of Esdraelon, which opened to the Jordan on the east, and was enclosed on the south by the hills of Gilboa, and on the north by the highlands of Issachar, among which Mount Tabor was conspicuous on the frontier. The territory seems to have been taken out of that of Manasseh, as Simeon's was out of Judah. The effect of its richness and seclusion on the character and history of the tribe has been noticed in connection with Jacob's blessing.

X. ASHER had the rich maritime plain extending from Mount Carmel to "great Sidon" and "the strong city Tyre:" the territory of the former was included in their inheritance, though they failed to possess it. In their case too, both Jacob and Moses had given a prophetic intimation of the influence of the tribe's position.

XI. NAPHTALI, the most powerful of the northern tribes, obtained the highlands which form the southern prolongation of the range of Lebanon, bounded on the east by the Upper Jordan, the "waters of Merom," and the Sea of Chinneroth; and looking down on the west upon the maritime plain of Asher, just as Zebulun looked down from the southern part of the same highlands into the valley of Esdraelon.

XII. DAN had at first a very small territory northwest of Judah, from Japho (Joppa) to the border of Simeon, almost entirely occupied by the Philistines. For this reason, and because they found their lot too small for them, they made an expedition against Leshem, or Laish, in the extreme north of the land, at the sources of the Jordan. They took the city and destroyed the inhabitants, and gave it the name of Dan. It became one of the two landmarks in the phrase which was used to describe the whole extent of the land from north to south, "from Dan even to Beersheba." In the Book of Judges, we have a fuller account of the expedition at the time when it took place (about B. C. 1406).

Lastly, Joshua himself received, as his personal inheritance, the place he asked for, namely, Timnath-serah, in Mount Ephraim, and he built the city of that name.

It must be remembered that the allotments were made not only to the tribes as a whole, but to the families of each tribe, as is expressly stated in each case: "This is the inheritance of the tribes *by their families.*" Thus we shall expect to find the possessions of each tribe proportional to the number of its families, as determined by the census taken in the plains of Moab. This is generally the case; but there still remain inequalities which can only be accounted for by the relative importance assigned to the tribes, on principles already indicated in the dying prophecy of Jacob. The great preponderance of Judah and Joseph relates to their respective pre-eminence as the prince and heir of the whole family.

Each of the twelve tribes having received the lot of its inheritance, provision was next made for the habitation of the Levites and the cities of refuge. Six cities of refuge were appointed by the people themselves: three on the west of Jordan, namely, *Kedesh*, in Galilee, in the highlands of Naphtali; *Shechem*, in Mount Ephraim, and

Hebron, in the mountains of Judah ; and three on the east of Jordan, namely, for Reuben, *Bezer*, in the wilderness ; for Gad, *Ramoth*, in Gilead ; for the half-tribe of Manasseh, *Golan*, in Bashan.

The Levites having claimed the right given to them by Moses, received forty-eight cities and their suburbs, which were given up by the several tribes in proportion to the cities they possessed. Their allotment among the three families of the Levites has already been described.

Thus did Jehovah give Israel the land which he had sworn to their father, and they dwelt in it. They had obtained their promised rest in this world, though a better rest remained, and still remains. Their enemies were delivered into their hand ; and all open resistance ceased. "There failed not aught of any good thing which Jehovah had spoken to the house of Israel : all came to pass." The failures afterward brought to light were in the people themselves.

B. C. 1444. Their peace was, however, soon threatened by the danger of a religious schism. The two tribes and a half, having kept their promise to their brethren, were dismissed by Joshua with a blessing,



CITY OF REFUGE.

and with an earnest exhortation to cleave to Jehovah their God, and keep his commandments. Abundantly enriched with their share of the spoil of Canaan, they crossed the Jordan into the land of Gilead. Close to the ford, "the passage of the children of Israel," they built a great altar (doubtless a huge erection of earth and stones), of the same form as the altar of burnt-offering. Hastily inferring their intention to establish a separate place of sacrifice, in violation of God's command, the other tribes prepared for war. But first they sent Phinehas, the son of the high-priest Eleazer, with ten princes of the respective tribes, to remonstrate with their brethren, and to remind them of the consequences of former public sins. The two tribes and a half replied that they had not acted in the spirit of rebellion against

Jehovah. They had feared lest a time should come when their more favored brethren might forget their common interest in Jehovah, the God of Israel; and, therefore, they had erected the altar, not to burn sacrifices upon it, but as a perpetual memorial of their part in the altar of which it was the likeness. Thus interpreted, their act was accepted by the envoys, and afterward by all the people, as a new proof that Jehovah was among Israel; and the children of Reuben and Gad called the altar ED (*a witness*): "for," said they, "it shall be a witness between us that Jehovah is God." We hear nothing further of this erection: its meaning may have been forgotten in later times.

The closing records of the history of Joshua show us a solemn pause and crisis in the career of Israel. They had now attained that first success which is always a trial of human power and endurance, and which, in their case, was the test of their faithfulness to Jehovah. In Joshua they had a leader equal to the crisis. He lived long after God had given them rest from their enemies; and he was now "going the way of all the earth." His last care was to set clearly before the people their true position, and to bind them to Jehovah by another solemn covenant. The last two chapters of Joshua seem to refer to two distinct transactions.

First, he sent for all the heads of the tribes, the judges and the officers, and gave them an exhortation, which may be summed up in the words, "Be ye, therefore, *very courageous* to keep and to do all that is written in the book of the law of Moses." He knew the danger of their resting satisfied with what was done, or of their thinking it hopeless to do more; and he knew that, if once they ceased before the heathen remnant was destroyed out of the land, they would be corrupted by their idolatries and vices. He well remembered all the experience of the desert, and all the warnings of Moses. He reminds them of all that God had done to the Canaanites for their sakes; and promises that the land divided to them should be wholly theirs, and the heathen be driven out before them. On their part they had thus far been faithful; let them still thus cleave to Jehovah their God. Let them not mix with the people that remained; nor name their gods, nor swear by them, nor worship them. If once they began this course, and if they intermarried with them, God would cease to drive out those nations, which would become to them as snares and scourges and thorns, till they themselves should perish from the land. In the prospect of his own death, he testifies that not one good thing had failed of all that God had spoken; and

that God would be as faithful to his word, in bringing upon them all the evils that he had spoken. The distinctly-prophetic character of this last warning deserves special notice; for he does not say *if*, but "*when* ye have transgressed the covenant of Jehovah your God, and served other gods, ye shall perish from off the good land which he hath given you."

This exhortation was followed up by a great public transaction between Joshua and all Israel. He gathered them together at Shechem, the sacred home of Abraham and Jacob. From out the mass he called forth the elders, the heads of families, the judges and the officers, who "presented themselves before God;" that is, not before the tabernacle, which was then at Shiloh, but at the place which Abraham and Jacob had sanctified by their altars to God. Joshua addressed them in the same strain as before; but, going back to the call of Abraham, he reminded them of the time when their fathers "on the other side of the flood" of Euphrates had served other gods. Briefly mentioning the history of Abraham, Isaac, Esau, and Jacob, till the descent into Egypt, he recounts the mission of Moses and Aaron, the passage of the Red Sea, and the sojourn in the wilderness, the conquest of the Amorite kings, and the turning of Balaam's intended curse into a blessing; the passage of the Jordan, the capture of Jericho, and the deliverance of the nations of Canaan into their hands, "but not with thy sword, nor with thy bow;" and he reminds them that all they possessed was the gift of God, and the fruit of others' labors: "I have given you a land for which ye did not labor, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwell in them; of the vineyards and olive-yards which ye planted not, do ye eat." From all this he deduces the exhortation to fear Jehovah, and serve him in sincerity and in truth, and to put away the gods which their fathers had served beyond the flood, and in Egypt. This is not a demand to purge themselves from actual idolatry, into which they had not yet fallen, but to renounce forever the examples which might seduce them to it. He ends with an appeal, unequalled in simple force except by that of Elijah to Israel; if they found fault with the service of Jehovah, let them at once choose whom they would serve, whether the idols of their fathers, or the gods of the Amorites; but his own choice was made, "As for me and my house, we will serve Jehovah."

The appeal was irresistible: the people swore by God, not to forsake him who had done all these wonders for them. Thus did Joshua make a covenant with the people, and set them a statute and an ordinance in Shechem. It was, for that generation and their

JOSHUA'S COVENANT WITH ISRAEL.



posterity, the counterpart of the covenant which Moses had made, on the part of God, with their fathers in Mount Horeb. Joshua added the record of this great transaction to the book of the law of God, and set up a monument of it in the form of a great stone under an oak by the sanctuary of Jehovah; perhaps the very oak beneath whose shadow Abraham and Jacob had pitched their tents.

The people were dismissed to their homes, and Joshua
 B. C.
 1426-5 (cir.) soon after died at the age of 110 (about B. C. 1426-5), and was buried in the border of his own inheritance at Timnath-serah. His decease was soon followed by that of Eleazar, the high-priest, the son of Aaron: he was also buried in Mount Ephraim, in a hill belonging (as a burying-place) to his son and successor, Phinehas. The bones of Joseph, which the Israelites had brought up out of Egypt, were duly interred at Shechem, in the plot of ground which Jacob had bought of Hamor. This bright period of Jewish history is crowned by the record that "Israel served Jehovah all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that overlived Joshua, and which had known all the works of Jehovah that he had done for Israel." The lessons of the wilderness had not been lost upon them. Not in vain had they seen their fathers drop and die till they were all consumed for their rebellion. We search the sacred history in vain, from the Exodus to the Captivity, for another generation that was so wholly faithful to Jehovah.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE EARLIER JUDGES, TO DEBORAH AND BARAK.

[B. C. 1426-1256.]

THE period of Jewish history from the death of Joshua to the choice of Saul as king was one of great disorganization, and the records of it involve considerable difficulties. Our sole authority, besides a few incidental allusions, is the Book of Judges, to which Ruth forms a supplement, having been originally a part of it. Some passages in the book bear internal evidence of a contemporary authorship, but it was not composed as a whole till the time of the kings. The more serious difficulties of chronology we reserve for subsequent discussion, giving meanwhile the received chronology of the English Bible.

The history of the whole period is summed up in a passage which connects the Book of Judges with that of Joshua. After the death of Joshua, the people remained faithful to Jehovah so long as the generation lasted which had seen all his mighty works. "And there arose another generation after them which knew not Jehovah, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel." They fell into the worship of "Baalim," the idols of the country, and especially of Baal and Ashtaroth, and they were given over into the hands of the enemies whose gods they served. Their career of conquest was checked, and heathen conquerors oppressed them; but, though punished, they were not forsaken by God. As often as they were oppressed, he raised up "JUDGES," who delivered them from their oppressors. But, as often as they were delivered, they disobeyed their judges, and declined into idolatry; and, "when the judge was dead they returned, and corrupted themselves more than their fathers." For this unfaithfulness on their part to the covenant, God kept back the full accomplishment of his promise to drive out the nations before them, who were left at Joshua's death; indeed, it was in foresight of their sin that he had not entirely delivered those nations into the hand of Joshua.

Such is the summary which is filled up in the first sixteen chapters of Judges: the rest of the book (ch. xvii.-xxi.) is occupied with two

or three striking examples of the idolatry and anarchy thus generally described.

The history of the Judges is prefaced by some account of the efforts of the several tribes to drive out the heathen nations after the death of Joshua. In these efforts JUDAH took the lead, by the direction of God's oracle, and in association with SIMEON. These two tribes gained a great victory over the Canaanites and Perizzites in Bezek, and took prisoner Adoni-bezek (the *Lord of Bezek*), one of those tyrants who have become famous for some special cruelty to their captives. He had cut off the thumbs and great toes of seventy kings, and amused himself with their attempts to pick up the food that fell from his table; and now, himself thus mutilated, he confessed that God had requited him justly. He died at Jerusalem, the lower city of which the men of Judah succeeded in taking. This example of the wanton cruelty of the chiefs of Canaan throws a light on the state of the country before its conquest.

Next we have the account of the exploits of Caleb and Othniel, already anticipated in Joshua; and of the settlement of the Kenites, the children of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, in the wilderness of Judah, to the south of Arad. Here they dwelt as a free Arab tribe, among the people of the desert, but in close alliance with Israel. Judah then aided Simeon in recovering his lot. They took Zephath (which they called Hormah), and fulfilled by its utter destruction the vow long since made by Israel. They also took Gaza, Askelon and Ekron, from the Philistines; but the strength of those people in war-chariots prevented their expulsion, and enabled them soon to regain these cities. The tribe of BENJAMIN failed to drive out the Jebusites from Jebus, the citadel of Jerusalem, which belonged to their lot. The men of EPHRAIM took Bethel by the treachery of an inhabitant, whom they caught outside the gate of the city. It was now finally called by the name of Bethel, which was first given to it by Jacob, and had been commonly applied to it by the Jews. Its old name of *Luz* was given to a city which its betrayer went and built among the Hittites. Ephraim failed, however, to drive out the Canaanites from Gezer; and MANASSEH only reduced those of the valley of Esdraelon to tribute after some time. Several cities of the northern highlands proved too strong for ZEBULUN and NAPHTALI, but some of them were made tributaries, as Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath. ASHER did not even attempt to take Accho, Zidon, and the other cities of the Phœnician sea-board and the Lebanon, but they dwelt among the people of the land. Lastly, the men of DAN were forced back by the

Amorites from the valleys of their lot into the mountains ; and even there the Amorites retained some strongholds, which were ultimately reduced to tribute by the power of Ephraim. This was no doubt the chief motive of the northern expedition of the Danites, which has been already mentioned, and to which we shall have to recur. The Amorites also kept possession of the "*Pass of Scorpions*" (Akrabbim), from "Selah" (the *cliff*, Petra?) upward, south of the Dead Sea.

B. C. 1425 (?) These fitful efforts were reproved by a prophet, who went forth from Gilgal to some solemn assembly of the people in its neighborhood ; and told them that, as they had failed to keep God's covenant, He would not drive out the people before them. They kept a great act of public humiliation, with sacrifices to Jehovah ; and from their cries of repentance the place received the name of *Bochim* (the *weepers*).

After this introduction we have the general summary of the vicissitudes of idolatry and repentance, servitude and deliverance, which we have already noticed. It ends with the enumeration of the heathen nations who were still left, "to prove Israel by them:" a trial in which they failed, intermarrying with them, worshipping their gods, doing evil in the sight of Jehovah, forgetting their own God, and serving "Baalim and the groves." These statements are illustrated by the dark records of idolatry, vice, and cruelty, which occupy the closing chapters of the book, and which may be most fitly noticed here, especially as they seem to belong to the earlier part of the period of the Judges. They are expressly mentioned as examples of the disorder of those days when "there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes."

I. *The Story of Micah and the Danites.* A man of Mount Ephraim, named Micah, had stolen from his mother 1100 shekels of silver. She cursed the unknown thief, and devoted the silver to Jehovah, to make a graven and a molten image ; a sign of that first step in idolatry, when forbidden symbols were intruded into the worship of the true God. Micah confessed the theft, and restored the silver to his mother, who dedicated 200 shekels of it to the fulfilment of her vow. The two images were set up in the house of Micah, who made also an *ephod* (the garment of a priest) and *teraphim* (minor household gods), and consecrated one of his sons as priest ; thus making a complete patriarchal establishment for the worship of Jehovah, but with the addition of idolatrous symbols. He soon obtained for his priest a young Levite who had removed from Bethlehem-judah, and who was no less a person than the grandson of Moses (see p. 221). Micah hired

him for ten shekels a year, besides garments and food; and though the law forbade a Levite to intrude into the priests' office, Micah felt sure that Jehovah would bless him, now he had a Levite for his priest.

About this time the Danites sent out five spies, to prepare for their great expedition against Laish. In passing the house of Micah, the spies recognized the voice of the Levite, who received them, inquired of Jehovah respecting the issue of their journey, and gave them a favorable response. The spies having accomplished their mission, 600 men of war started from the Danite cities of Zorah and Eshtaol, and, after a halt at Kirjath-jearim in Judah, they entered Mount Ephraim; and as they passed by the house of Micah, they stole his carved image, ephod, and teraphim, and enticed his priest to go with them. Having taken the city of Laish by surprise, and called it by the new name of DAN, they set up there the graven image, and established a sanctuary for themselves, and probably for others of the northern tribes, all the time that the tabernacle remained at Shiloh. The family of the Levite, whose name was Jonathan, the son of Gershon, the son of Moses, continued to be priests to the tribe of Dan down to the captivity. The circumstance of the priest's being grandson of Moses helps to fix the time of the transaction to the earlier part of the period of the judges. The whole narrative affords a lively picture of the frightful state of anarchy into which the nation had fallen; while it presents us, in the case of Micah, with a specimen of the family life of the Israelites in the country districts.

II. *The Extermination of the Benjamites.* A certain B. C. 1406 (?) Levite of Mount Ephraim had taken a concubine from Bethlehem-judah. Having proved unfaithful to him, she returned to her father's house at Bethlehem, and remained there four months. At length the Levite went to propose a reconciliation and to fetch her home. He was gladly welcomed by his father-in-law; and we are presented with another interesting picture of Hebrew interior life. After three days' feasting together, and another two days' prolongation of the visit at the pressing instance of the host, the Levite at length resisted his entreaties to remain another night, and departed toward the evening of the fifth day. He travelled with his concubine, his servant, and two saddled asses; and as night came on, they found themselves over against Jebus. Refusing the proposal of his servant to ask hospitality from the natives, the man entered Gibeah at sunset, to meet with worse treatment than he could have feared from the most licentious heathen. It would seem that the tribes had already

begun to regard each other with the mutual jealousy of foreigners. Proverbial as is the hospitality of those countries and races, the little party sat down in the street or open square of the city, without being offered a lodging (which was all they needed, for they had food and provender with them) by any of the Benjamites. At length an old fellow-countryman from Mount Ephraim, who lived in the city, as he was returning from his work in the field, found the wayfarers in the street, and learning who they were, took them home and showed them all the duties of hospitality. Now the men of the city were "men of Belial," and had fallen into the worst vices of Sodom. When night came on they surrounded the old man's house, and knocking at the door, demanded that he should bring forth the stranger that they might know him. The good old man, to prevent such an outrage upon his guest, went out to the crowd, and offered to deliver to them his virgin daughter and the Levite's concubine to use at their pleasure, provided they would not offer any violence to his guest. They refused to accept this offer, however, and the Levite, in order to save himself, turned out his concubine amongst them. They abused her all night, not letting her go till the break of day. Then staggering back to the house where her lord lay, she fell down dead at the door, her hands lying upon the threshold.

The Levite, opening the door and seeing her lie there, concluded she was asleep, and bade her get up that they might be going. But when he perceived she was dead, he took her up, and making no complaint there, laid her on one of the asses, and hastened home with all speed. Then, determined to avenge the terrible wrong that had been done him in the person of his concubine, he cut her body into twelve pieces, and sent them to the twelve tribes of Israel, who cried with one voice that no such deed had been done or seen since the children of Israel came up out of Egypt. With a unanimity which recalls the spirit shown in resenting the supposed defection of the two and a half tribes, the whole congregation of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, gathered together at Mizpeh, where all the men of war, to the number of 400,000, presented themselves before Jehovah. Having called upon the Levite to recount his wrong, they bound themselves by a solemn vow of vengeance; resolved not to separate till it was fulfilled; and chose by lot one man in every ten to find provisions for the host. First, however, they sent messages through all the tribe of Benjamin, to demand the surrender of the culprits; but the Benjamites espoused the cause of the men of Gibeah with that fierceness and obstinacy which appear so often in their history, justifying the prophecy of

Jacob, "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf." They drew to a head at Gibeah, to the number of 26,000 fighting men, besides those of the city, who numbered 700. It is particularly recorded that there were 700 left-handed men, who could sling stones to a hair-breadth.

The other tribes assembled at the sanctuary of Shiloh, where the ark then was, Phinehas, Aaron's grandson, being high-priest; and in reply to their inquiry of the oracle of God, Judah was directed to lead the attack on Benjamin. Then followed a struggle almost unexampled in the history of civil wars. The army of Israel having been arrayed against Gibeah, the Benjamites sallied out and defeated them, slaying 22,000 men. They rallied their forces in the same place, and spent the next day in weeping before God; while the tone of their inquiry, "Shall I go up again to battle against the children of Benjamin my *brother*?" seems to show some misgiving. But the oracle bade them renew the attack, and for the second time they were defeated with the loss of 18,000 men. Again the whole congregation assembled at Shiloh to keep a solemn fast, with burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and again they consulted the oracle through Phinehas the high-priest. They were bidden to fight again, and assured of victory on the morrow. They arranged a stratagem, like that by which Joshua took Ai. An ambush was set near Gibeah, while the main army were drawn up as before. This time their flight was feigned. The Benjamites pursued them, slaying about thirty men, till they were drawn from the city, over which was now seen to rise the column of smoke, which first apprised them of the stratagem, and was the signal of its success. The Israelites turned upon their pursuers, who were stricken with a panic, and fled toward the wilderness. They were met by the other body, who had sacked Gibeah, and 18,000 of them were left dead upon the field. 5000 fell on the highways; and 2000 more were slain, apparently in a last rally at Gidom. The 600 men, who were all now left of the 25,700 warriors of the tribe, fled to the rock of Rimmon, in the wilderness, and remained there four months; while the Israelites burnt their cities, and put the inhabitants and cattle to the sword.

At length their anger began to turn to pity, and they
 B. C. 1406 (?) assembled again at the sanctuary to mourn before God, because a tribe was cut off from Israel. Its total extinction seemed inevitable; for, when they made the league at Mizpeh, they had bound themselves by a curse not to give their daughters in marriage to the Benjamites. But a remedy was found in another curse which they had imprecated on any of the tribes who neglected to come up to the battle. On numbering the people, it was found that the men of

Jabesh-gilead were absent. That city was devoted to destruction: 12,000 men were sent against it, with orders to destroy all the men and women, except virgins; and these, amounting to 400, were given for wives to the remnant of the Benjamites. The remaining 200 were provided for by the Benjamites seizing the maidens of Shiloh, who came out of the city to dance at one of the great annual feasts; the elders of Israel suggested the scheme, and made peace with the fathers of the maidens. The children of Israel then departed to their homes. The Benjamites returned to their inheritance, and repaired their cities. They regained something of their old martial fame, and gave Israel its second judge, Ehud, and its first king, Saul, the son of Kish; but they never recovered from this terrific blow. After hesitating between the two powerful tribes whose territories they parted, and ranging themselves at first on the side of Ephraim, they at last subsided, like the Simeonites, into a position entirely subordinate to Judah, and their territory was absorbed in Judæa. Down to the latest period of Jewish history their crime was remembered as marking the time from which Israel began to sin, and the righteous indignation of the other tribes was commemorated as “the battle in Gibeah *against the children of iniquity.*”

We must guard, however, against the impression that such scenes as these describe the whole, or even the chief part, of the history of Israel under the Judges. In the book itself, the intervals during which “the land had rest” make up a large aggregate of years, though we are apt to overlook them from the brevity of each notice. These hints are in some degree filled up to a finished picture, in the exquisite scenes of rural tranquillity set before us in the Book of Ruth. The events there related are merely said to have happened “in the time of the Judges;” but from the genealogies we gather that they fell in the generation after the troubles above related.

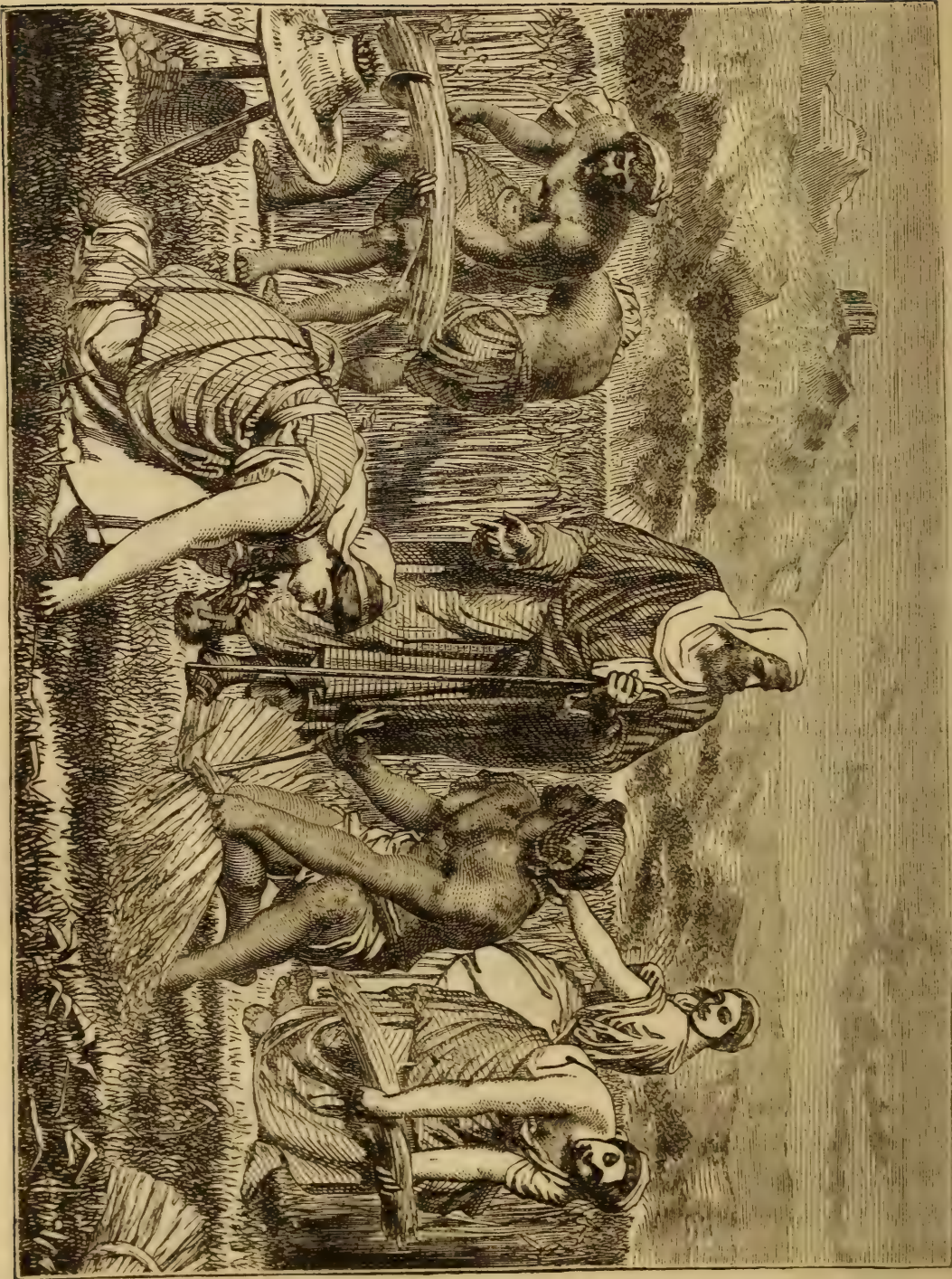
A man named Elimelech, an Ephrathite of Bethlehem-judah, had been driven by a famine into the country of Moab, with his wife Naomi, and their two sons, Mahlon and Chilion. The sons married women of Moab, named Orpah and Ruth; and the family resided in that country for about ten years. The father died, and both his sons; and Naomi rose up to return to her own land. She gave leave to her daughters-in-law to go back to their families; but both declared they would return with her. On her urging the point, for their own sakes, Orpah bade her an affectionate farewell, and went back “to her people and her gods;” but Ruth cast in her lot wholly with Naomi. They reached Bethlehem at the beginning of barley harvest, and Ruth sought subsistence as a gleaner. What followed turns

entirely upon the provisions of the Mosaic law for the "Levirate" marriage of a widow and the redemption of her husband's inheritance by the "Goël," or nearest kinsman. A wealthy and powerful man of Bethlehem, named Boaz, whose grandfather, Nahshon, was prince of the tribe of Judah, was a very near kinsman (though not the nearest) to Naomi's deceased husband Elimelech, and consequently to Ruth, as the widow of hisson. It chanced that Ruth went to glean in this man's field; and the mind, distressed with the fatal story of other inhabitants of the same city, finds exquisite relief in the picture of Boaz visiting the gleaners, not like a grudging farmer, but in the spirit of kindness prescribed by Moses; blessing them, and blessed by them in the name of Jehovah. Ruth attracted his attention; and when he learned who she was, he bade her glean only in his field, and enjoined the reapers to show her kindness. In reply to her thanks, he praised her devotion



RUTH AND NAOMI.

to her mother-in-law, and her coming to place her trust under the wings of Jehovah, God of Israel. Thus passed the whole harvest, Ruth following the reapers, who were instructed by Boaz to throw handfuls of corn in her way, and sharing their daily meal. Meanwhile Naomi, full of gratitude to God, who had thus guided her to her husband's nearest kinsman, instructed Ruth to claim her rights



RUTH GLEANING IN THE FIELD OF BOAZ.

under the Levirate law. Boaz blessed her in the name of Jehovah; praised her virtue and her fidelity to him whom the law had made her rightful husband; guarded the most scrupulous delicacy toward her; and promised to do the part of a kinsman by her.

In the morning he kept his word. We have a truly B. C. 1312 (?) patriarchal picture of this wealthy and powerful man of Bethlehem sitting, like Job, in the gate of the city; and, as all the inhabitants came forth, calling first the "Goël," or nearest kinsman of Elimelech, to sit beside him, and then asking ten of the elders to take their seats, to witness and ratify the transaction. In their presence, he informed the "Goël" that Naomi had a field to sell, which must be redeemed either by him or by Boaz himself; and the Goël consented to redeem it, thus admitting the claim of kindred. But when Boaz went on to say that, if the Goël took the field, he must take also Ruth, the Moabitess, the wife of the dead, "to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance," the kinsman found an excuse, and transferred the right of redemption to Boaz. The ceremony prescribed by the law was then performed. The sandal of the kinsman was taken off in the presence of the elders and the people; and Boaz called them to witness that he had bought of Naomi all that had belonged to Elimelech, and to his sons Chilion and Mahlon, and that he had purchased Ruth, the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, to be his wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance. The elders ratified the deed, invoking upon Ruth the blessing of Rachel and Leah, who had built the house of Israel, and that the house of Boaz might be made like that of his ancestor Pharez, the son of Judah. The blessing was fulfilled more highly than they thought. Ruth bore to Boaz a son, named Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David; and so Christ, "the son of David," derived his lineage from a Moabitish woman, who had shown a faith rarely found in Israel, and whose husband was the son of the harlot Rahab.

From these scenes of Jewish life during this period we turn to the history of the Judges themselves. They were fifteen in number, Deborah, the prophetess, being reckoned with her male associate, Barak:—(1.) Othniel; (2.) Ehud; (3.) Shamgar; (4.) Deborah and Barak; (5.) Gideon; (6.) Abimelech; (7.) Tola; (8.) Jair; (9.) Jephthah; (10.) Ibzan; (11.) Elon; (12.) Abdon; (13.) Samson; (14.) Eli; (15.) Samuel. The mission of each judge was preceded by a period of oppression under a foreign conqueror.

The first of these conquerors was Chushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-naharaim (*Aram of the two rivers, i. e., Mesopotamia*), the

original home of the family of Abraham. Looking at the fact that Balaam was brought from Aram to curse the people, we may, perhaps, infer that this king was allied with those constant enemies of Israel, the Midianites and Moabites. After the people had served him eight years (B. C. 1402–1394), God raised up OTHNIEL, Caleb's nephew, whose valor has already been mentioned, to be their deliverer, and the *first judge*. Of him it is recorded, what is not said of all the judges, that "the spirit of Jehovah was upon him." The land had rest under his government for forty years (B. C. 1394–1354); or rather, if our suggestion respecting the chronology be adopted, the whole period of the contest with Chushan-rishathaim and the judgeship of Othniel extended over a total of forty years.

B. C. 1394, foll. The next enemy who prevailed against Israel was Eglon, king of Moab, who formed a great league with the Ammonites and Amalekites. He crossed the Jordan, defeated the Israelites, and took possession of "the city of palm-trees," that is, probably the site on which Jericho had formerly stood. His power endured for eighteen years, till a deliverer was raised up in EHUD, the son of Gera, who is reckoned the *second judge*. He was one of those left-handed, or ambidextrous Benjamites, already alluded to, and his skill with the left hand was fatal to the King of Moab. As a Benjamite, he was naturally deputed to carry a present to Eglon at Jericho, which lay within the territory of that tribe. He prepared a double-edged dagger, a cubit long, and girded it on his right thigh under his garment. Having offered the present, he went away as far as "the graven images" at Gilgal, where he dismissed his attendants, and returned to the king, whom he found in the retirement of his summer parlor. On Ehud's telling him that he had a secret message to him from God, Eglon dismissed his attendants and rose to receive it with reverence, when Ehud plunged his dagger into the body of the king, whose obesity was such that the weapon was buried to the handle, and Ehud could not draw it out again. Ehud locked the doors of the summer parlor, and went out through the porch. It was long before the attendants ventured to break in upon the king's privacy; and meanwhile Ehud escaped beyond the graven images at Gilgal to Seirath, in Mount Ephraim. The children of Israel rallied at the sound of his trumpet in those highland fastnesses; and he led them down into the plain. First seizing the fords of the Jordan, he fell upon the Moabites, who were completely defeated, with the loss of 10,000 of their best warriors. And so the land had rest for eighty years. It is to be observed that Ehud is not called a judge throughout the narrative,

but only a deliverer; still the way in which his death is mentioned at the beginning of the next chapter seems to imply that he held the regular power of a judge to the end of his life.

The place of *third judge* is commonly assigned to SHAMGAR, the son of Anath, who delivered Israel from the tyranny of the *Philistines*, and displayed his strength by killing 600 of them with an ox-goad. But there seems no reason for reckoning this as a deliverance of the whole land from a positive subjection. The Philistines were a constant "thorn in the side" to Israel on the southwest frontier, in addition to all the other enemies they had to encounter; and it was not till the time of Eli and Samson and Samuel that they became the chief oppressors of the people. Shamgar is not called a judge; and his exploits seem to have been of the same nature as those of Samson, irregular acts of personal prowess, having but little lasting effect on the condition of the people at large. His time and acts may, therefore, be safely included in the preceding period of eighty years. Accordingly the next captivity is said to have begun "after the death of Ehud."

After the death of Ehud, the people were again sold for their sins, into the hand of the Canaanite *Jabin, king of Hazor*; who, like his ancestor of the same name, was the head of a great confederacy in Northern Palestine. He had 900 war-chariots of iron, and his host was commanded by a mighty captain, named Sisera, who dwelt in Harosheth of the Gentiles, a city in the north deriving its epithet probably from its mixed population (like Galilee in later times), over whom Sisera ruled as a chieftain. Its site is supposed to have been on the western shore of the "waters of Merom," in the territory of Naphtali, in which also Hazor was situated. Here then we have not, as in the two former cases, an invasion from without, but the rebellion of a state already once subdued, a sad sign of the decay of Israel. For twenty years Jabin "mightily oppressed" the land; but both his power and the life of his captain Sisera were given as a spoil to the hands of women.

B. C. 1316. At this time Israel was judged by a prophetess named

DEBORAH, the wife of Lapidoth, who is reckoned with Barak as the *fourth judge*. Her abode was under a palm-tree which bore her name, a well-known solitary landmark, between Ramah and Bethel; and thither the people came to her for judgment. She sent an inspired message to Barak, the son of Abinoam, of Kedesh, in Naphtali, bidding him assemble 10,000 men of Naphtali and Zebulun at mount Tabor; for Jehovah would draw Sisera and his host to

meet him at the river Kishon, and would deliver them into his hand. Barak consented, only on the condition that Deborah would go with him to the battle, though she warned him that he would reap no honor, for Jehovah would sell Sisera into the hands of a woman. The forces of Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar were gathered together at Kedesh, with some help from the central tribes, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin, as well as from the half-tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan. Those of the east and south took no part in the contest; Sisera advanced from Harosheth to the great plain of Esdraelon or Jezeel, which is drained by the river Kishon. He took up his position in the southwest corner of the plain near "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," which were numerous rivulets flowing into the Kishon. Barak marched down from his camp on Mount Tabor with his 10,000 men. "It was at this critical moment that (as we learn directly from Josephus and indirectly from the song of Deborah) a tremendous storm of sleet and hail gathered from the east, and burst over the plain, driving full in the face of the advancing Canaanites. 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.' The rain descended, the four rivulets of Megiddo were swelled into powerful streams, the torrent of the Kishon rose into a flood, the plain became a morass. The chariots and the horses, which should have gained the day for the Canaanites, turned against them. They became entangled in the swamp; the torrent of Kishon—the torrent famous through former ages—swept them away in its furious eddies; and in that wild confusion 'the strength' of the Canaanites 'was trodden down,' and the 'horse-hoofs stamped and struggled by the means of the plungings and plungings of the mighty chiefs' in the quaking morass and the rising streams. Far and wide the vast army fled far through the eastern branch of the plain by Endor. There, between Tabor and the Little Hermon, a carnage took place long remembered, in which the corpses lay fattening the ground."

Sisera escaped by dismounting from his chariot, and fled on foot to the tent of Heber the Kenite. This Arab sheikh had separated from the encampment of his brethren, the children of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, and removed northward to "the oaks of the wanderers" (*Zaanaim*), near Kedesh, preserving, it should seem, friendly relations both with the Jews and the Canaanites. At all events, it is distinctly stated that there was peace between Jabin and Heber; and Sisera fled to the tent of Jaël the wife of Heber. Jaël met him at the tent door, and pressed him to come in. He accepted the invitation, and she flung a mantle over him as he lay wearily on the floor.

When thirst prevented sleep, and he asked for water, she brought him buttermilk in her choicest vessel, thus ratifying the sacred bond of Eastern hospitality. But anxiety still prevented Sisera from composing himself to rest until he had exacted a promise from his protectress that she would faithfully preserve the secret of his concealment; till at last, with a feeling of perfect security, the weary and unfortunate general resigned himself to the deep sleep of misery and fatigue. Then it was that Jaël took in her left hand one of the great wooden pins (in the Authorized Version "nail") which fastened down the cords of the tent, and in her right hand the mallet (in the Authorized Version "a hammer") used to drive it into the ground, and creeping up to her sleeping and confiding guest, with one terrible blow dashed it through Sisera's temples deep into the earth. With one spasm of fruitless agony, with one contortion of sudden pain, "at her feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead." She then waited to meet the pursuing Barak, and led him into her tent that she might in his presence claim the glory of the deed.

The narrative closes with the *Song of Deborah and Barak*, one of the most picturesque remains of Hebrew poetry, and deserves to rank with the song of Moses and Miriam.

The land had rest forty years. The conclusion of this
 B. C.
 1296-1256. period, in the received chronology (B. C. 1256), coincides
 nearly with the date assigned by our proposed scheme
 (B. C. 1251). To reconcile this with the reckoning of the twenty
 years of captivity to Jabin and Sisera, as a distinct period, its commencement is thrown back twenty years into the time of Ehud, and it is assumed that the oppression of Jabin only affected the northern tribes. But, besides what we deem the obvious inconsistency of this assumption with the whole tenor of the narrative, the matter seems to be decided by the express statement, that the beginning of Jabin's oppression was after the death of Ehud.

CHAPTER XV.

THE JUDGES, FROM GIDEON TO JEPHTHAH.

[B. C. 1256-1112.]

THE peace purchased by the victory of Deborah and Barak was again misused by Israel, and the next scene of their history opens upon a more shameless idolatry, and a more complete subjection to their enemies. The worship of Baal was publicly practised, and the people were ready to display zeal for the false god. They were now delivered over to their old enemies of the desert, the Midianites and the Amalekites, who came up every year in entire hordes, "as locusts for multitude," with their cattle and their tents, covering the whole breadth of the land as far as Gaza and devouring its produce, so that the Israelites had no food left, nor sheep, nor ox, nor ass. The only refuge of the people was in dens, and caves, and fortresses in the mountains. This oppression lasted for seven years. Once more the people cried to Jehovah, who sent a prophet to reprove them for the evil return they had made for their deliverance from Egypt. But the reproof was the prelude to effectual aid.

As in the former oppressions, there were still stout hearts in Israel ready to come forth at the call of Jehovah. Such a man was GIDEON, the son of Joash, of the distinguished family of the Abi-ezrites, at Ophrah, in the tribe of Manasseh. He was grown up, and had sons, and had obtained the character of "a mighty man of valor." Gideon was threshing corn in his father's wine-press to hide it from the Midianites, when he saw an "angel of Jehovah" sitting under an oak which formed a landmark, who saluted him with the words, "Jehovah is with thee, thou mighty man of valor." "If Jehovah be with us," pleaded Gideon, "why is all this befallen us, and where are all his wonders that our fathers told us?" The reply was a command to go in his might and save Israel from the Midianites, for he was sent by God. Gideon pleaded the poor estate of his family, and his own lowly position in his father's house; but the reply was a renewed promise of God's presence, and an assurance that he should smite the Midianites. These words, spoken by the angel in his own

name, could have left little doubt in Gideon's mind concerning the quality of his visitant. He prayed him to give a sign of his favor by accepting, not any ordinary refreshment, but a "meat-offering" of unleavened cakes, with a kid, and the broth in which it was boiled for a drink offering. These things the angel commanded him to lay upon a rock in the very form of a sacrifice prescribed by the law, and at the touch of the angel's staff they were consumed by fire which burst out of the rock, and the angel vanished from his sight. When Gideon knew that he had spoken with the ANGEL JEHOVAH he feared that he should die, because he had seen Jehovah face to face; and on receiving the divine assurance of peace, he built an altar on the spot where the sacrifice had been offered, and called it JEHOVAH SHALOM, *Jehovah [is our] peace*. It was still to be seen at Ophrah when the Book of Judges was written.

The altar thus directly sanctified by God himself became, of course, a lawful place of sacrifice, and Gideon was invested for the time with a sort of priesthood, apparently in contrast with his father's position as priest of Baal, for the altar of Baal in Ophrah belonged to Joash. By a dream or vision in the following night, Gideon was commanded to take his father's "second bullock of seven years old" (probably one devoted to Baal), and, having overthrown the altar of Baal, and cut up the *Asherah*, or wooden image of the goddess Ashtoreth, to use its fragments for burning the bullock as a sacrifice upon the altar of Jehovah. Aided by ten of his servants, he performed this deed by night, for fear of his father's household and the men of the city. In the morning all was discovered, and the men of the city came to Joash, demanding the life of Gideon. But Joash replied by the argument, so conclusive against idols, and so often since repeated both in word and deed, "Let Baal plead his own cause." The citizens seem to have shared the conviction which led Joash to take his son's part; and Gideon's new name of JERUBBAAL, that is, *Let Baal plead*, at once commemorated the triumph of the day, and became a watchword to deride the impotence of the false god.

Whether in consequence of this deed, or in the ordinary course of their annual invasion, the Medianites and Amalekites, with all the nomad nations east of Palestine, mustered their forces and pitched in the valley of Jezreel. Then "the spirit of Jehovah clothed Gideon," and his trumpet called round him the house of the Abi-ezrites. By means of messengers, he gathered Manasseh and the northern tribes who had followed Barak; but now even Asher came with Zebulun and Naphtali; and he encamped on Mount Gilboa, overlooking the

myriad tents that whitened the plains of Esdraelon. Before the conflict, Gideon prayed for a sign that God would save Israel by his hand. He spread a fleece of wool on his threshing-floor, and asked that it might be wet with dew while the earth around was dry, and in the morning he wrung a bowlful of water from the fleece.

At Gideon's renewed prayer, put up in the same spirit in which Abraham pleaded for Sodom, the sign was repeated in a form which puts the miracle beyond all cavil. Heavy dews are common enough in the highlands of Palestine, and water has been wrung out of clothes that have been exposed throughout the night; but when the fleece remained dry, while the earth around was wet with dew, there could be no doubt that the required sign had been vouchsafed by God.



GIDEON'S FLEECE.

So remarkable a test must surely have been more than merely arbitrary; but its significance is not very evident. "His own character," says Dean Stanley, "is well indicated in the sign of the fleece—cool in the heat of all around, dry when all around were damped with fear. Throughout we see three great qualities, decision, caution and magnanimity."

On the morning of the decisive day Gideon was encamped by the "well of trembling" (*Harod*, probably *Ain-Julûd*), as the spring was called from what ensued, at the head of 32,000 men. But these forces were not destined to gain

another such victory as that over Sisera in the same plain. The repetition of Deborah's eulogy on the men of the north would have made them vaunt themselves against Jehovah, saying, "Mine own hand hath saved me," when in truth they were wanting in the first requisite of courage. Accordingly, when Gideon proclaimed at God's command, "Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let himself return and depart early from Mount Gilead," 22,000 slunk away. We feel sure that Asher went, to a man; and, by a curious coincidence, those who remained were the same number as the 10,000 chosen warriors of Zebulun and Naphtali that had followed Barak. Still Jehovah said that the people were too many, and they were brought to another test by their

manner of drinking at the "well of trembling." All those who knelt down to drink were rejected, and those who lifted the water in their hands and lapped it like a dog were set apart for the service. They proved to be only 300, and thus Gideon was left with the same number that remained with Leonidas at Thermopylæ. They took their provisions and trumpets, and waited for the night.

At nightfall God commanded Gideon to go down with his servant Phurah to the host of Midian, where he overheard a man relate a dream to his comrade, from which he learned that God had already stricken the Midianites with terror at "the sword of Gideon, the son of Joash," and he returned to tell the Israelites that Jehovah had delivered Midian into their hand. He formed a plan admirably adapted to cause in the demoralized host one of those panics to which the undisciplined armies of the East have always been liable. Dividing his 300 men into three bands, he furnished each man with a trumpet and a torch shrouded by a pitcher, thus forming a dark lantern, and bade them all, at the signal of his trumpet, to sound their trumpets too, and to shout his battle-cry, "The sword of Jehovah and of Gideon," at the same time breaking the pitchers that covered their lights. Just as the middle watch was set, they took their posts on three sides of the host of Midian. The sudden shouts and flashing lights bewildered the Midianites; and as Gideon's handful of men stood firm with the torches in their left hands and the trumpets in their right, they "ran and cried and fled." No attack was needed. Their own swords were turned against each other as they fled down the pass leading to the Jordan to the "house of the acacia" (*Beth-shittah*) and the "meadow of the dance" (*Abel-meholah*).

B. C. 1249. While Naphtali, Asher, and Manasseh gathered themselves in pursuit of the Midianites, Gideon sent word to the men of Ephraim to seize the "waters" as far as Beth-barah and Jordan. There a second battle ended in the capture of the chieftains Oreb and Zeeb (the *Raven* and the *Wolf*, names doubtless answering to their standards). They were slain at spots which thenceforth bore their names, and their heads were sent to Gideon.

That leader had already passed the Jordan in pursuit of Midian, after pacifying, by one of those proverbial phrases which in the East serve for conclusive arguments, the complaints of the men of Ephraim because he had not called them to the battle. The two great sheikhs of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, had escaped to the eastern side of Jordan with 15,000 men, all that were left of their hosts. Faint, but still pressing the pursuit, Gideon and his chosen 300 arrived at Succoth

(*Sakût*), whose princes refused them supplies for fear of the Midianites. The like scene was repeated at Penuel, the city whose name commemorated Jacob's wrestling with Jehovah; and Gideon left both places with threats of signal vengeance. He found the Midianites encamped in careless security at Karkor, somewhere in the southern part of the desert highlands east of the Jordan, frequented by the pastoral tribes "that dwelt in tents." Passing up out of the Jordan valley by one of the lateral wadys east of Nobah and Jogbehah, he fell upon them unawares and gained a third great victory. Zebah and Zalmunna were taken prisoners, and led back in triumph before sunrise to be shown to the men of Succoth and Penuel, who now suffered the penalty of their cowardice in the form which Gideon had promised. At Succoth he "taught" the princes who had refused him succor "with thorns and briers of the wilderness," and at Penuel he broke down the great tower which was its strength and pride, and slew the men of the city. "It is not clear that he did not subject the men of Succoth to the same doom, after having dealt with them according to his threat. He might have done it indeed in the execution of his threat, for there was an ancient punishment in which death was inflicted by laying the naked bodies of the offenders under a heap of thorns, briers, and prickly bushes, and then drawing over them threshing-sledges and other heavy implements of husbandry." Dr. Kitto adds that the idea of a punishment which must appear so strange to us is not unnaturally suggested in the East, where men are continually lacerating their half-clothed bodies with thorns in passing through thickets.

Gideon dealt next with Zebah and Zalmunna. Bringing them to a sort of trial, he asked what kind of men they were whom they had slain at Mount Tabor. "Such as thou art; each one like the children of a king," was the reply by which they sealed their fate while seeking to flatter their conqueror. "They were my brethren, the sons of my mother," exclaimed Gideon; and he called on Jether, his first-born son, to rise up and slay them. The youth hesitated, and the kings prayed Gideon to slay them with his own manly hand. Having killed them, he took off the ornaments shaped like the moon, which hung upon their camels' necks, for a use which will presently appear.

This deliverance was the greatest, and the three victories the most signal that Israel had known since the time of Joshua, and they are often referred to in the after records of the nation, and celebrated in their hymns of praise.

The people's gratitude to their deliverer displayed itself in a form

which shows how fast they were approaching the revolution which Moses had foreseen and provided for, even while he warned them against it. They offered Gideon the rank of a HEREDITARY KING:—"Rule thou over us; both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also." The answer shows that Gideon himself remembered with reverence the great principle of the theocracy:—"I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: *Jehovah shall rule over you.*" He was content with the position of a judge, and, in the succession of the judges, he is reckoned as the *fifth* and greatest, being excelled by Samuel in holiness of character, but by none in dignity and prowess. His princely appearance has been already mentioned, and he dwelt in his own house in all the dignity of a numerous harem. He had a family of seventy sons, besides Abimelech, the son of his concubine at Shechem. This departure from domestic simplicity brought its retribution in the next generation. The only other blot on the character of Gideon was his mistaken, though doubtless well-intentioned, innovation on divine worship. Presuming, probably, on his having been permitted to build an altar and to offer sacrifice, he made a jewelled ephod, adorned with 1700 shekels of gold, which the people gave him from their share of the spoils of Midian, besides the ornaments he had taken from off the kings and their camels. The Israelites came from all quarters to consult the ephod, and Gideon and his house were thus enticed into a system of idolatrous worship.

The rule of Gideon or Jerubbaal lasted forty years, during which time the Midianites never lifted their heads again. The complete tranquillity of the period from the defeat of the Midianites to the death of Gideon is expressed in the statement that Jehovah had delivered the people "out of the hands of *all their enemies on every side,*" which seems quite to exclude the notion of wars going on at the same time in other parts of Israel. He died in a good old age, and was buried at his native city of Ophrah. During his life Israel remained true to Jehovah, and at peace with their neighbors, but after his death they fell away into idolatry, and installed Baalberith as their national god.

Gideon, by several wives, had seventy sons; and by a concubine he had one son, whom he named Abimelech. Though Gideon had refused the crown of Israel for himself and his sons, Abimelech coveted it. He repaired to his mother's family at Shechem, and told them that his brethren would usurp the government over them, and advised them to consider whether it would not be better to be gov-

erned by one man than by seventy, and at the same time reminded them that he was one of themselves. The result was that his relatives entered into a conspiracy with him to make him king, and provided him with a band of hired desperadoes, the money for the purpose being furnished out of the treasury of Baalberith.

With these ruffians he marched to his father's house, and seized sixty-nine of his brethren, and slew them upon one stone, the other, Jotham, having succeeded in making his escape. Gideon's house being now destroyed with the exception of Jotham, the Shechemites made Abimelech their king, at an assembly at Millo.

When Jotham heard of the murder of his brethren, and
B. C. 1209.

the choice of Abimelech by the Shechemites to be their king, he went to the top of Mount Gerizim, where, in a parabolical oration, he represented to the Shechemites how his father Jerubbaal had refused to have the government settled upon him and his family; and that they had now disposed of it to one as much inferior in virtue and honor to Gideon and his lawful sons, as the bramble is to the olive, fig-tree, or vine; he then expostulated with them on the injury done to his family. If they had dealt well with the house of Jerubbaal, who had saved them, in killing his sons and choosing the son of his maid-servant to rule over them, then let them rejoice in their king! But if not, let fire come out from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem and the house of Millo, and let them, in their turn, devour him! Having said these things, Jotham fled to Beer, and we hear of him no more.

His curse was not long in being fulfilled. After three years God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem, to avenge upon both the murder of the sons of Jerubbaal. The Shechemites revolted from Abimelech, and plotted against his life. Bands of men lay in wait for him in the passes on the neighboring hills, and robbed all travellers while Abimelech was absent from the city. The insurgents found a leader in Gaal, the son of Ebed, who, in the excitement of a vintage feast in the temple of Baal, while the people mingled curses on Abimelech with their songs and merriment, openly declared that it would be better to serve the old princes of the city, the family of Hamor, the father of Shechem, and declared that he would dethrone Abimelech. But Abimelech had still a strong party in the city; and Zebul, the governor, sent privately to inform him of the words of Gaal, and of the preparations to defend the city. Abimelech surrounded Shechem by night, and defeated Gaal and the Shechemites with great loss when they came out to meet him. What

follows is obscure. While Abimelech remains at Arumah, Zebul expels Gaal and his party, but the city is still hostile to Abimelech. It would seem as if the old Amorite population had now got the upper hand, and had resolved to hold it to the last. But Abimelech took the city by a stratagem, and utterly destroyed it, slaying all the inhabitants, except about a thousand men and women, who had taken refuge in a tower sacred to Baalberith. Abimelech led his army to Mount Zalmon, and, ordering his men to follow his example, he cut down a bough, and each of the men having done the same, they piled up the wood against the tower and burnt it, with all who were within.

The cruel deed was soon avenged. Abimelech had besieged Thebez, where also there was a tower to which the people fled when the city was taken. Abimelech had approached the wall to apply fire as at Shechem, when a woman threw down a piece of a millstone upon his head and broke his skull. In the agony of death, he had just time to call upon his armor-bearer to dispatch him with his sword, that it might not be said of him "a woman slew him." Thus God rendered both to Abimelech and the Shechemites their wickedness in slaying the sons of Jerubbaal. "The bramble Abimelech, the only one in the line of the judges who attained to greatness without any public services," had devoured the men who elevated him, and had been devoured by them.

He is commonly reckoned as the *sixth judge*, but it may be questioned whether his lawless usurpation, extending but little beyond Shechem, justifies the title: and not a word is said of his being raised up by Jehovah, or of the spirit of God coming upon him. Of his relations to Israel in general we are told nothing, for no conclusion can be fairly drawn from the isolated mention of his reigning "over Israel." But the conclusion of his story seems to imply a combined action against the tyrant: "And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they departed every man unto his place."

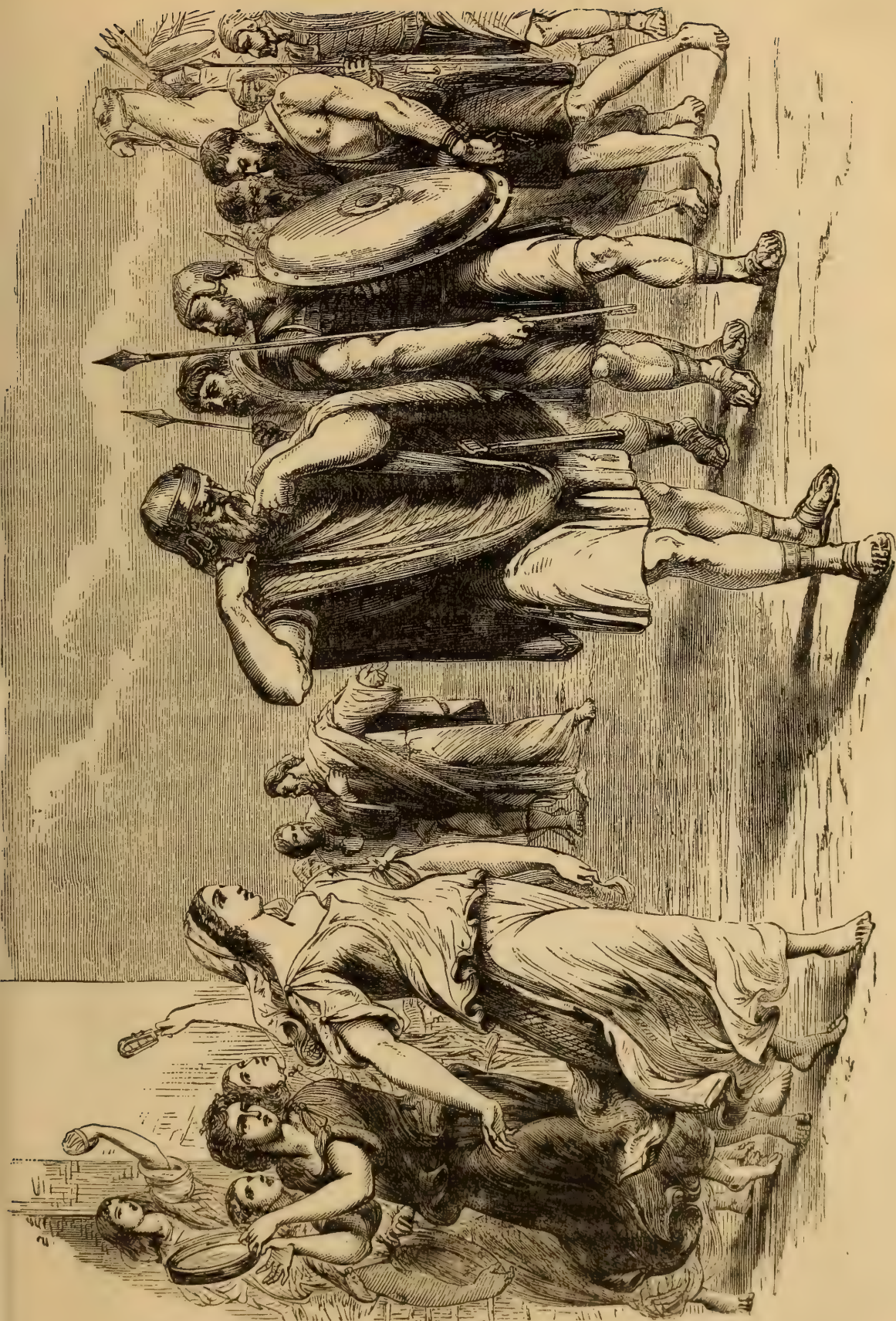
Among the six judges who succeeded Abimelech, Jephthah's is the only conspicuous name. Of the two who preceded him, the first was TOLA, the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, of the tribe of Issachar, who dwelt at Shamir, in Mount Ephraim, and judged Israel twenty-three years. He was the *seventh judge*; and, though he is said to have arisen to *defend* (or *deliver*) Israel, there is no mention of any enemy who oppressed them in his time. His judgeship may therefore be regarded as a continuance of the period of quiet obtained by the victories of Gideon.

This is true also of the *eighth judge*, JAIR, a man of Gilead, on the east of Jordan, who is not even called a deliverer. The peaceful character of his twenty-two years' rule is further indicated by the dignified state in which he maintained his family of thirty sons, who rode on white asses, and had dominion over thirty cities of Mount Gilead, which retained the name of the "villages of Jair" (*Havoth-Jair*).

The whole analogy of this period of the history of Israel leaves no doubt that so long an interval of rest would involve a more serious declension than any of those before it. Accordingly we find them serving all the gods of all the nations around them, "Baalim and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria, of Sidon, of Moab, of the Beni-ammi, and of the Philistines," except Jehovah; him they forsook, and served not. This time the punishment was as signal as the crime. Two nations at once attacked Israel on the west and on the east—the Philistines and the children of Ammon. Of the former we shall soon hear again. The oppression of the latter lasted for eighteen years, especially in the land of Gilead, on the east of Jordan. But they also passed the Jordan, and fought against the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim, so that Israel was sore distressed.

Nor was their cry of penitence at once successful. They
B. C. 1143. were told (probably by the mouth of a prophet) to cry to the gods whom they had chosen. Once more they humbled themselves before Jehovah, confessing their sin, and praying him to deliver them only this once; and they proved their repentance by putting away the false gods from among them and serving Jehovah; "And his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel," is the powerful figure of the sacred record. The two nations gathered their forces for a decisive contest; the sons of Ammon in Gilead, and the Israelites in Mizpeh. A captain alone was wanting, and the people and princes of Gilead offered to make the man who would lead them against the Ammonites the head over all the inhabitants of Gilead.

Now there was in Gilead a man who had given proofs of the highest valor in a predatory war against the neighboring tribes. This was JEPHTHAH, the son of Gilead by a concubine of the lowest class. On his father's death, he had been thrust out by his legitimate brethren, and fleeing to the land of Tob, apparently on the border of the Beni-ammi, he became the leader of a band of "vain persons," such as afterward resorted to David at Adullam, and who obtained their living as freebooters, preying on the Ammonites—a mode of life not disgraceful in the East then, any more than now. When war broke



JERUTH MET BY HIS DAUGHTER.

out with the Beni-ammi, the elders of Gilead sent to Jephthah, and prevailed on him, with some difficulty, to become their leader. He exacted from them an oath, in confirmation of the promise that their deliverer should be head over all Gilead ; and when he joined the army at Mizpeh, the oath was ratified before Jehovah at that sacred place.

Jephthah first sent messengers to the King of Ammon to demand by what right he made war on Israel, and the discussion that followed is an important passage for the history of the war under Moses on the east of Jordan. The Ammonite averred that Israel had at that time taken away his land along the Jordan between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and demanded its restoration. Jephthah replied that Israel had taken nothing either from Moab or from Ammon. They had driven out Sihon, king of the Amorites, and possessed his land from the Arnon to the Jabbok, and from Jordan to the wilderness. Since Jehovah had dispossessed the Amorites before Israel, was Ammon to take the land? No! let them take what Chemosh, their god, would give them, and we will hold all that Jehovah our God shall give us. Israel had dwelt for 300 years in the territories of Heshbon, Aroer, and all the cities north of the Arnon : why had not Ammon recovered them within that time? In fine, said Jephthah, we have not wronged you, but you wrong us in making war ; let "Jehovah the Judge" be judge between us.

The appeal was in vain. Then the spirit of Jehovah came on Jephthah, and he went through Gilead and Manasseh, and mustered their forces at Mizpeh, whence he marched against Ammon. As he set forth, he made that rash vow which has ever since been associated with his name, devoting to Jehovah, as a burnt offering, whosoever should come forth out of his door to meet him, if he returned in peace a victor over the Beni-ammi. His expedition was crowned with complete success : Jehovah delivered Ammon into his hands : he defeated them with great slaughter ; and he took from them twenty cities, from Aroer on the Arnon to Minnith and the "plain of the vineyards" (*Abel-keramim*), and entirely subjected them to Israel from that time to the reign of Saul.

Jephthah returned a victor to his house at Mizpeh, to receive the promised supremacy over Gilead, and alas ! to pay his rash vow to Jehovah. For, as he approached his house, his own daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances, like another Miriam ; and, to make the blow more terrible, she was his only child. Our natural horror at the consequences of such a meeting is mitigated by the sublime scene of resignation that passed between the rash father

and the submissive daughter. "Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low," cried Jephthah, as he rent his clothes; "and thou art one of them that trouble me: for I have opened my mouth unto Jehovah, and I cannot go back." "My father!" she replied, "if thou hast opened thy mouth unto Jehovah, do to me according to the word which hath proceeded out of thy mouth." To crown such a victory as God had given to Israel, she grudged not her own sacrifice. She only prayed for a respite of two months, that she might wander over the mountains of Gilead with the companions whom she had fondly led out to swell the chorus of her father's victory, bewailing that which, to a Hebrew woman, was the worst part of her doom, the loss of the hope of offspring, and so of the possible honor of being the mother of the Messiah. At the end of the two months she returned to her father, "*who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed*," words which can leave no possible doubt of her fate. The custom was established in Israel that the daughters of Israel went out every year for four days to lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite.

Some persons mindful of the enrolment of Jephthah among the heroes of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as of the expression "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," have heretofore scrupled to believe that he could be guilty of such a sin as the murder of his child. But the deed is recorded without approval, and it becomes only a moral difficulty to those who persist in the false principle, already more than once referred to, of identifying the record of actions in Scripture with their adoption. It should be recollected that Jephthah was a rude Gileadite whose spirit had become hardened by his previous life as a freebooter.

The victory over the Beni-ammi was followed, like Gideon's over the Midianites, by fierce jealousy on the part of the men of Ephraim because they had not been called to share the enterprise, and the rough warrior had not the same skill to turn aside their wrath. They threatened to burn Jephthah's house over his head, and taunted the men of Gilead with being outcasts of the tribe of Joseph, apparently in allusion to their predatory habits. The Ephraimites were utterly defeated in Gilead, and the men of Gilead, seizing the fords of Jordan, put the fugitives to that curious test which shows that differences of dialect already existed among the tribes, and which has passed into a proverb for minor differences in the Church. Every one who demanded a passage westward was asked, "Are you an Ephraimite?" If he said, "No," he was required to pronounce the *Shibboleth* (a *stream* or *flood*), and, on his betraying himself by saying *Sibboleth*, he was put to death, "for he could

not frame to pronounce it right." The whole loss of Ephraim in this campaign was 42,000 men. It seems to have been characteristic of that tribe to hold back from great enterprises, and yet arrogating to themselves a sort of supremacy as the representatives of Joseph, to be bitterly jealous of their brethren's success.

Jephthah lived six years as judge, and was buried in Mount Gilead.

A bare mention will suffice of the *tenth*, *eleventh*, and *twelfth* judges, who came between Jephthah and Samson.

X. IBZAN, of Bethlehem, in Zebulun, judged Israel for seven years, and was buried in Bethlehem. Like Jair, he used his position for the aggrandizement of his family, which consisted of thirty sons and thirty daughters. He married his daughters abroad, and took wives for his sons from abroad, that is, among the surrounding nations.

XI. He was succeeded by another Zebulonite, ELON, who judged Israel ten years, and was buried at Ajjalon, in Zebulun, which seems to have been named after him. The two words only differ in the vowel points, and the Vulgate identifies them.

XII. ABDON, the son of Hillel, the Pirathonite, judged Israel for eight years (B. C. 1120-1112). He also had a family of forty sons and thirty nephews, who rode on seventy white asses' colts. He is perhaps identical with Bedan, who is enumerated by Samuel among the judges.

There is one feature in the history of this period which should not be overlooked: the remarkable silence of the Scripture narrative respecting the tribe of Judah, and those whose lot fell within its territory in the wider sense, namely, Simeon and Dan. While the scene changes between the highlands of Zebulun and Naphtali, the valley of Jezreel, the mountains of Ephraim, and those of Gilead, and while we have a succession of judges belonging to the northern, central, and eastern tribes, Judah is only once mentioned as suffering from the incursions of the Ammonites in the time of Jephthah. Only two explanations of this silence appear possible; that Judah retaining its distinction as the princely tribe, loyal to Jehovah, enjoyed a comparative exemption both from the sins and the sufferings of the other tribes, or, that it was occupied by its own conflicts with the Philistines. Nor do these alternatives necessarily exclude each other. We may well believe that there was a state of war, more or less constant, with the Philistines, sustained chiefly by Simeon and Dan, within whose lots they lay, while Judah formed a compact government under its own princes, in loyal union with the high-priest at Shiloh. The truth of this view will be seen in the subsequent history.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE JUDGES—ELI, SAMSON, AND SAMUEL—THE PHILISTINE OPPRESSION.

[B. C. 1161-1095.]

WE have now reached a point at which the history becomes most interesting and the chronology most difficult. We read that the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of Jehovah: and he delivered them into the hand of the Philistines *forty years*. Then we have the story of the birth and exploits of SAMSON, the thirteenth judge, who is expressly said to have judged Israel twenty years, *in the days of the Philistines*. The fair inference from these words is, that the forty years' oppression of the B. C. 1161. Philistines is to be reckoned from the beginning of Samson's exploits against them, and that the story of his birth is retrospective. The narrative of the Book of Judges ends with the death of Samson; but the interposition of the supplemental chapters and of the Book of Ruth breaks the connection of the story with its continuation in the Book of Samuel. There we find Israel under the government of ELI, who resided at Shiloh, by the tabernacle of Jehovah, and who was at once the high-priest, and the fourteenth judge, an office which he is said to have held for forty years, dying at the age of ninety-eight, at the time of the capture of the ark by the Philistines. Meanwhile Samuel had been born and dedicated to Jehovah, who made to him, while yet a youth, that signal revelation which established his character as a prophet of Jehovah. This revelation may be regarded also as Samuel's designation to his future office as the fifteenth judge of Israel, and hence we may explain the statement that "Samuel judged Israel *all the days of his life*."

The time of his actual entrance on his office is not expressly named. If, as is commonly supposed, the first revelation of God was made to him shortly before the death of Eli, he would be too young to be Eli's immediate successor. But there is no necessity to make the interval so short. At all events, it was long enough to give time for Samuel to grow up and to establish his character as a prophet throughout all Israel; and if he was able to fulfil the part of a prophet, surely he could discharge the duties of a judge. We see no

difficulty, therefore, in supposing that he at once succeeded Eli, and that he was then in his full manhood, about thirty years old, the period for entrance on public duties. The great victory which his prayers obtained at Eben-ezer, when "the Philistines were subdued, and came no more into the coast of Israel . . . all the days of Samuel," seems clearly to mark the end of the forty years' servitude to them; and it seems equally clear that this victory was gained twenty years after the capture of the ark. This victory may be regarded as the culminating point of Samuel's administration; and there seems no difficulty in supposing him to have been at least fifty years old at this time.

From these views it would follow that the forty years' domination of the Philistines (the tenth of the twelve periods of forty years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple) was about equally divided at the death of Eli, whose last twenty years (or, according to the LXX., his whole administration) would thus be contemporary with the twenty years of Samson's judgeship.

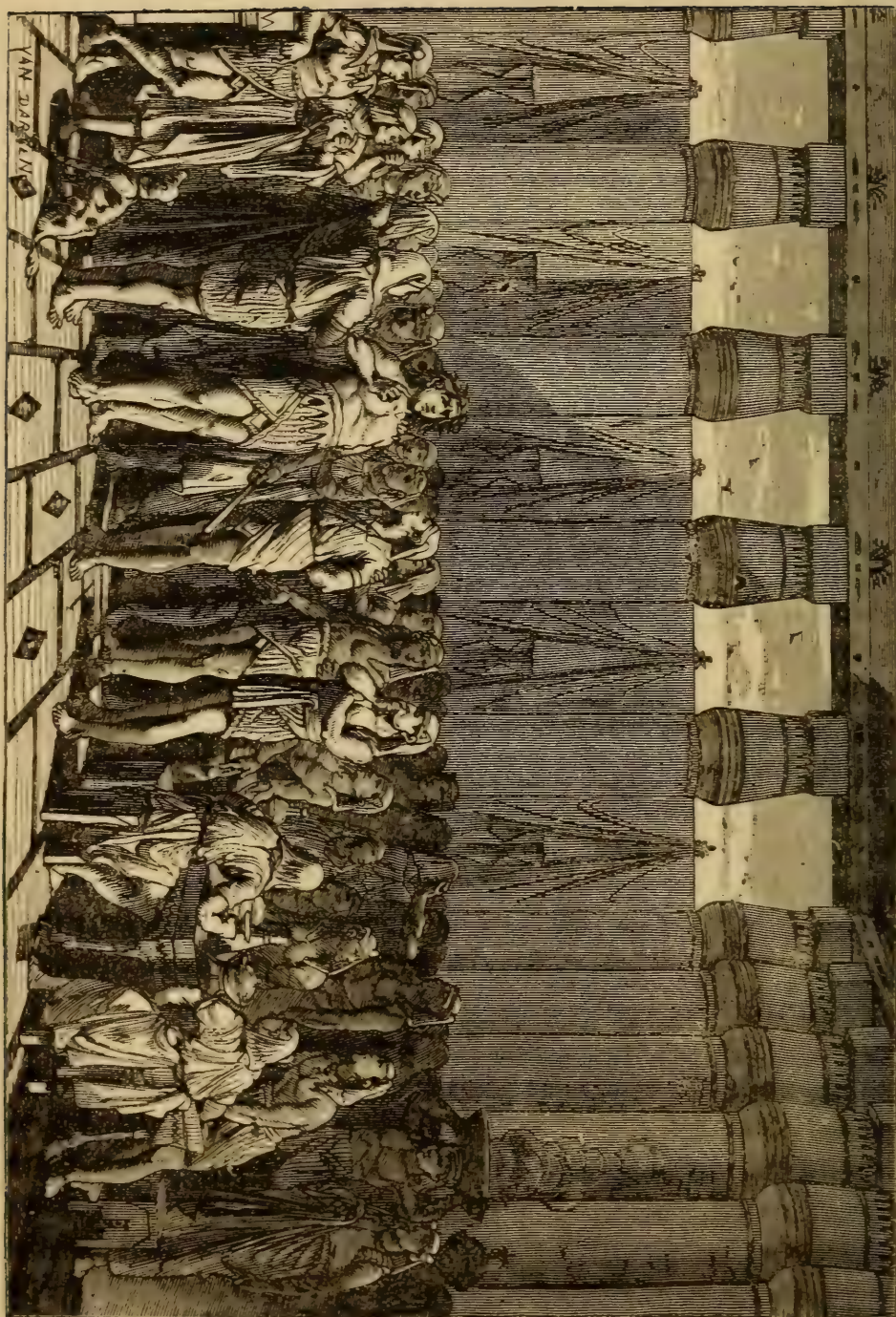
There is nothing surprising in this result. The exploits of Samson were so entirely of a personal character, as episodes in the constant war between the Philistines and the tribe of Dan, that his position is not at all inconsistent with the judgeship of Eli over Israel in general. Nor need we hesitate, if necessary, to carry back the first twenty years of Eli into the period of Jephthah and the three northern judges; for it is a natural supposition that the southern tribes enjoyed a settled government, except as they were disturbed by the Philistines, under their own princes, subject to the authority of Jehovah as interpreted by the high-priest. It is also quite natural that the Philistines should have seized the occasion of Samson's death to make that great attack on Israel which led to the capture of the ark, and the death of Eli and his sons; for the loss of 3000 men by the fall of the Temple of Dagon, though a terrible blow for the moment, would soon stimulate them to seek revenge.

But a difficulty arises at the other end. The Scripture narrative assigns no exact period to the judgeship of Samuel, from the battle of Eben-ezer to the election of Saul. We have a general description of his circuits as a judge; and then follows the misgovernment of his sons in his old age, which led the people to desire a king. We may fairly suppose that the complete establishment of his power would soon lead to that association of his sons in the administration which caused such disastrous results; and he was already getting old, if the above computations be correct. Still the interval could hardly be

contained within our proposed scheme, if we must accept literally the forty years which St. Paul assigns to the reign of Saul. But the peculiar relations between Samuel and Saul make it reasonable to suppose that the whole time in which they led Israel, with more or less success, against the Philistines was reckoned as one period, and that the forty years assigned to Saul include also the government of Samuel from the victory over the Philistines at Eben-ezer.

We return to the narrative, which could scarcely have been made intelligible without this discussion of the connection of its several threads. We have seen that the fierce conflicts in which the northern tribes and those east of Jordan were engaged with the heathen, under Barak, Gideon, and Jephthah, only partly involved the tribe of Ephraim, and scarcely touched the southern tribes of Judah, Dan, and Simeon. The part of the country which may be roughly marked off by a line drawn south of the valley of Shechem has a history of its own, upon which we have little light till the period we have now reached. In this region, though unquestionably not free from idolatry, the authority of the high-priest at Shiloh seems to have been generally respected. That office was now held by ELI, a man of venerable age, of the house of Ithamar, Aaron's younger son. We are not told when the high-priesthood was transferred from the house of Eleazar to that of Ithamar; but we find that the arrangement had the divine sanction, and was only reversed as a judgment on the house of Eli. Himself a man of the most sincere piety, he was guilty of sinful weakness in the indulgence he showed to the vices of his sons, whose profligacy disgraced the priesthood and ruined the people. To the office of high-priest, Eli added that of judge; and, if the above computations are correct, he should be reckoned the *thirteenth*, rather than the *fourteenth* judge, having entered on his office about or soon after the birth of Samson. The postponement of Eli's history to that of Samson is the natural result of his intimate connection with Samuel, whose life begins the book that bears his name.

While Eli was high-priest, it pleased God to raise up B. C. 1161. two champions for Israel whose characters form a contrast far more remarkable than any of Plutarch's parallels. Alike in the divine announcement of their birth, in being devoted as Nazarites from the womb, and in being early clothed with the spirit of Jehovah, Samson and Samuel exhibit the two extremes of physical energy and moral power, with all the inherent weaknesses of the former, and the majestic strength of the latter. In Samson we see the utmost that



SAMSON'S RIDDLE.

human might can do, even as the instrument of the divine will; in Samuel we behold the omnipotence of prayer. The great faults of the former seem almost inseparable from his physical temperament: the faultlessness of the latter is the fruit of a nature early disciplined into willing subjection to the laws of God.

SAMSON, who is commonly considered the *thirteenth judge*, though more properly the fourteenth, belonged to that part of the tribe of Dan which had not migrated from its original allotment on the borders of the Philistines between Judah and Ephraim. His father was Manoah, a man of Zorah, on the confines of Judah. Manoah's wife had long been barren, when she was favored with the visit of the ANGEL-JEHOVAH, announcing the birth of a son, who was to be devoted by the vow of "a Nazarite from the womb," and who should begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines. She herself was to abstain from wine and strong drink, and from all unclean food; and the child was to practise the same abstinence, and no razor was to come upon his head.

The woman at once called her husband, and informed him of this extraordinary interview with the angel. Manoah was not so much surprised as overjoyed at the prospect of having a son, but had an earnest desire himself to see this divine messenger, his pretence for it being to be further instructed in the management of the child when he should be born.

The angel was therefore sent again by God, and this time in a human shape, so that Manoah took him to be a man of God, and urged him to accept of his hospitality. The angel refused to receive anything, but advised him to express his gratitude to God by a burnt-offering. Accordingly Manoah prepared a kid and a meat-offering, which he offered as a sacrifice to God, and when the flame rose from the altar the angel ascended with it, and thus revealed his heavenly character to Manoah.

Manoah was terrified, and feared death because they had seen God face to face; but his wife, more calm and wiser than he, replied that if Jehovah had intended to destroy them he would not have accepted their offering, or have promised them so great a blessing. In due time, the child thus promised, was born, and named Samson, and he grew up blessed by Jehovah.

Being come to man's estate he found the power of the Philistines firmly established over his own people—over all Israel. The princely tribe of Judah had sunk into submission; and the hardy warriors of the tribe of Dan, were obliged to live as soldiers in the field, in the

permanent camp which they had formed at Mahaneh-Dan (*the camp of Dan*), near Kirjath-jearim, in the central highlands, between Zorah and Eshtaol. Here the power of Jehovah began to move Samson at times.

This divine inspiration, which is often mentioned in his history, and which he shared with Othniel, Gideon, and Jephthah, assumed in him the unique form of vast personal strength, animated by undaunted bravery. It was inseparably connected with the observance of his vow as a Nazarite; "his strength was in his hair." Conscious of this power he began to seek a quarrel with the Philistines; and with this view he asked the hand of a beautiful Philistine woman whom he had seen at Timnath. One day as he passed by the vineyards of the city on a visit to his intended bride, a young lion rushed out upon him: the spirit of Jehovah came on Samson, and, without a weapon, he seized the lion and tore it with as much ease as if it had been a kid, but he told no one of the exploit. As he passed that way again, he saw a swarm of bees in the carcass of the lion. He took some of the honey in his hands, and went on eating it.

At his wedding at Timnath, he was assigned thirty young men, relatives of his bride, as attendants, or groomsmen, and on the first day of the feast which he gave in honor of his marriage, and which lasted seven days, he proposed a riddle to his groomsmen to be solved in seven days, for a stake of thirty tunics and thirty changes of raiment. This was the riddle:

"Out of the eater came forth food,
And out of the strong came forth sweetness."

Being unable to solve the riddle themselves, the young men urged Samson's wife to draw the secret from her husband and reveal it to them. She, after much trouble and entreaty, succeeded in inducing Samson to trust her with his secret, and immediately told it to the young men, who said to Samson at the end of the seven days:

"What is sweeter than honey?
And what is stronger than a lion?"

Samson was satisfied that his wife had betrayed his secret, as he had confided it to no one else, and therefore to let them know that he was sensible of foul play in the matter, he replied indignantly, "If you had not plowed with my heifer, you could not have expounded my riddle."

He at once repaired to Ashkelon, a city of the Philistines, and slew thirty men, whose raiment he sent to the young men who had won

the wager. Being angry with his Philistine connexions, he left Timnath and returned to his father's house. He still retained an affection for his wife, however, in spite of her betrayal of his confidence.

Some time after this, he went back to Timnath to see her, taking a kid with him as a present, but her father refused to allow him to see her, urging as his excuse that he thought he had slighted her, and had therefore given her in marriage to one of Samson's groomsmen. But he added, her younger sister, who was more beautiful, was at his service.

Samson was greatly exasperated by such treatment, and resolved upon revenge. Taking three hundred foxes or jackals, he tied them together two by two by the tails, with a fire-brand between every pair of tails, and drove them into the standing corn of the Philistines, which was ready for the harvest, and in this way burned not only the corn but the vineyards and olive trees. In return for this, the Philistines burned Samson's wife and her father to death. Samson promptly took vengeance upon them, and falling upon them with fury, smote them "hip and thigh with a great slaughter," after which he took refuge on the top of the rock of Etam in the territory of Judah.

When the Philistines heard of his place of refuge, they marched a strong army into the territory of Judah, and demanded the surrender of Samson that they might wreak their vengeance upon him. The men of Judah, dreading the consequences of this invasion, immediately detached three thousand men of their tribe, with orders to seize Samson and deliver him to his enemies, and to inform him that they were subject to the Philistines and to reproach him for having sought shelter amongst them. Samson, though conscious of his strength, was not willing to use it against his own countrymen. So binding the men of Judah by an oath not to side with the Philistines against him, he surrendered himself to them, and they secured him with two strong cords, and brought him to the Philistine camp.

As the Philistines saw him approach, bound, they burst into shouts of joy, and came out to take him; but before they could lay hands on him the Spirit of God came upon him, and he burst his bonds as easily as if they had been thin paper. There was no weapon at hand, but the jaw bone of an ass, which lay bleaching upon the ground; but seizing this, he threw himself with fury upon the Philistines, and put them to flight, slaying a thousand of their warriors. His great exertion in this exploit filled him with an intense thirst, and he prayed to God to give him water. God heard his prayer, and caused a spring

to burst out from a rock which had never before produced any moisture. This great victory raised Samson to the position of a judge, which he held for twenty years.

His strong animal nature at length caused him to yield to temptation, but so long as he kept his Nazarite's vow his enemies were unable to ensnare him. Upon one occasion, while visiting a harlot in Gaza, the Philistines shut the gates of the city, intending to kill him in the morning; but at midnight he went out, and tore away the gates with the posts and bar, and carried them to the top of a hill looking toward Hebron.



DAGON.

Some time afterward, he fell in love with a beautiful Philistine woman, named Delilah, who lived in the valley of Sorek, and he was so infatuated with her that he became regardless of his own safety. The princes of the Philistines, observing this, bribed Delilah to discover the secret of her lover's strength, and betray it to them. The woman plied Samson with her artifices, and finally drew from him the revelation that he had been a Nazarite to God from his birth, and that no razor had ever come upon his head, but that if he should be shaven, his strength would be no more than that of a common man.

Delilah at once revealed the secret to the Philistine princes, who paid her her reward for her treachery, and having lulled Samson to sleep with his head in her lap, she had his hair shaved off by a man whom she had provided for that purpose. Then she roused him with the cry that the Philistines were upon him; and he, being now no stronger than an ordinary man, was easily overcome and made a prisoner. His enemies at once put out his eyes, bound him in brazen fetters, and confined him at hard labor in the prison at Gaza.

God had not deserted his champion, though he had so severely

rebuked his confidence in his own strength, and punished the violation of his vows. It is very instructive that the last triumph, the price of which was his own life, was not granted to his cries of
 B. C. 1111. penitence till he was again restored to the state of a Nazarene. As his hair grew, his strength returned; but his infatuated foes only saw in this the means of their diversion. The lords and chiefs of the Philistines held a great feast in the Temple of Dagon, their God, and during the revels brought in Samson to make sport for them.

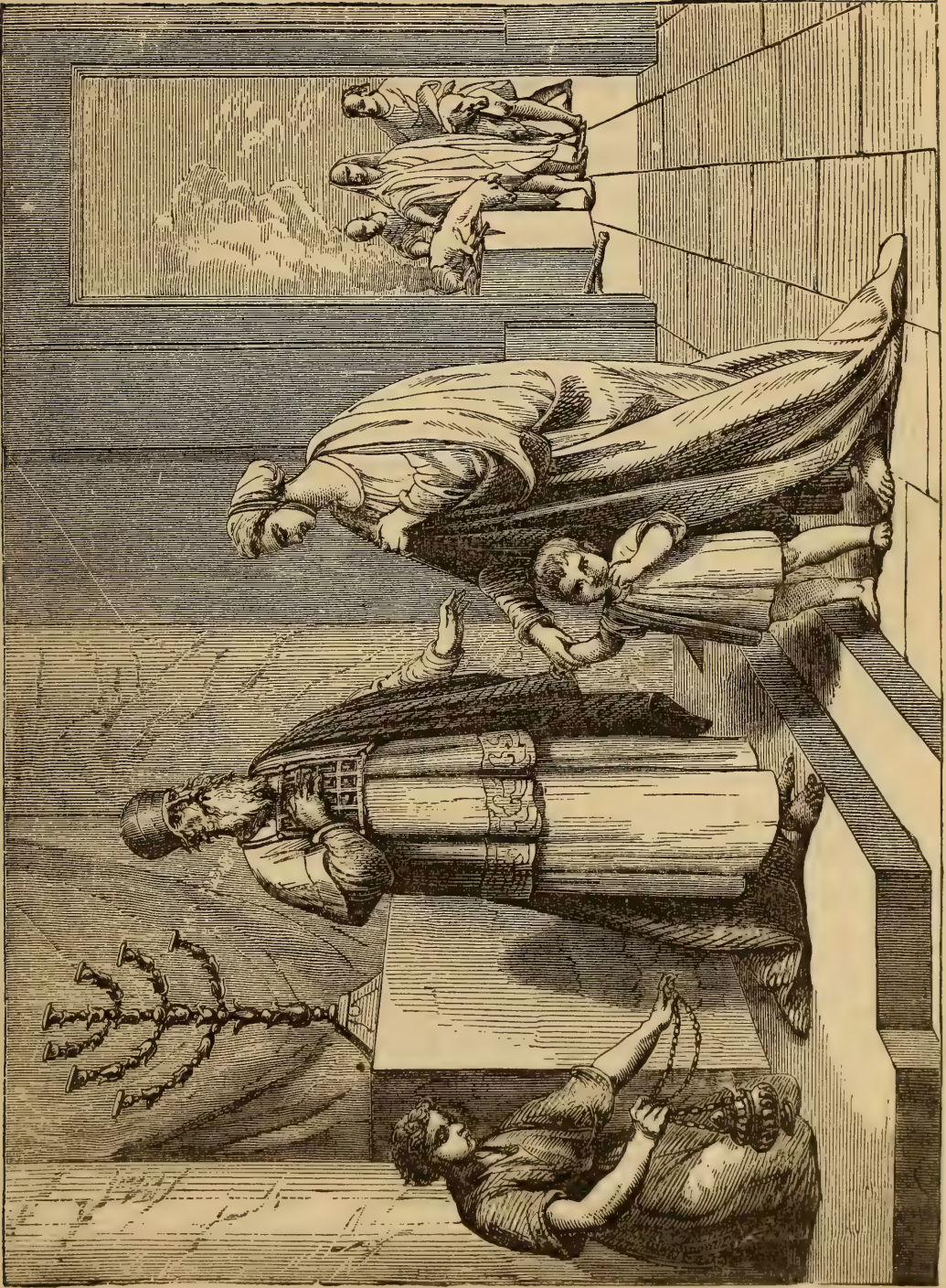
After he had amused them with exhibitions of his great strength, they placed him between the two chief pillars which supported the roof that surrounded the court, which, as well as the court itself, was crowded with spectators to the number of 3000. Samson asked the lad who guided him to let him feel the pillars, to lean upon them. Then, with a fervent prayer that God would strengthen him only this once to be avenged on the Philistines, he bore with all his might upon the two pillars: they yielded, and the house fell upon the lords and all the people. "So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life." His kinsmen took up his body, and buried him in his father's burying-place between Zorah and Esh-taol. His name is enrolled among the worthies of the Jewish Church who "*through faith* obtained a good report, stopped the mouths of lions, out of weakness were made strong, turned to flight the armies of the aliens."

The loss of Samson was more than supplied by the other
 B. C. leader of whom we have spoken, as nearly of the same age,
 1151-1131. SAMUEL, the *fifteenth* and last of the *judges*; the *first* in that regular succession of *prophets*, which never ceased till after the return from the Babylonian Captivity, and the founder of the monarchy. His name is expressive of the leading feature of his whole history, *the power of prayer*. Himself the child of prayer, he gained all his triumphs by prayer; he is placed at the head of those "who called upon Jehovah, and he answered them;" and he is placed on a level with Moses as an intercessor. Nor should we overlook in him one striking character of sincere prayer—the patient waiting to hear, and the readiness to obey the voice of God: "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth."

His descent is uncertain. His father is called an Ephrathite, or, according to another reading, an Ephraimite; but it seems certain, from the evidence of the genealogies, that he was a descendant of Korah the Levite, of the family of the Kohathites. The two statements are easily reconciled by assuming that his family were settled

in Mount Ephraim. The place of their abode was *Ramathaim-zophim* (the *double heights of the beacon or watch*), elsewhere called *Ramah*, and identified by tradition with the lofty hill of *Neby Samwil* (the *Prophet Samuel*), 4 miles northwest of Jerusalem. It is now crowned by a mosque (itself the successor of a Christian church), where Samuel's sepulchre is still revered alike by Jews, Moslems, and Christians. If this be its true site, it lay within the tribe of Benjamin, and sufficiently near to Beth-horon to agree with the statement that Beth-horon and its suburbs were allotted to the Kohathites. But the site is very uncertain. It was Samuel's usual residence to the end of his life.

His father, Elkanah, had two wives, an instance of polygamy rare in a private family, and entailing the usual consequences of bitterness and jealousy. The one wife, Peninnah, had borne several children, but the other, Hannah, was barren. With a pious regularity which deserves especial notice in those times of disorder, the whole family went up yearly to worship and sacrifice to Jehovah at Shiloh, where Eli ministered as high-priest, assisted by his sons Hophni and Phinehas, as priests. As they feasted on their freewill-offering, according to the law, Elkanah gave Peninnah and her children their due portions, but to Hannah he gave a double portion. This proof of his affection brought on her the jealous provocations of her rival; so that she wept, and could not eat, and her husband tried in vain to console her, asking, "Am not I better to thee than ten sons?" In her bitterness of soul, she went and stood before the entrance of the tabernacle, where Eli sat in his usual place by one of the pillars, and with many tears she prayed for a son, whom she devoted to Jehovah as a Nazarite. She prayed silently, in her heart, but her lips moved, and Eli, thinking that she was drunk after the feast, reproved her severely; but on her assurance that she was a woman of sorrowful spirit, and poured forth her soul before Jehovah, he gave her his blessing, praying that God would grant her petition. She departed with joy, and returned to Ramah; and in due time she bore a son, and called him SAMUEL. She waited to go up again to Shiloh till the child was weaned, when she presented him before Jehovah, to abide there forever. Her husband, who cordially entered into her pious designs, provided a freewill-offering of three bullocks, an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine; and Hannah presented her son to Eli for the service of Jehovah, telling him of the fulfilment of the prayer he had witnessed. She uttered a hymn of praise, which served long after as a model for the "Song of the Blessed Virgin." Elkanah returned with his family



DEDICATION OF SAMUEL.

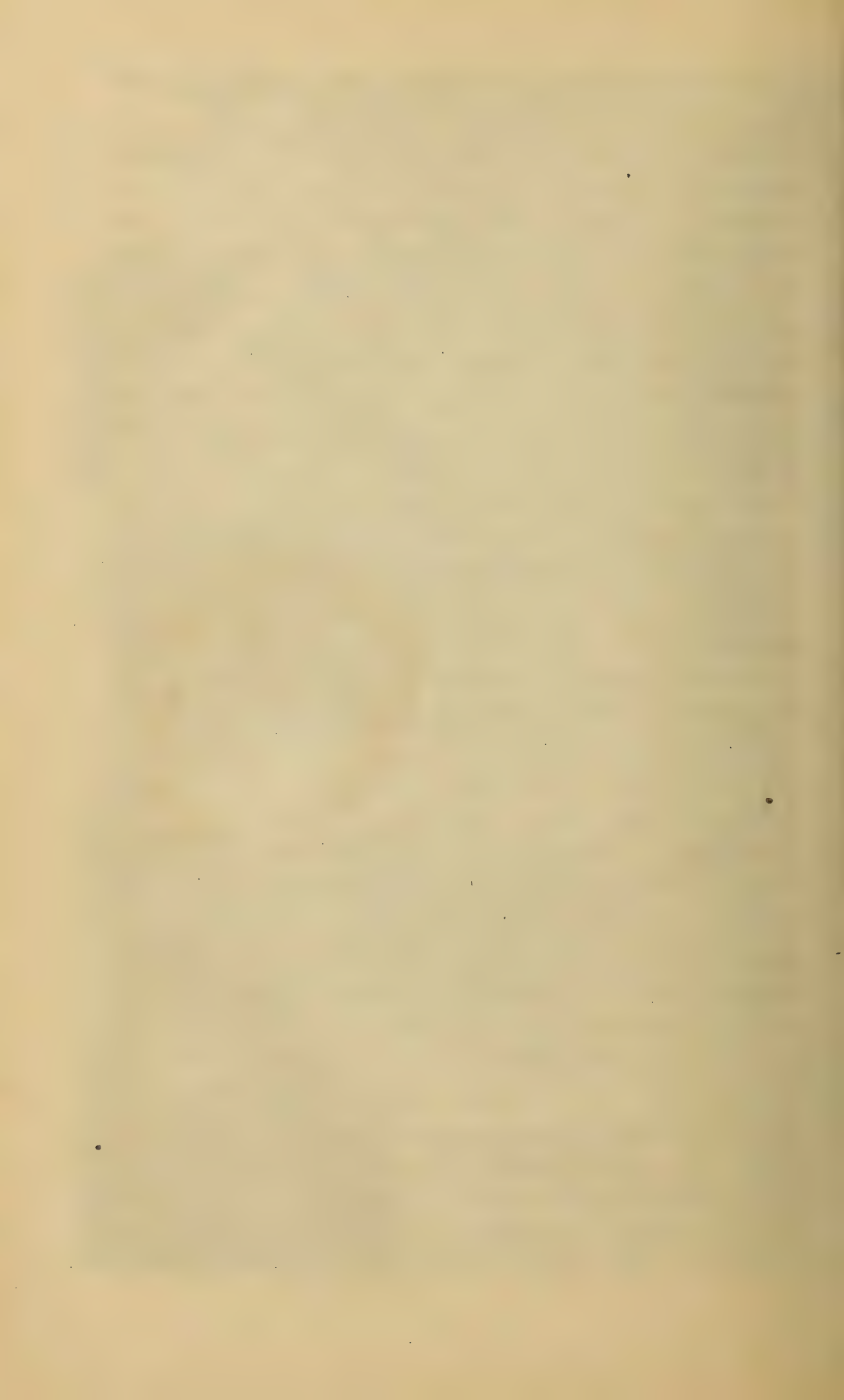
to Ramah, leaving behind Samuel, who abode in the tabernacle and ministered before Jehovah, clad in a linen ephod, like those worn by the priests. At their annual visit, Hannah brought Samuel a little coat, or mantle, a miniature of the official priestly robe. Eli blessed Elkanah and Hannah, who bore three sons and two daughters.

Samuel's growth in favor with God and man formed a striking contrast to the shameful profanation of the tabernacle by the sons of Eli, who were "sons of Belial." Instead of contenting themselves with the parts of the sacrifices allotted to them by the law, they invented strange and disorderly methods for obtaining what they pleased; and they practised licentiousness at the very doors of the tabernacle. Their aged father reproved them in vain, and he was too indulgent to use his authority as high-priest: "His sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not." Therefore a prophet was sent to denounce the destruction of the house of Eli, as a sign of which both his sons should be slain in one day; a faithful priest should be raised up in his place; and those who remained of Eli's house should come crouching to him with the prayer to be put into one of the priest's offices to earn a morsel of bread. The judgment was fulfilled when Solomon deposed Abiathar, the last high-priest of the house of Ithamar, and restored the priesthood to the house of Eleazar in the person of Zadok.

Another warning was sent to Eli by the mouth of the youthful Samuel. "The word of God was precious in those days; there was no open vision;" and this made the revelation to Samuel a more decided proof of his call to the office of a prophet. Eli's sight was now failing, through old age, and he had laid himself down to sleep in a chamber attached to the tabernacle. Samuel had also lain down in the Holy Place itself, and the sacred lamp lighted at the time of the evening sacrifice was near expiring, when Jehovah called Samuel by name, and he answered, "Here am I." He knew not as yet that "still, small voice," and he ran to Eli, thinking that he had called him. This was repeated thrice; but the third time Eli knew that Jehovah had spoken to the child, and he bade him reply to the next call by saying, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." Then the word of God came to Samuel, confirming, in more terrible terms, the sentence already uttered on the house of Eli, and declaring that the iniquity of his house should not be purged with sacrifice forever. In the morning Samuel opened the doors of the tabernacle as usual; and, being solemnly adjured by Eli, he told him all that Jehovah had said; and the old man exclaimed, like Job, "It is Jehovah! let Him do what seemeth him good!" From that day Samuel was a



THE SINGERS OF THE TEMPLE SERVICE.



prophet of Jehovah. His fame grew with his growth, and none of his words failed. Whatever difficulty we have felt before as to the extent of the influence of the judges disappears entirely now: "*All Israel, from Dan even to Beersheba*, knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of Jehovah," and the words uttered by him at Shiloh came to pass throughout all Israel.

Encouraged, it would seem, by this reappearance of the prophetic gift, and, at the same time, by the blow inflicted on the Philistines in Samson's dying effort, the Israelites went out to battle against their oppressors. The Israelites encamped at the place which afterward became so memorable by the name of Eben-ezer, and the Philistines at Aphek (*the fastness*), places in the highlands of Benjamin not far to the north of Jerusalem. In the first of the three great battles which signalized this neighborhood the Israelites were defeated, with the loss of 4000 men. The elders of Israel then formed the rash project of fetching the ark of the covenant into the camp, that *it* might save them from their enemies. Thus all their memory of God's mighty deeds of old was summed up in a superstitious hope from the mere symbol of his presence, which they profaned even while they trusted to its help. The ark was brought from Shiloh by Hophni and Phinehas, the sons of Eli, fit ministers of such a sacrilegious act. The shout with which the ark



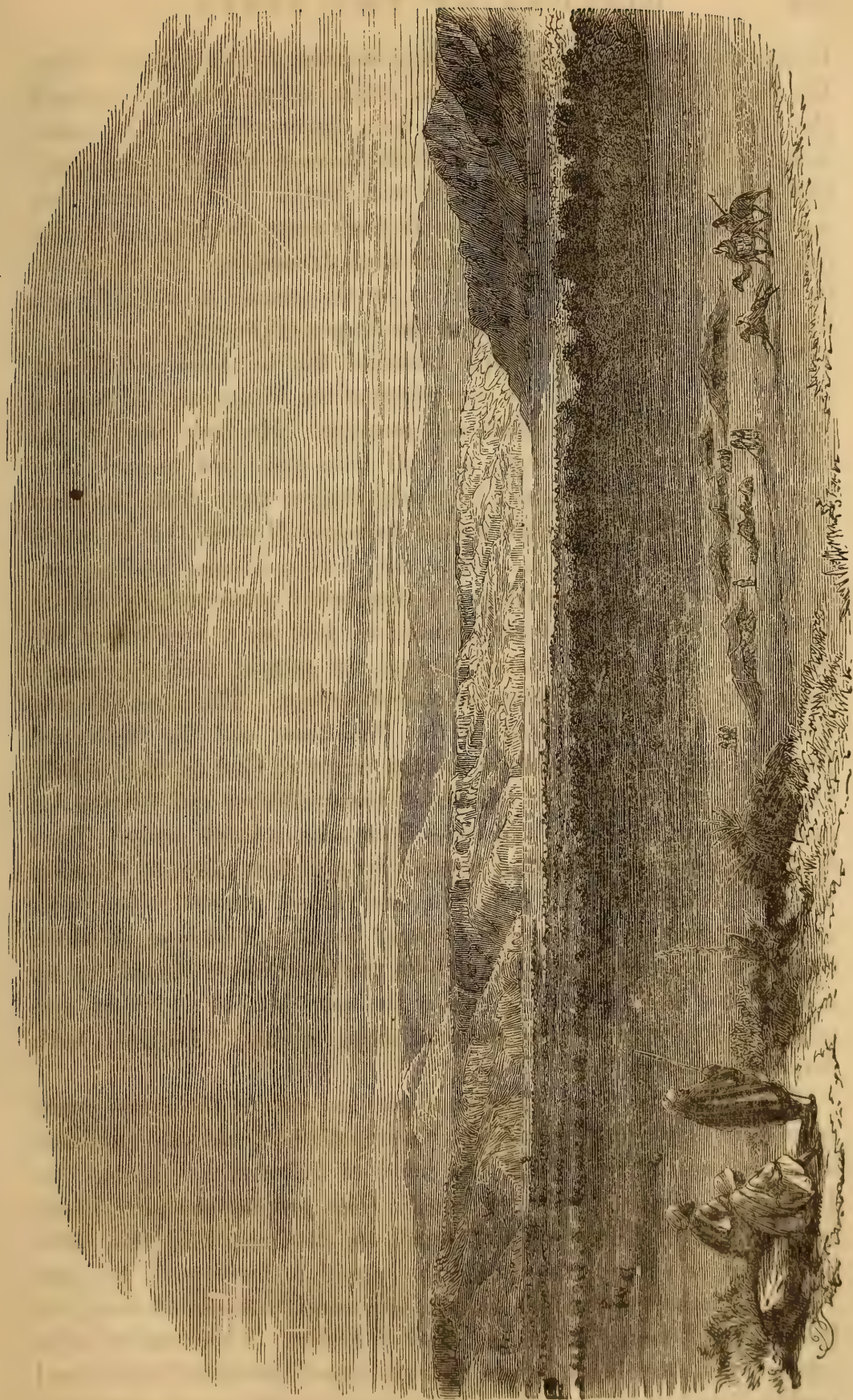
SAMUEL AND ELI.

was welcomed appalled the Philistines, who thought the gods of the Hebrews had come into the camp, those mighty gods "that smote the Egyptians with all the plagues in the wilderness." But, instead of panic fear, they assumed the courage of despair, while the God they so much feared was only present in the Hebrew camp to punish the presumption of the rulers and the wickedness of the priests. Israel was smitten with a panic rout; 30,000 men were slain, and among them Hophni and Phinehas, and the ark of God was taken. The news was carried to Shiloh by a Benjamite, who escaped from the battle, and arrived with his clothes torn and earth upon his head, in sign of the deepest mourning. As Eli sat by the side of the road, at the gates of the tabernacle, waiting for tidings and trembling for the ark of God, he heard the cry of grief and terror raised by the

whole city. The messenger was brought to Eli, who listened to the fate of the army and his own sons; but when he heard that the ark of God was taken, he fell back from his seat and broke his neck and died, for he was an old man and heavy. He was ninety-eight years old, and had judged Israel forty years. But the troubles of the day were not yet ended. The wife of Phinehas, on hearing the news, was seized with premature labor, and died in giving birth to a son, whom she named with her last breath I-CHA-BOD (*where is the glory*), for she said, "The glory is departed from Israel," because the ark of God was taken. That one phrase is the best description of the fearful issue of the second battle of Eben-ezer.

B. C. 1111. The captured ark was carried by the Philistines to Ashdod (the later Azotus), to be laid up as a trophy in the temple of their national deity Dagon, whom the next morning they found fallen down upon his face before the ark of the Lord. They set him again in his place, and the next day came in again, and not only found him fallen to the ground, but his head and the palms of his hands broken off and lying on the threshold, the only portion of the idol remaining whole being the lower part. The memory of this humiliation was perpetuated at Ashdod by the custom of the priests not to tread on the threshold of his temple. Next the men of Ashdod were smitten, many with death, and others by a complaint shameful as well as painful, and, as we afterward find, their land was ravaged by swarms of mice. They refused to keep the ark any longer, and, by the decision of the lords of the Philistines, it was carried first to Gath and then to Ekron, only to inflict the like plagues and slaughter on those cities.

For seven months the ark was thus carried about through the cities of the Philistines; and at length they resolved to send it back. Under the advice of their priests and diviners, whom it is most interesting to find remonstrating with them for hardening their hearts as the Egyptians and Pharaoh had done, they sent with it five golden images of mice, and five such of the emerods, as a trespass-offering. They made a new cart, on which they placed the ark, with a coffer containing the jewels of gold; and to prove the hand of God in its return, they harnessed to the cart two milch-cows that had never borne the yoke, and took home their calves. The cows went straight up the road leading from Ekron to Beth-shemesh (*House of the Sun*, now *Ain-Shems*), lowing after their calves, but never turning aside; the five lords of the Philistines following after, to see the result. As the cart reached the field of Joshua, the Bethshemite, the men of



MOAB.

Beth-shemesh paused from their harvest-work, rejoicing at the sight; the Levites took down the ark and coffer, cut up the cart, and used the wood in sacrificing the cows as a burnt-offering. Overcome, however, by curiosity, the men of Beth-shemesh looked into the ark, and Jehovah smote 50,070 of them with death. In their terror they sent to the men of Kirjath-jearim to fetch away the ark, and in that city it remained till David removed it to Jerusalem. Its abode was in the house of Abinadab, a Levite, on the summit of the hill; and his son Eleazar was consecrated as the keeper of the ark.

For twenty years the people mourned for the absence of the ark from Shiloh, and beneath the oppression of the Philistines, till Samuel summoned them to repentance and exertion. He bade them to put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and all false gods, and prepare their hearts to serve Jehovah, and he would deliver them from the hand of the Philistines. He gathered all Israel at Mizpeh, that he might pray for them to Jehovah. There they held a solemn fast-day, confessing their sins, and pouring out libations of water, which seem to represent a "baptism of repentance," as well as a renewal of the covenant; after which Samuel judged the people, their repentance being thus connected with the redress of wrongs. This assembly was the signal for a new muster of the Philistines, and the frightened Israelites entreated Samuel not to cease to cry to God on their behalf. He was in the very act of offering a burnt-offering and uttering his cries of prayer, when the Philistines drew near in battle array. Then God answered the prayers of Samuel by a violent storm of thunder, which discomfited the Philistines, and Israel pursued them with great slaughter to Bethcar (*the house of lambs*). This spot, at which the pursuit ceased, seems to have been the place where Samuel set up a stone, as a memorial of the victory, between Mizpeh and Shen, and called it EBEN-EZER (*the stone of help*), saying, "Hitherto hath Jehovah helped us!"

This third battle of Eben-ezer put an end to the forty years' oppression of the Philistines, who "were subdued, and came no more into the coast of Israel, and the hand of Jehovah was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel." The prophet was now, if not before, constituted the judge of Israel, the last who held that office before the monarchy; for though he is said to have made his sons Joel (or Vashni) and Abiah judges, they must be regarded simply as his deputies, like the sons of Jair and of Abdon. Their seat of judgment was at Beersheba; while Samuel himself dwelt at Ramah, and made a circuit of the neighboring cities, judging the people of Bethel,

Gilgal, and Mizpeh, all four places being in the highlands of Benjamin. We have incidental pictures of this part of Samuel's life in the early history of Saul and David. We see the prophet receiving those who desired to inquire of Jehovah, and who came to him with a customary present, presiding at the sacrifices of his own city, and entertaining a select number of the most distinguished elders at the ensuing banquet, or going to hold a special sacrifice, as at Bethlehem, where the awe inspired by his presence bears witness to the authority of the judge. At this time, too, we first hear of those "*Companies* (or as our version gives, *Schools*) *of the Prophets*," where the young men on whom the Spirit of God had descended were trained, under Samuel's eye, in the art of sacred song, and doubtless in the knowledge of the Scriptures; in which David improved his powers as the great Psalmist, and of which we learn more under Elijah and Elisha. How long this state of things lasted we are not informed: it was brought to an end by the misconduct of Samuel's sons in his old age.

BOOK V.

THE SINGLE MONARCHY.

[B. C. 1095—975.]

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF SAUL, AND EARLY HISTORY OF DAVID.

[B. C. 1095—1056.]

THE Philistine yoke was broken, and the attacks of enemies on the other frontiers had ceased. Peace was restored to Israel under the wisest and holiest ruler they had had since Joshua, and it might have seemed that the theocracy was safely re-established. And yet it is not surprising that the people should have thought less of their present security than of their past dangers, and that the season of tranquillity was used as an opportunity for obtaining what they deemed a stronger and more permanent government. The offer of the crown to Gideon proves that this desire had long been growing, from envy of the splendor and power of the surrounding monarchies, and from a bitter sense of the disorders of those times when "there was no king in Israel, and every man did what was right in his own eyes." And, just as we often see the effect of some inveterate evil reach its climax at the very moment when the cause itself seems to have been subdued, so the settlement of the government by Samuel failed to avert the revolution for which the misconduct of his sons gave the immediate occasion. The elders of Israel came to him at his house at Ramah, and pleading his own great age, and the evils growing up again, their sense of which would be the keener from the remembrance of Hophni and Phinehas, they plainly made the request, "Make us a KING, to judge us, *like all the nations.*"

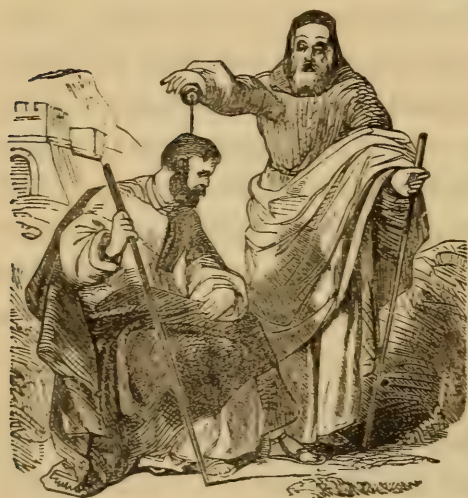
Their idea of a king may be summed up in the three points of a *leader* always ready at their head in war, a *judge* provided without interruption by the law of hereditary descent, and a *court* invested with dignity and magnificence. Their reference to the prophet proves that they wished to have the divine sanction to their desire.

It was a trying moment for Samuel, as a man, a father, and a prophet of Jehovah: "The thing was evil in the eyes of Samuel." At his age, and with his spirit, we cannot suppose him to have been much concerned at the loss of his own power. The slight to his government was excused by the misconduct of his sons; and keenly as we see that he felt the implied rebellion against Jehovah, the case was beyond the reach of mere reproof, and the people would not have been contented with the simple reply of Gideon, "Jehovah shall rule over you." Samuel applied himself to the resource that never failed him, he *prayed* unto Jehovah. His indignation was at once justified and chastened by the assurance, "They have not rejected *thee*, but they have rejected *ME* from reigning over them."

These words are the key to the whole history of the Hebrew monarchy; but they must not be viewed as entirely words of anger. God pitied the infirmities of his people, even while he punished their self-will by granting their desire. So Samuel is instructed to grant them their request, but not till he had first solemnly warned them of its immediate results, in the oppression which their king would exercise till they should cry out to Jehovah against the master of their own choice. The prophet's description of a self-willed king should be compared with the law laid down by Moses, in anticipation of the kingdom. The expostulation had no effect; and after once more laying before Jehovah their reply, "We *will* have a king over us," and again receiving the command to make them a king, Samuel sent them back to their cities, to await the man selected for them in the providence of God. We must not suppose that that man would be a ferocious tyrant, at once beginning to inflict the retribution of their folly.

SAUL was the son of Kish, a wealthy and powerful Benjamite, and is described as "a choice young man, and a goodly; there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he; from his shoulders and upward, he was taller than any of the people." To this physical excellence he added many defects of character, as will be seen in the course of the narrative. His birthplace is uncertain. Zelah was the place of his father's sepulchre, but his royal residence was at Gibeah, thence called "Gibeah of Saul;" and this town seems to have been the abode of at least a part of the family. His age at the time of his election is not stated; but we can hardly suppose so great a dignity, involving the chief command in war and the judgeship, to have been conferred on a man under forty; and this agrees with what we know of the ages of his sons. Jonathan, his eldest son, appears as a warrior the year after Saul's accession, and Ish-bosheth, his younger son, was forty years old at his father's death.

Saul was led to Samuel to be anointed to his future office in the following manner. He was sent by Kish his father, in company with a servant to search for some asses which had strayed away. They passed through Mount Ephraim, and by Shalisha and Shalim, till they came on the third day to the neighborhood of Samuel's abode, here called the land of Zuph. Saul now proposed to return, lest his father's care for the asses should pass into anxiety for him and the servant—a mark of his affectionate disposition. The servant, however, told him that in the city which they were approaching there dwelt a man of God who was held in the highest honor, and all whose words came to pass; perhaps he might direct them where to find the asses. Saul's difficulty about the present



SAMUEL ANOINTING SAUL.

which it was usual to offer when consulting a *seer* (for such was the name of a *prophet* in those days) was removed by the servant, who had with him the fourth part of a shekel of silver. As they ascended the hill on which the city stood, they learned from the maidens who had come out to draw water that the seer had just returned from one of his judicial circuits, and was expected to bless the sacrifice and festival which the people were holding on that day in the high place above the city; and, just as they entered the city, they met Samuel coming forth for that purpose.

Samuel was prepared for the interview. God had forwarned him the day before that he would send to him on the morrow a Benjamite, whom he should anoint to be captain over Israel, to deliver them out of the hand of the Philistines; and now, as Saul approached, the word of Jehovah came to Samuel: "Behold the man whom I spake to thee of! this same shall reign over my people." Samuel made himself known to Saul, and having told him that his father's asses were found, he astonished him by the salutation, "On whom is all the desire of Israel? Is it not on thee, and on all thy father's house?" Waiting as the people were for their destined king, Saul could not but suppose what Samuel meant; and he pleaded that his family was the least in Benjamin, itself the smallest tribe in Israel. Postponing further explanation, Samuel led Saul and his servant into

the banqueting-chamber on the high place, and seated them above all the thirty guests who were assembled, persons whose limited number proves their consequence in the city. Samuel then ordered the cook to place before Saul the portion which he had told him to reserve for an expected guest, namely, a boiled *shoulder*, at once the choicest part of the sacrifice, and the emblem of the weight of government which he was to sustain. After the banquet they went down from the high place to the city, and Samuel lodged Saul on the top of his house, a favorite sleeping-place in the East.

B. C. 1095. At daybreak the prophet aroused his guest and led him out of the city ; and then, the servant having been sent on before them, Samuel bade Saul stand still to hear the word of Jehovah. Thereupon, producing a vial of oil, he poured it on his head, adding the kiss of homage, and telling him that Jehovah had anointed him to be captain over his inheritance. The prophet named three incidents which would happen to Saul on his return, as signs that Jehovah was with him ; the first, an assurance of the safety of his father's cattle, as the prophet had said ; the second, a present which was to be an earnest of the future offerings of the people ; the third, the descent of the spirit of Jehovah upon him, causing him to prophesy, and turning him into another man. The promised change began at the moment that Saul turned to leave Samuel : he felt that God had given him another heart, and the appointed signs were fulfilled in their order. The only remaining care of his past life was relieved by two men who met him by Rachel's sepulchre at Zelzah, and told him that the asses were found, and that his father was anxious about him. At the oak of Tabor, he met three men who presented to him two loaves of bread out of the offerings which they were carrying up to God at Bethel. And, in fine, when he reached "the hill of God" (probably Gibeah), which was occupied by a garrison of the Philistines, a company of prophets came down from the high place with the instruments of music which they were taught to use in the service of God ; and, as they began to prophesy, the spirit of God fell upon Saul, and he prophesied among them. This sign of his inspiration was the more decisive, as he seems to have been a man unlikely to exhibit religious fervor. Those who had known him before expressed their amazement by the question, which passed into a proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" and there were some who went so far as to question the source of such inspiration by suggesting, "But who is their father?" Saul then went up to the high place, apparently the hill of Gibeah, to the residence of his uncle (or his grandfather), Ner, in reply to whose curious in-

quiries he told what Samuel had said about the asses, but said nothing about the matter of the kingdom. After this private designation to his office, he returned to his home.

The time soon came for his public manifestation to Israel. Samuel convened the people at Mizpeh ; and, after again reproving them for rejecting the rule of Jehovah for that of an earthly king, commanded them to cast lots before Jehovah, in order to determine which of the tribes the king should be chosen from. The lot fell upon Benjamin, and upon another cast, the family of Matri was chosen, and from these was drawn the name of Saul, the son of Kish. But Saul was so little anxious for the dignity that he hid himself in the baggage, and was found there only after the oracle had revealed his place of concealment. Being brought into the midst of the assembly, his tall figure towered above his fellows, and his noble bearing won him universal favor. Samuel pointed him out to the people, exclaiming : " Behold him whom the Lord hath chosen ; there is none like him among all the people," and the vast multitude broke into shouts of " God save the king."

Samuel then rehearsed to the people the law for the government of Israel, to which even the king must be subject, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before Jehovah in the sanctuary. Then he sent the people back to their homes. Saul at the same time returned to his home in Gibeah, attended only by a band of followers whose hearts God had inclined to him. But there were some that were not pleased with the choice, though they desired a king, and neglected to bring him presents. Saul observed this, but held his peace, resolved to prove himself by his deeds worthy of his crown.

That opportunity soon arrived. We have seen how the Philistines overran Israel during the last years of Samuel. We have seen the Philistines masters of the citadel of Gibeah, and now we meet again the enemy whom Jephthah subdued. The city of Jabesh-gilead was besieged by Nahash the Ammonite, who was so sure of taking it, that he refused to accept its surrender except on the shameful condition of putting out the right eyes of all the people, and laying it as a disgrace on Israel. The men of Jabesh in this extremity obtained a truce of seven days to consider the terms offered them, and at once sent to Saul at Gibeah for help. Saul promptly responded to their appeal, and called out the forces of Israel, denouncing severe penalties against any one who should refuse to obey the call. He assembled his army in Bezek, and found himself at the head of 300,000 warriors of Israel, and 30,000 of Judah. With this force he marched rapidly upon

Jabesh, and on the sixth day of the truce surprised the camp of the Ammonites in a night attack, and routed them with terrible slaughter. He pursued them until the heat of the day put an end to the pursuit. His triumph was adorned by an act of regal clemency. The people called on Samuel to put to death the men who had despised the new-made king; but Saul declared that not a man should be put to death on that day, in which Jehovah had saved Israel.

This signal success put an end to the opposition to Saul, and he was again solemnly inaugurated into his kingdom, at a solemn assembly of the tribes at Gilgal. Samuel took this occasion to lay down his judicial functions. In a touching address to the people, he appealed to them all as to the integrity of his conduct during his judgeship; then charged them with the ingratitude with which they and their ancestors had received God's blessings; and lastly assured them of the certainty of punishment for all transgressions of the laws of Jehovah, and assured them that they had sinned very grievously in rejecting Jehovah and desiring an earthly king, when he had led them with such a mighty arm. Now, however, they had been given a king, and it rested with them whether his kingdom should be established. If they would serve Jehovah and keep his law, both king and people should continue to be his; but if they were rebellious, his hand would be against them, as it had been against their fathers. Then pointing to the sky, which had been brilliant with the unchanging clearness of an eastern June (for it was the season of the wheat harvest), he prayed to God, who sent the portent of a thunderstorm to confirm his words.

This event, so extraordinary at that season, terrified the people, and they confessed their latest sin, and implored Samuel to pray to God for them to avert the just penalty of their sins. The prophet comforted them with the promise of the future, warning them not to let the sense of past guilt lead them into further sin, and protested that he would never cease to pray for them, and teach them the good and right way.

We read that Samuel "judged Israel all the days of his life." In his subsequent relations to Saul, there is clearly more than the sort of authority which the later prophets never ceased to exercise as special messengers of Jehovah to reprove the sins of the king and direct him on great occasions. Samuel's is a power constantly present to check the waywardness of Saul, and at last reversing his election and designating his successor.

The preceding events occupied the first year of Saul's
B. C. 1093. reign. In the second, he set to work systematically to

deliver Israel from their enemies. He gathered a chosen band of 3000 men, two-thirds being with him in the camp at Michmash and the hills of Bethel, and the other 1000 at Gibeah, with his son JONATHAN, whose name now first appears in the history. Jonathan's successful attack on the Philistine garrison in the hill of Geba opposite Michmash was the signal for Saul's summoning the Israelites to the war. His trumpet sounded through all the land, and his camp was fixed at Gilgal, the scene of his inauguration, and the old camp of Joshua. The Philistines answered the challenge with an immense army, comprising 30,000 chariots and 6000 horsemen, besides infantry without number, and encamped at Michmash, on the highlands which Saul had abandoned. The Israelites fled to woods and caves and the fastnesses of the rocks, while even the warriors trembled as they followed Saul. The king waited impatiently at Gilgal for the seven days within which Samuel had promised to come and offer sacrifice, while his forces were rapidly dispersing. On the seventh day he ventured to begin the sacrifices himself; and he had just ended the burnt-offering, when Samuel arrived, and asked him what he had done. Saul pleaded the danger of the Philistines coming down the pass to attack him at Gilgal; but Samuel declared that he had acted with sinful folly, and uttered the first intimation thus early in his reign of what he had already threatened in case of disobedience, that his kingdom should not be lasting, for Jehovah had already sought out "a man after his own heart, to be captain over his people." After this threat, which seems to have been uttered privately to Saul, Samuel went away to Gibeah, and Saul followed with his little band of only 600 men and encamped on the south side of the ravine, on the north of which lay the Philistines. He was joined at Gibeah by the high-priest Abiah, the son of Ahitub, son of Phinehas, son of Eli, and it would seem that the ark was brought up for the time from its house at Kirjath-jearim. Meanwhile the Philistines overran the country from their head-quarters at Michmash, whence three bands of spoilers issued forth. No smith was suffered to work in Israel, but the people went to the camps of the Philistines to sharpen their tools; Saul and Jonathan alone had swords and spears.

An un hoped-for deliverance was effected by God's blessing on the courage of Jonathan. Without consulting his father or any of the heads of Israel, he planned a surprise of the enemy's camp, trusting in Jehovah, "with whom," said he, "there is no restraint to save by many or by few." Accompanied by his intrepid armor-bearer, he

climbed up the opposite side of the ravine between two sharp crags, named Bozez and Seneh. They resolved to show themselves boldly to the Philistines, and to draw an omen from the words with which they might be received, and when the enemy, mistaking them for refugees from the Hebrew camp, called to them to come up and they would show them something, Jonathan concluded that Jehovah had given the hostile army into the hands of Israel. Scrambling up the steep precipice which was supposed to make the camp impregnable, Jonathan and his companion fell upon the enemy, and put twenty of them to the sword. This bold act threw the Philistine camp into a panic, which was increased by an earthquake, and the Philistines in their mad terror fell to slaying each other with fatal fury. Jonathan was now joined by the Hebrews in the Philistine camp, and those who had sought refuge in the neighboring caves, and the slaughter went on.

Saul was promptly informed by his scouts of the confusion in the Philistine camp, and, though unable to account for it, resolved to profit by it. He hurled his forces upon the disordered masses of the enemy, routed them, put them to flight, and pursued them with great vigor. Unfortunately he was guilty of another piece of impiety. Elated with the pursuit, he swore that the Israelite should be cursed who rested from the pursuit to taste food until nightfall. They were passing through one of those woods where the wild bees build their combs in the branches in such numbers that the honey drops from the trees, and no man dared even to carry his hand to his mouth for fear of Saul's oath, when Jonathan, who had now rejoined the army, dipped the end of his staff in a honey-comb and put it to his mouth. His sense of new life caused him to inveigh bitterly against his father's vow, of which he was now informed for the first time. When evening came, the famished people flew upon the spoil, and began to eat the cattle with the blood. Saul reproved their sin, and building an altar, the first that he built to Jehovah, he bade the people bring each his ox or sheep and slay it there. He then prepared to continue the pursuit by night; but the high-priest reminded him that all this time they had not asked counsel of God. Saul now inquired if he should pursue the Philistines, but the oracle was silent. He set himself to find the hidden sin, swearing by the life of Jehovah that the man should die, were it Jonathan his own son. As no one answered, he cast lots, with prayer to God, between the people on one side, and himself and Jonathan on the other, and Saul and Jonathan were taken. A second lot fell on



DAVID KEEPING HIS FATHER'S FLOCKS.

Jonathan, and Saul would have kept his oath, but the people interposed to save their champion's life. So Saul returned from the pursuit of the Philistines.

B. C. 1090. The "War of Michmash," as the above campaign is called, was followed by a series of victories over all the other enemies of Israel, Moab, Ammon, Edom, the kings of Zobah, the Philistines again, and the Amalekites, of whom more will presently be said. This is the brightest period of the life of Saul, who now assumed his full royal state: he "took the kingdom." His own family made a goodly show. Besides Jonathan, his court was graced by two sons, Ishui and Melchi-shua, and two daughters, Merab and Michal, the children of his wife Ahinoam, daughter of his father's sister Ahimaaz. His standing army of 3000 men was commanded by his uncle, ABNER, the son of Ner, one of the noblest men and greatest warriors in the history of Israel; and he had a body-guard of Benjamites, chosen for their beauty and stature, as runners and messengers, of whom David afterward became the chief. These two commanders sat at the king's table with Jonathan, whose seat was opposite his father's. In recruiting these guards, the king acted in the arbitrary manner Samuel had predicted; "when he saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he took him to himself." The herds of cattle, which formed the chief part of the royal wealth, and the servants who had the charge of them, were under a chief officer, corresponding to the *constable* (*comes stabuli*) of the mediæval monarchies,

who had constant access to the king's presence. Saul gave this office to an Edomite, named Doeg, who became infamous as the slayer of the priests. Even the high-priest, as we have seen, attended the commands of the king, both in the camp and court, with the sacred ephod, as a means of consulting the divine will; and Saul assumed the power of giving him orders at all times through his messengers; so far had the theocracy sunk from that state in which the people used to stand before the tabernacle, to receive the sole behests of Jehovah their king through the prophet and the priest!

Whether sitting at table with these officers, whose attendance was especially required on the new moon and other festive days, or whether he appeared in public, surrounded by his body-guard, the king was distinguished by a tall spear, suited to his stature, which was placed beside his chair when he rested, and by his pillow when he slept, and which he wielded with terrible effect in battle, where the mightiest weapons of Israel were the spear of Saul and the bow of Jonathan. He wore over his arms a royal diadem and a golden arm-let. He loved to hear the acclamations of the people, and the songs with which the women greeted him as they came out of the cities of Israel, to welcome his return from battle and to receive robes of scarlet and ornaments of gold from the spoil.

Such was Saul's outward state during the first of the three periods into which we may divide his reign. But beneath it all was the remembrance of the doom pronounced by Samuel at Gilgal, and rendered irrevocable by Saul's conduct during the second stage of his career. He seems like one impelled by the intoxication of power to brave the very fear that haunted him, and an act of open disobedience to God determined his fate.

Saul now received the command of Jehovah to execute upon Amalek the vengeance long ago denounced upon them for their treacherous attack on Israel in the wilderness of Sinai. He was commanded to destroy Amalek utterly, man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass. He entered upon the war at the head of 210,000 infantry, and having first warned the old allies of Moses, the Kenites, to depart from among the Amalekites, he struck the latter a terrible blow and destroyed all but Agag, their king, whom he took prisoner. His vanity led him to disobey Jehovah and spare not only Agag, but the best of the dumb animals and all that was valuable, that it might grace his triumph. Thus laden with spoil, he set out on his return to the old camp at Gilgal, by way of Carmel, instead of continuing the pursuit of the remnant of Amalek that had fled towards Egypt.

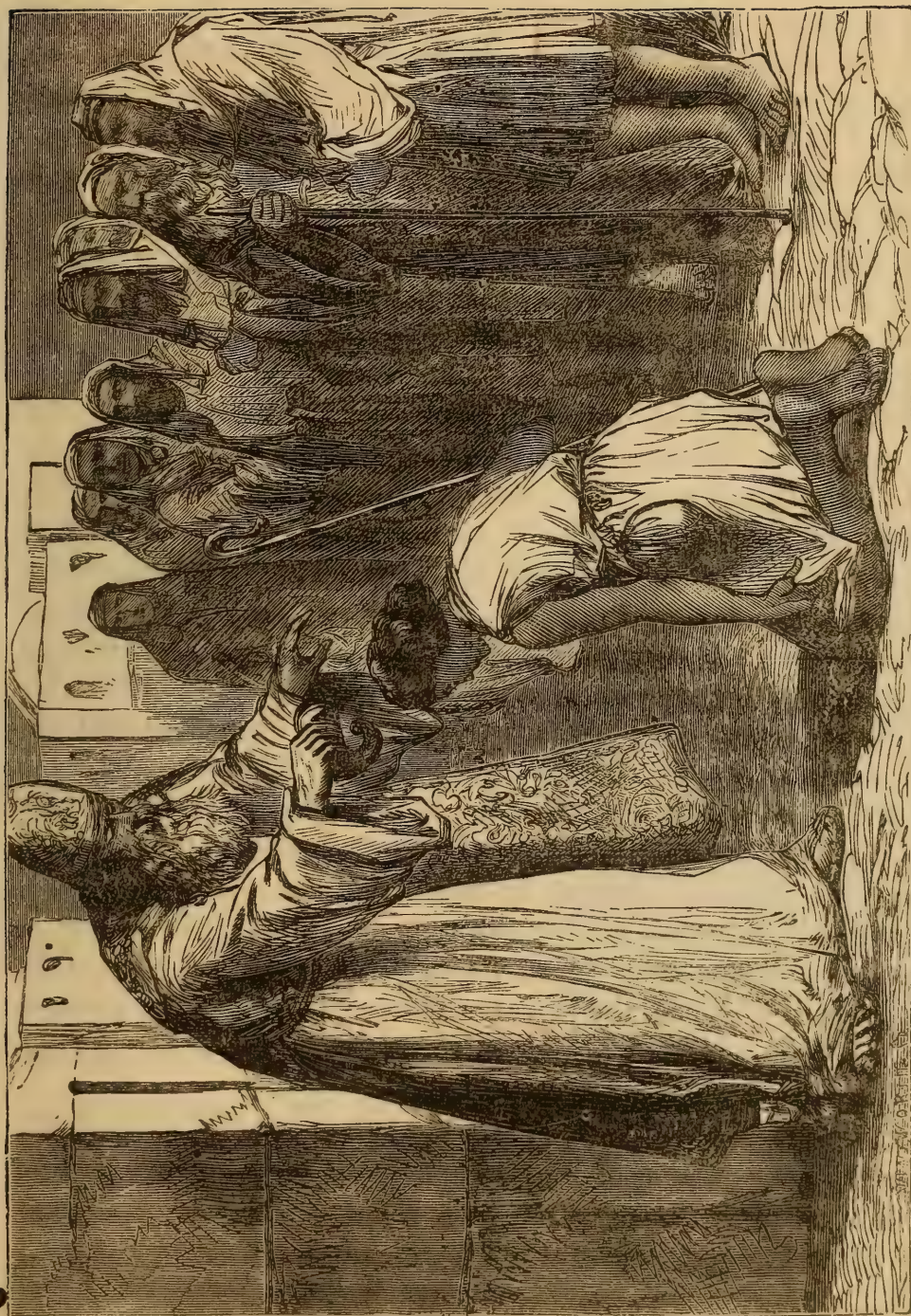
He was met at Gilgal by Samuel, who had been commanded by the Lord to confront him there. The prophet sternly reproved him for his disobedience, and Saul, to exculpate himself, pretended that he had preserved the spoil from the pious motive of offering it in sacrifice to Jehovah. But the prophet, assured that this reserve proceeded from avarice rather than piety, would not admit of so vain a pretence. He first laid before the king the heinous nature of his offence, and repeated God's awful judgment upon him, "Because thou hast rejected the word of Jehovah, he hath also rejected thee from being king." He informed Saul that God had resolved to take the kingdom from his family and give it to another, and that he would not change his determination.

Impressed by this declaration, the guilty king earnestly entreated Samuel to intercede with Jehovah for him that he might escape his vengeance; and also to enhance his reputation among the people (who were ripe for rebellion) to join with him in the solemn worship of God. Samuel refused and reiterated the sentence. As he turned to depart, Saul caught at his prophet's mantle, but only to receive a new sign of his fate. The mantle was rent, and Samuel declared to him that even so had God rent the kingdom of Israel from Saul, and given it to a neighbor of his, who was better than himself.

At length, however, Samuel was induced by Saul's earnest and contrite entreaties, to comply with his request; but before he departed he insisted that Agag (who had begun to entertain hopes of being spared) should be brought to him; which was done. "As thy sword hath made women childless," said the prophet to the captive king, "so shall thy mother be childless among women." And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.

This was Samuel's last interview with Saul, for whom he still retained that affection which is a strong tribute to the better features of the king's character. While Saul went to his royal residence at Gibeah, Samuel returned to his house at Ramah, where he mourned for Saul with a prolonged bitterness, which at last incurred the reproof of God, who had new work for him to perform in the designation of Saul's successor. Meanwhile Jehovah's repentance at having made Saul king is emphatically repeated.

B. C. 1063. Samuel was recalled from the indulgence of his grief by a command to fill a horn with the consecrated oil laid up in the tabernacle, and to go to Bethlehem, where God had chosen a king among the sons of JESSE, the grandson of Boaz and Ruth, and the heir of their wealth and distinction in the city. To remove his



SAMUEL ANOINTING DAVID.

fear of Saul's anger, the prophet is directed to take with him a heifer, and to invite Jesse to a sacrifice. His arrival caused much alarm, but he assured the elders that he came in peace, and bade them and the house of Jesse to sanctify themselves for the sacrifice. There the family of Jesse made a goodly show. To his distinction as the chief man of the city, he added that of an age remarkable in those degenerate days, and he was surrounded by all his eight sons, except the youngest, who seems to have been of small consideration in the family, and accordingly was sent abroad to tend the sheep. Struck with the noble figure of the eldest son, Eliab, the very counterpart of Saul, Samuel said to himself, "Surely the anointed of Jehovah is before me:" but he was warned not to judge a second time by so false a standard. Jehovah said to him, "Look not on his countenance or on the *height of his stature*, because I have refused him; for it is not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but *Jehovah looketh on the heart*." In like manner the prophet rejected Abinadab, the second, Shammah, the third, and all the rest of the seven. Samuel asked Jesse, "Are all thy children here?" No; there still remained the youngest, who was with the sheep. "Send and fetch him," said the prophet, "for we will not sit down till he come." Soon there entered a fair youth, with reddish or auburn hair, and keen bright eyes, his beautiful countenance flushed with his healthy occupation, and his whole aspect pleasant to behold. Then Jehovah said to Samuel, "Up and anoint him: for this is he!" In the presence of his brethren Samuel poured the horn of sacred oil upon his head, and then returned to his house at Ramah, having performed his last public act. From that day forth the spirit of Jehovah came on DAVID ("*the beloved*"), for such was the name of Jesse's youngest son, the new "root" of the princely tribe of Judah, the first true King of Israel, and the greatest, since Abraham, of the progenitors of the CHRIST, who, as David's son, was "anointed" in his anointing.

This is all that we are distinctly told of David's early life in Scripture, the simple records of which must not be contaminated with the oriental legends, nor even illustrated, without the greatest caution, from the Jewish traditions which are recorded by Josephus.

From the sources of information open to us we gather that David was a beautiful, though not a commanding person, strong and agile, and endowed with the exquisite organization of the poet and the musician. Being the youngest of a large family, he was treated with scorn by his elder brethren, and compelled to assume the occupation of a shepherd, which is usually allotted in the East to servants, women,

and dependants. This life, however, contributed much, under God, to the formation of his character. The lonely watches which he kept by night, amid the pastures for which Bethlehem was famed, opened his mind to revelations only surpassed by those made to later shepherds in the same fields at the advent of his Son and Lord, and his Psalms show how he used the imagery spread out before his eyes by day and night. At this time he must have acquired the art which has rendered him immortal as "the sweet singer of Israel." But not only were his religious and artistic sympathies and perceptions heightened by this life; his personal prowess was exercised as well. Single handed he slew a lion and a bear that ventured to attack his flocks, and he became famous in the defence of his father's possessions against the Bedouin robbers and Philistine marauders; and at the time of his first introduction to Saul, we find him known already as "a mighty valiant man, and a man of war." At the same time he had already a reputation for the prudence which distinguished him in after life, and which was doubtless the fruit of the self-reliance demanded by his position in his father's house. It seems probable that he found congenial companions in his nephews, Abishai, Joab, and Asahel, the sons of Zeruiah, and Amasa the son of Abigail, who were probably about his own age, and who afterward became his most famous champions in war, though the cause of many a trouble, from their want of sympathy with the gentler side of his character.



THE SWEET PSALMIST.

To complete his qualifications for his future dignity, David was introduced to the court of Saul; and, after being displayed to the nation as a rival of the king even in warlike fame, his character was braced by a long persecution. The difficulties which appear on the comparison of the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Samuel, as they stand in our text, may arise from the interweaving of different narratives in an order not strictly chronological. There is an evident reason for placing the departure of Jehovah's spirit from Saul in immediate contrast with its descent on David; but the natural order of the events after David's anointing will be found, we think, in the passage which

occurs as a retrospective episode in the story of Goliath. The narrative is commonly misunderstood by its not being seen that this victory was the crowning incident of a long campaign.

We are told that "there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul;" and the whole system of God's dealings with Israel justifies our supposing that Saul's crowning act of disobedience was followed by a fresh assault of these enemies. The Philistines gathered their armies at Ephes-dammim (the *Bounds of Blood*), between Shochoh and Azekah, on the border between their own great plain and the highlands of Judah. Saul and the men of Israel were gathered to oppose them; and among those who followed him were the three eldest sons of Jesse—Eliab, Abinadab, and Shammah. Not on one occasion only, but habitually, as we judge from the nature of the case, Jesse sent David to inquire of his brothers' welfare and to supply their wants. With his natural courage animated by the knowledge of his high destiny, we may be assured that David would not neglect the opportunity afforded by his visits to the camp to begin irregular essays in the art of war. The taunt of his brother Eliab that he had come down, in "the pride and naughtiness of his heart, to see the battle," seems to breathe jealousy rather than contempt.

Meanwhile the mind of Saul was oppressed by this new war, and by the foresight of the fate denounced against him by Samuel. "The Spirit of Jehovah," which had descended upon him when he was anointed, now "departed from him, and an evil spirit from Jehovah terrified him." His servants, who began to experience the terrible caprices of a despot's incipient madness, advised him to try the charms of music, always powerful against melancholy, and believed in the East to possess a magical influence over wild and venomous beasts as well as savage men. Saul consented, and sent to Bethlehem for David, who was recommended to him on the grounds just now stated. Jesse sent his son with a present to the king; and that harp, which has since cheered many a perturbed spirit, refreshed the soul of Saul and dispelled his evil fancies. The narrator of this incident very naturally connects the favor gained by David's success with his ultimate advancement at the court of Saul, who obtained Jesse's consent to David's remaining with him, and made him his armor-bearer. But it does not follow that this took place at once; and such a view is quite inconsistent with the plain statement that David returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem. His departure from the court explains Saul's forgetfulness, and Abner's ignorance of his person and family. The commander of the forces was not likely to trou-

ble himself about the young shepherd-minstrel ; and, to say nothing of the proverbially short memory of kings for their benefactors, Saul had chiefly seen him in his hours of madness. Such is what we may safely infer to have been the course of events before the encounter with Goliath, without professing to decide whether they all occurred during the encampment opposite to Ephes-dammim, or in part at an earlier period of the campaign.

Let us return to the hostile armies at Ephes-dammim. B. C. 1063. The camps of Philistia and Israel were pitched upon two heights, separated by the valley of Elah, across which the hosts confronted one another in battle array morning after morning. A strange cause delayed their conflict. Every morning a champion of Gath, named GOLIATH, came forth out of the camp of the Philistines, and stalked down into the valley to offer single combat. His height was six cubits and a span ; he was armed in full panoply of brass (a rare thing in those days, and especially among the Israelites), and a coat of mail weighing 5000 shekels. His spear-head of iron, a metal then much rarer than brass, weighing 600 shekels, and its shaft was like a weaver's beam. Before him marched an armor-bearer, carrying his shield ; and the whole description resembles, what it perhaps suggested, the poet's moon-like orb of Satan's shield, and his spear like "the mast of some great ammiral." With a voice answering to his form, he demanded of "the *servants* of Saul" to find a warrior to meet him, a free-born Philistine, and proposed that the nation whose champion was defeated should serve the other. His appearance struck dismay into Saul and all his people ; they stood motionless throughout the day ; and at length, the defiance having been repeated in the evening, both armies retired to their camps.

This scene had been repeated for forty days, when David returned to the camp, on a visit to his brethren. He reached the circle of baggage outside the camp at the moment when both armies were drawn up, and the battle-cry was already raised. The temptation was irresistible. He left the bread and parched corn and cheeses, which he had brought as presents for his brothers and their captain, with the guard of the baggage, and ran into the ranks where his brethren stood. As he spoke to them, the champion of Gath approached and uttered his defiance, and all who stood near fled before him. The Spirit which rested upon David moved him with indignation at such a reproach on Israel. "Who," he asked, "is this Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God ?" The by-standers told him that Saul would give his daughter to the man who should kill

the Philistine, and enrich him greatly, and make his house free in Israel. Heedless of the taunts of Eliab, who rebuked his presumption with the authority of an elder brother, David repeated his inquiries till his words came to the ears of Saul. When brought before the king he bade Israel dismiss their fear, for he would go and fight with the Philistine. Not with proud contempt, but with generous anxiety, Saul reminded him that he was but a youth, and the Philistine a warrior from his youth. But David had a shepherd's exploits against wild beasts, not to boast of, but to plead in support of his faith, that "Jehovah, who had delivered him out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, would deliver him out of the



A SLINGER.

hand of the Philistine." "Go! and Jehovah be with thee!" said Saul, his own early trust in God revived by the contagion of example. He armed David for the combat in his own armor, and girded him with his own sword; but David, after the first few steps, cast them off as an untried encumbrance and betook himself to those shepherds' weapons, for their skill in which we have already seen that his countrymen were famous. The only arms of David were his shepherd's staff and sling, with five pebbles which he took from the water-course and placed in his pouch. The Philistine's scorn for the ruddy youth swelled into rage at the mode of his attack: "Am I a dog," he asked, "that thou comest to me

with staves?" He seems to have overlooked the sling, "and he cursed him by his gods." David answered his threats with the calm certainty of victory which befitted a champion who avowed that the battle was Jehovah's. Both advanced, David with the swiftness of foot for which he was famous; but before his foe came close, he took a stone from his bag and slung it into the forehead of the Philistine, who fell to the ground upon his face. David rushed in and stood upon him, and, drawing the Philistine's own sword from its sheath, cut off his head. At this sight the Philistine army fled, pursued by Israel with great slaughter as far as Gath, and even to the gates of Ekron, whence the victors returned to spoil their camp. David's own trophies were the head, the armor, and the sword of the fallen

champion. The first he exposed at Jerusalem; the second he put in his own tent; and the last he laid up in the tabernacle at Nob, till he took it for his own weapon in his time of need.

As David had gone forth to the encounter, Saul had asked Abner whose son the young man was, but Abner could not tell him. Saul repeated the inquiry of David himself when Abner ushered the youth into his presence, with the head of the Philistine in his hand; and on learning his father's name, Saul sent to ask Jesse to let David remain in his presence, and he made him his armor-bearer. But Saul gave him more than the sunshine of royal favor, the warm love of his impulsive nature; while his son Jonathan conceived for David an affection which at once ripened into one of those friendships that have become proverbial in history—the perfect union of the “friend that sticketh closer than a brother.” They made a covenant, which was faithfully observed even when Saul became David's enemy, and, according to the custom in such cases, Jonathan clothed David with his own garments, to his sword and bow, and girdle.

In this new position, David confirmed the character for prudence which had at first been given him. Employed by the king in various important matters, he is repeatedly said to have “behaved himself wisely in all his ways,” “more wisely than all the servants of Saul,” and the reason is given, “Jehovah was with him.” He needed all his prudence, for Saul's love began soon to turn to jealousy. It is a very interesting question, whether any tidings of Samuel's visit to Bethlehem had reached the court. It is alike difficult to understand the keeping of such a secret, and the conduct of Saul and Jonathan to David if it had transpired. But something may be ascribed, on the one hand, to the jealousy between Judah and Benjamin, which would lead the elders of Bethlehem to keep a secret so vital to their tribe; or something, on the other supposition, to the fatalism of Saul and the romantic generosity of Jonathan, combined with his faith in the providence of Jehovah. On the whole, we can hardly think that David was yet viewed as Saul's anointed successor, though Jonathan afterward recognizes him in that character, and Saul openly denounces him as a rival. The first occasion for this jealousy was given by the songs of the Hebrew women, who came out of every city to greet the victors on their return from the war with the Philistines; and, as they trooped forth “singing and dancing, with tabrets, with joy, and instruments of music,” they added to their wonted acclamation,

“Saul hath slain his thousands,”

the response of the whole chorus,

"AND DAVID HIS TEN THOUSANDS."

From that hour Saul viewed David with the evil eye, and his fits of melancholy became charged with impulses of murder. On the very next day he twice cast his spear at David as he sat at the royal table, and David only escaped by fleeing from Saul's presence. The king's saner hours were haunted by a jealous fear, which increased with David's prosperity. He removed him from his office about his person, and made him captain over a thousand; but the only result was that David became better known and more beloved by all the people. Saul then began to plot more systematically against his life. He offered to perform the promise held out to the conqueror of Goliath by giving him his daughter Merab; urging him to win the prize by new enterprises, in which he hoped he might fall by the hand of the Philistines. After all, when the time for the marriage arrived, Merab was given to another. Meanwhile Saul's second daughter, Michal, had become enamored of David; and Saul, with the low cunning of a diseased mind, saw another opportunity for his destruction. He employed his servants to demand of David a dowry which could only be procured by the slaughter of a hundred Philistines; but David went down with his own troop and slew two hundred, and laid their bloody spoils at Saul's feet, thus at once disappointing the hope of his destruction, and leaving him no excuse for breaking his word. He became the king's son-in-law; and, as Saul would naturally keep up appearances, this was probably the occasion of his elevation to the command of the body-guard, a post only second to that of Abner. David's wife proved, like Jonathan, his faithful friend; for which Saul only hated him the more, and "became his enemy continually." He no longer concealed his thoughts, but ordered Jonathan and his courtiers to kill David. Jonathan, however, tried the effect of an earnest remonstrance with his father, contriving that David should overhear the conversation, so as to be assured of Saul's real feelings, and the result was the restoration of David to Saul's favor.

This reconciliation lasted only for a short time. David's
B. C. 1062. exploits in a new war with the Philistines again provoked the fury of Saul, who nearly pinned him to the wall with his spear for the second time. David fled to his house, round which Saul set a watch during the night, intending to kill him in the morning. Michal saved her husband's life by letting him down out of a window. She placed an image in his bed, and told Saul's messengers that he was sick. Saul's persistent demand to have him brought to him exposed the deception, which Michal boldly justified. Meanwhile

David went to Samuel at Ramah, and dwelt with him at Naioth (the pastures), near the city among the "schools of the prophets," * where David doubtless cultivated his native gifts of psalmody by more systematic instruction than he had yet received. When the messenger sent by Saul to take him saw the company of the prophets prophesying with Samuel at their head, the Spirit of God fell upon them also, and they prophesied. This was repeated thrice; and at last Saul went himself. No sooner had he reached the well of Sechu, at the foot of the hill of Ramah, than the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied all the way as he went to Naioth. There he stripped off his outer clothes, and fell down before Samuel, prophesying all that day and night. Well might this melancholy exhibition of reluctant homage, so different from his first willing reception of the divine spirit, cause the repetition of the surprise then uttered in scornful incredulity, but now grounded in sad experience, which gave new force to the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

* The sacerdotal order was originally the instrument by which the members of the Jewish theocracy were taught and governed in things spiritual. But during the time of the judges the priesthood sank into a state of degeneracy, and the people were no longer affected by the acted lessons of the ceremonial service. They required less enigmatic warnings and exhortations. Under these circumstances a new moral power was evoked—the Prophetic Order. Samuel was the instrument used at once for effecting a reform in the sacerdotal order (1 Chr. ix. 22), and for giving to the prophets a position of importance which they had never before held. So important was the work wrought by him that he is classed in Holy Scripture with Moses (Jer. xv. 1; Ps. xcix. 6; Acts iii. 24), Samuel being the great religious reformer and organizer of the prophetic order, as Moses was the great legislator and founder of the priestly rule.

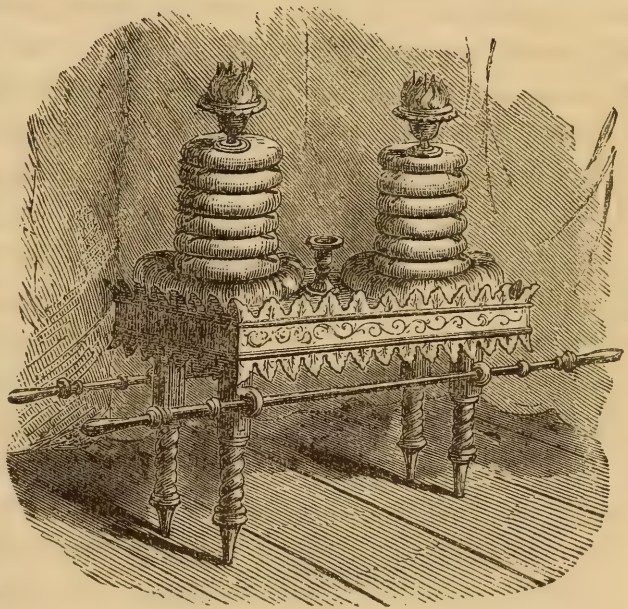
Samuel took measures to make his work of restoration permanent as well as effective for the moment. For this purpose he instituted companies, or colleges of prophets. One we find in his lifetime at Ramah (1 Sam. xix. 19, 20); others afterward at Bethel (2 K. ii. 3), Jericho (2 K. ii. 5), Gilgal (2 K. iv. 38), and elsewhere (2 K. vi. 1). Their constitution and object were similar to those of theological colleges. Into them were gathered promising students, and here they were trained for the office which they were afterward destined to fulfil. So successful were these institutions, that from the time of Samuel to the closing of the Canon of the Old Testament, there seems never to have been wanting a due supply of men to keep up the line of official prophets. The apocryphal books of the Maccabees (1. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41) and of Ecclesiasticus (xxxvi. 15) represent them as extinct. The colleges appear to have consisted of students differing in number. Sometimes they were very numerous (1 K. xviii. 4, xxii. 6; 2 K. ii. 16). One elderly, or leading prophet, presided over them (1 Sam. xix. 20), called their father (1 Sam. x. 12), or master (2 K. ii. 3), who was apparently admitted to his office by the ceremony of anointing (1 K. xix. 16; Is. lxi. 1; Ps. cv. 15). They were called his sons. Their chief subject of study was, no doubt, the law and its interpretation; oral, as distinct from symbolical, teaching

Saul seems to have returned from Ramah, professing to be reconciled to David, whom he expected to resume his place at court; but David only left his refuge at Ramah to appeal to Jonathan against his father's persecution. He obtained his friend's consent to a decisive experiment on Saul's intentions, and they arranged a meeting, at which David was to learn his fate. At the same time they renewed their covenant, with the remarkable addition of the oath which Jonathan required of David, evidently in anticipation of his succeeding to the crown: "Thou shalt not cut off thy kindness from my house forever; no! not when Jehovah hath cut off the enemies of David every one from the face of the earth;" and David solemnly ratified this covenant for his descendants as well as himself, and afterward observed it faithfully. The next day was the feast of the new moon; and instead of appearing at the king's table, David hid himself in the place agreed upon with Jonathan, a great heap of stones, called Ezel, in a field near the residence of Saul. Saul sat down to the banquet with Abner and Jonathan, and said nothing of David's absence, but found an excuse for him in

being henceforward tacitly transferred from the priestly to the prophetic order. Subsidiary subjects of instruction were music and sacred poetry, both of which had been connected with prophecy from the time of Moses (Ex. xv. 20) and the judges (Judg. iv. 4, v. 1). The prophets that met Saul "came down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them" (1 Sam. x. 5). Elijah calls a minstrel to evoke the prophetic gift in himself (2 K. iii. 15). David "separates to the service of the sons of Asaph and of Heman and of Jeduthun, who should *prophesy* with harps and with psalteries and with cymbals. . . . All these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the Lord with cymbals, psalteries, and harps for the service of the house of God" (1 Chr. xxv. 1-6). Hymns, or sacred songs, are found in the Books of Jonah (ii. 2), Isaiah (xii. 1, xxvi. 1), Habakkuk (iii. 2). And it was probably the duty of the prophetic students to compose verses to be sung in the Temple (see Lowth, *Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, Lect. xviii.). Having been themselves trained and taught, the prophets, whether still residing within their college, or having left its precincts, had the task of teaching others. From the question addressed to the Shunamite by her husband, "Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor Sabbath" (2 K. iv. 23), it appears that weekly and monthly religious meetings were held as an ordinary practice by the prophets. Thus we find that "Elisha sat in his house," engaged in his official occupation (cf. Ezek. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1), "and the elders sat with him" (2 K. vi. 32), when the King of Israel sent to slay him. It was at these meetings probably that many of the warnings and exhortations on morality and spiritual religion were addressed by the prophets to their countrymen. The general appearance and life of the prophet were very similar to those of the Eastern dervish at the present day. His dress was a hairy garment, girt with a leathern girdle (Is. xx. 2; Zech. xiii. 4; Matt. iii. 4). He was married or unmarried, as he chose, but his manner of life and diet were stern and austere (2 K. iv. 10, 38; 1 K. xix. 6; Matt. iii. 4).

his own mind on the ground of ceremonial uncleanness. On the second day, however, his suspicions were thoroughly roused, and he demanded of Jonathan the cause of David's absence. Jonathan's reply that he had given David leave to attend a family feast at Bethlehem (where, in fact, David may have spent these two days), brought down his father's rage upon his own head. With the deepest insult upon his birth, Saul taunted him with his friendship for David, told him that his kingdom would never be established during David's life, and ordered him to fetch him, that he might be slain. When Jonathan remonstrated, Saul hurled his spear at him, as he had done twice before at David, and Jonathan left the room in fierce anger. The next morning he went out to the field where David was hiding; and his manner of directing his attendant to gather up the arrows he shot gave David the signal to fly for his life.

But first he came out from his hiding-place; and the friends renewed their covenant before parting, and with embraces and tears, in which David was the more vehement, they parted only to meet again for one brief interview. It was reserved for David to give the last proof of his affection for Jonathan by



SHEW-BREAD.

his lamentation over his untimely fate, and the protection which he gave to his son Mephibosheth. Meanwhile he found himself a solitary exile, soon to be hunted "like a partridge on the mountains."

David, thus warned by his friend, repaired to Nob, a city belonging to the priests, and which at that time contained the tabernacle. Ahimelech, the high-priest, was alarmed at his coming alone; but David pretended an urgent commission from Saul; and saying that he had appointed his servants to meet him at a certain place, he asked five loaves of bread for himself and these imaginary attendants. The high-priest had none but the old shew-bread which had just been removed and replaced by the hot loaves, for it was the beginning of the Sabbath; and he gave this to David, on his assurance that he and his

attendants were undefiled. This act was in direct violation of the law; but our Lord refers to it as justified by necessity, in illustration of the great principle, "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," which overrides the mere letter of the positive law. David's next care was to arm himself. With the ambiguous explanation that he had had no time to take his weapons because *the king's business required haste*, he asked for a sword or spear; and the high-priest gave him the sword of Goliath, which had been laid up behind the ephod. We cannot think that David's excuses imposed upon the high-priest, but rather that Ahimelech's readiness to aid him was a sign of his attachment to David's cause, founded, perhaps, on some knowledge of his divine designation. If any such feeling influenced him, however, he kept it to himself, and did not consult the oracle on David's behalf, as Saul afterward charged him with doing, on the report of Doeg, his chief herdsman, who happened to witness the transaction.

From Nob David fled to Achish, king of Gath; but the Philistine chieftains showed so quick a memory of his slaughter of Goliath that he only saved his life by feigning the madness of a slaving idiot, and Achish dismissed him with contempt. He found a refuge for himself in the largest of the caves in the limestone rocks which border the *Shefelah*, or great maritime plain near Adullam, a city of Judah, not far from Bethlehem. Here he became established as an independent outlaw. Besides his brethren, who fled to him from their neighboring native city, he was joined by all those classes who are ever ready for revolt—debtors, malcontents, and persons in distress, such as those who had gathered round Jephthah in his outlawry. His father and mother he placed in safety with the King of Moab, a people with whom the family were connected through Ruth. We must not think of David in the Cave of Adullam as a rebel against Saul, but rather as an independent chieftain, making war from his own stronghold against the Philistines. Among his band of 400 men, some performed deeds of valor which gave them a permanent precedence among his warriors. Two such trios were especially distinguished; and among the second three was Abishai, the son of David's sister Zeruah, whose two other sons, Joab and Asahel, probably joined David at this time, though not yet mentioned by name. To this period belongs the romantic story of the water of the well of Bethlehem. David expressed a longing for the water of which he used to drink as a boy; and the three chief heroes cut their way through the army of the Philistines, which lay encamped in the valley of Rephaim, to the gate of Bethlehem, and brought the water to David. But with self-denial

like that of Alexander in the desert of Gedrosia, and Philip Sidney in his thirst of death at Zutphen, David poured the water on the ground, exclaiming, "Shall I drink the blood of these men, that have put their lives in jeopardy?" Another band joined him here of men of Judah and Benjamin, under Amasai, the son of his other sister Abigail, and eleven men of Gad crossed the Jordan to his camp. With them perhaps came the prophet GAD, who is now first mentioned. He had probably been David's companion in the prophetic school at Ramah, and may now have been sent by Samuel to counsel David by the word of Jehovah.

B. C. 1060. By his direction, David left his concealment at Adullam for the forest of Hareth, among the hills of Judah; and Saul no sooner heard of his appearance, than he set out in person to hunt him down. The king had begun to distrust his own immediate followers. As he stood with them under a grove at Ramah he taunted the men of his own tribe as having no feeling for him, and as conspiring with his own son on behalf of David, from whom *they* could not expect the benefits which would doubtless be reserved for Judah. None responded to the appeal but his Edomite officer, Doeg. He recounted what he had witnessed at Nob, artfully suppressing the tale by which David had deceived Ahimelech, and adding that the high-priest had asked counsel of the oracle for David. Ahimelech, summoned to Saul's presence, denied the latter charge, and protested his ignorance of any treason on the part of David, whom he had treated as the king's son-in-law, honored in his court and intrusted with his confidence. Saul's fury regarded this plea as little as Ahimelech's sacred character, and he called on his guards to slay him, with all the priests of Nob. When none obeyed, he repeated the order to Doeg, and this son of Esau put to death eighty-five priests on that one day. Nor was this all. The city of Nob was given up to massacre, and men, women, children, and sucklings, oxen, asses, and sheep, were all put to the sword. One only of the sons of Ahimelech, named Abiathar, escaped and fled to David, who now saw with remorse the effect of the deceit he had practised on the high-priest in Doeg's presence, and promised Abiathar his protection. We cannot fail to see in this massacre the working of the curse on the house of Eli.

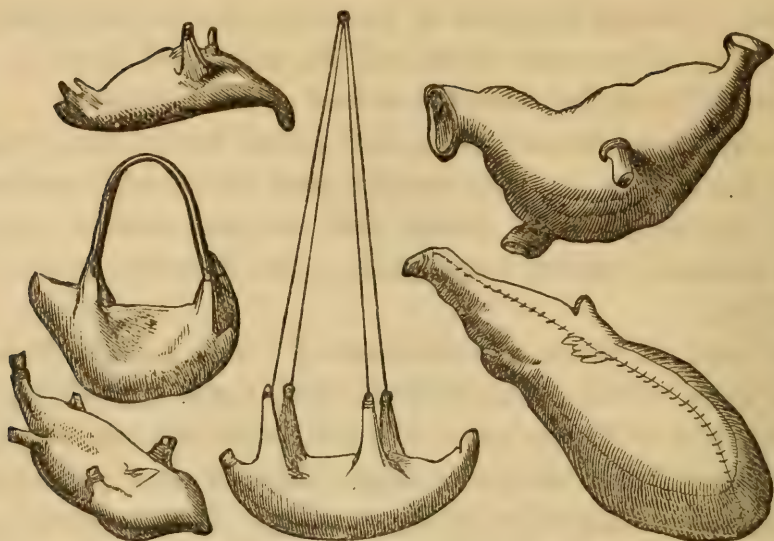
David had now in his camp not only a prophet, but the successor to the high-priesthood; and he placed his movements under the guidance of the oracle of Jehovah. With this divine sanction, he overbore the fears of his followers and fell upon the Philistines, who

had plundered the threshing-floors of Keilah, and were besieging the city. Having utterly defeated the Philistines, and gained great booty from them in battle, David established himself in Keilah. Here Saul imagined he had caught him, as in a trap; and David, learning from God, by means of the sacred ephod, that the men of Keilah would give him up, left the city, with his little band, now amounting to 600 men, who were obliged to disperse themselves for safety. David moved from one lurking-place to another in the wilderness of Ziph, while Saul was in constant search of him. It was at this juncture that the last interview took place between David and Jonathan, who found his friend in a certain wood, "and strengthened his hand in God," assuring him that he should be king over Israel, and expressing the vain hope that he himself would be next to him. When they had again renewed their covenant, Jonathan retired to his house instead of rejoining his father. The Ziphites betrayed David's movements to Saul, who left Gibeah in quest of him, preceded by the Ziphites, tracking his very footsteps like beaters after game. Thus hunted like a partridge over the hills of Judah, David fled to the wilderness of Maon, beyond Jeshimon, in the extreme south. Here Saul followed him so close that David fled from his rock of refuge to one side of a mountain, while the king was hunting for him on its other side; whence the place obtained the name of Sela-hammahlekoth (*the rock of divisions*). At length Saul was called away by the news of an invasion of the Philistines, and David betook himself to the dreary fastnesses of the wilderness of Engedi, on the margin of the Dead Sea. Saul, having repelled the invaders, returned with 3000 men, chosen out of all Israel, to the pursuit of David and his little band, who were now hunted from rock to rock like the wild goats of that desert. It happened that Saul went alone into a cave where David and his men were hidden in the lateral caverns. Urged to use so favorable an opportunity, David contented himself with creeping behind the king and cutting off the skirt of his robe. But his heart smote him even for this insult to the anointed of Jehovah. Following Saul out of the cave, he cried after him, "My lord the king," and bowing down before him, he showed him his skirt, as a proof that he had spared his life, and made a most pathetic appeal to the king's forbearance, and protestation of his own innocence. The old impulsive affection of Saul burst the barriers of jealous hatred. David had called him "Father," and with tears he responds, "Is this thy voice, my son David?" He confesses his injustice and David's magnanimity, acknowledges the divine decree

which had given the kingdom of Israel into the hand of David, and takes an oath of him not to cut off his name and house in Israel. Saul returned home, but David remained in his fastnesses.

About this time Samuel died, and Israel buried him with great pomp at Ramah, in his own country, and the people mourned him bitterly. David, probably feeling that the last restraint upon Saul was now removed, retired southward to the fastnesses of the wilderness of Paran.

There lived at Maon a descendant of Caleb, named Nabal, possessed of great wealth. His flock of 3000 sheep and 1000 goats fed on the pastures of Carmel, and David's band had not only scrupulously refrained from molesting them, but had even protected them against the marauding tribes of the country. It was David's custom to occupy his followers in this way, and to obtain subsistence for them in return for their services, and at the time of the sheep shearing he sent ten young men, with a friendly greeting, to ask Nabal for a present. The man was a mean churl, and not only spurned the request, and denied the claim with contempt, but returned an insulting message to David, who, fired with indignation upon its delivery to him, swore that he would put every man of Nabal's house to the sword. He took 400 men with him, and left 200 to guard the baggage—the first example of a proportion which afterward became a rule. Meanwhile Nabal's wife Abigail, a beautiful and intelligent woman, being informed by a servant of her husband's behavior, hastened to provide, without his knowledge, an abundant present of bread, parched corn, sheep ready dressed, skins of wine, clusters of raisins, and cakes of figs. Sending forward her servants with the asses thus loaded, she went to meet David just as he emerged from the passes of the hills. Not content with entreating his forbearance, she acknowledged him as the champion who fought the battles of Jehovah, and as the future leader of Israel. Deploring the persecution he suffered from Saul, she used those powerful and oft-quoted figures: "The soul of my lord shall be *bound in the bundle of life* with Jehovah thy God: and the souls of thine enemies, *them shall He sling out, as out of the middle of a sling.*" Her beauty and sense made a deep impression upon David. For the present, he sent her home in safety, accepting her gift, and thanking her for keeping him from shedding blood. Nabal had meanwhile feasted like a king till he was drunk; so his wife kept her news till the morning. The shock was too great for his cowardice and avarice: "his heart died within him, and he became as a stone;" and in ten days he



SKIN BOTTLES.

died. Abigail found a new husband in David, whose wife Michal had been given by Saul to another; and about the same time David also married Ahinoam of Jezreel.

Meanwhile Saul had forgotten the promises made under B. C. 1058. his transient impulse of kindness and repentance. David's old enemies, the Ziphites, came to tell the king that he was again in the stronghold of Hachilah, east of Jeshimon, and Saul again led his chosen army of 3000 men, under Abner, in pursuit of him. Once more Saul fell into the power of David, and was magnanimously spared. Informed by his spies of the position of Saul's camp, David went down with his nephew Abishai by night, and found Saul asleep by the side of Abner in the midst of his body-guard, with his well-known spear stuck into the ground beside his bolster. Abishai proposed to smite Saul to the earth with that spear which had twice been hurled at David; but David left his fate in the hands of God, and refused to stretch forth his hand against Jehovah's anointed. They took the spear and the cruse of water that was by his side and left the camp, where all were still sunk in a sleep sent by God. Retiring a safe distance to the top of a hill, David shouted to the people and to Abner, whom he taunted for the little care with which so valiant a man had watched over the king's life! Saul knew the voice, and the scene of remonstrance, confession, and forgiveness was again repeated, but with some striking variations. Saul begged David to return to him, promising not to harm him, and confessing that "he had played the fool;" and when David would only trust his life to God and not to him, he parted from him with the words

of prophetic blessing: "Blessed be thou, my son David, thou shalt both do great things, and also shalt still prevail."

This was their last interview; for David, despairing of safety while within reach of Saul, resolved finally to seek shelter among the Philistines. Their power was now such that Saul could scarcely make head against them, much less pursue David into their country; and, in fact, he abandoned the attempt. David went, as before, to Achish, king of Gath, no longer as a solitary fugitive, but with his whole household, and his band of 600 men. This force, and still more, perhaps, the knowledge that he had finally broken with Saul, secured him respect, though the Philistine chieftains withheld from him their confidence. Achish assigned, for his residence and maintenance, the frontier city of Ziklag, which consequently belonged ever after to the kings of Judah. We have here the only note of time in the history of David's wanderings. The whole time he spent in the country of the Philistines, that is, to his departure for Hebron after the death of Saul, was a year and four months, or, according to the LXX. and Josephus, four months, or a little more. Whichever be the true reading, it suggests a reflection on the evils that sprang from his want of faith and patience for so short a period. His presence in Judah would have given an opportunity which Saul could hardly



AN EASTERN TENT.

have refused for calling him forth as the champion of Israel. At all events, he would have been at hand to retrieve the disaster, and would doubtless have been hailed as king by the united voice of Israel. As it was, however, his nation suffered a terrible defeat, which, instead of doing his best to avert, he narrowly escaped taking a share in inflicting; his recognition as king of Israel was postponed for seven years and a half, at the cost of a civil war and the permanent alienation of Judah from the rest of Israel, and meanwhile he was involved in a course of pitiable deceit. He could not enjoy the protection of Achish without rendering him service against his country. So he sallied forth from Ziklag, but instead of attacking Israel, he fell upon the tribes of the southern desert of Shur, toward the confines of Egypt, the Geshurites, the Gezrites, and the Amalekites, and exhibited their spoil to Achish as having been won in the south of Judah, and from the allied tribes of the Jerahmeelites and the Kenites. To guard against detection, he put to the sword every man and woman of each settlement

that he attacked. Achish himself was thoroughly imposed upon, and put such unlimited confidence in David that he summoned him to join in a grand attack which the Philistines were preparing against Israel, and David sank so low as to boast of the courage he would display. The distrust of the other lords of the Philistines saved him from this dilemma.

We must now look back to Saul. Since the death of Samuel and the flight of David, darkness had gathered about his declining path like clouds around the setting sun. The prophetic inspiration which had once marked him as the servant of Jehovah found vent, as we have seen at Ramah, in ravings scarcely to be distinguished from those of his madness. His religious zeal, always rash, as in the vow which so nearly cost the life of Jonathan, was now shown in deeds of sanguinary violence. If the slaughter of the witches and necromancers be defended by the strict letter of the Mosaic law, which however Saul himself had long permitted to slumber, the massacre of the Gibeonites was the violation of a covenant which formed one of the sacred traditions of the nation, and was afterward visited as such on "the blood-stained house of Saul." This deed may have been a sequel to Saul's inextinguishable crime, the massacre of the priests at Nob. The day of retribution now came.

The hosts of the Philistines had assembled at the great B. C. 1056. battle-field of Palestine, the valley of Jezreel. They occupied the southern slopes of the "Little Hermon," by Shunem, while Saul and the Israelites were encamped on the opposite hills of Gilboa. A panic fear seized Saul at the sight of the army of the Philistines. Fain would he have inquired of Jehovah; but the high-priest was a fugitive from his murderous wrath; he had alienated the prophets, and their chief was in the camp of David; and God gave him no answer, "neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets." In his extremity, he resorted to the very impostors who had been the victims of his zeal. Among those who had escaped him was a woman who lived at Endor, on the other side of the Little Hermon. Her supernatural pretensions are described by the epithet "a woman of *Ob*" (the skin or bladder) which the LXX. explains as a ventriloquist. Saul went to her abode by night and in disguise, with only two attendants, and desired her to bring up from the dead the person whom he should name. Fearing a snare, and having perhaps already some suspicions as to the quality of her visitors, the woman only consented on Saul's taking an oath that she should not be punished. She then inquired whom she should bring up, and Saul asked for Samuel.

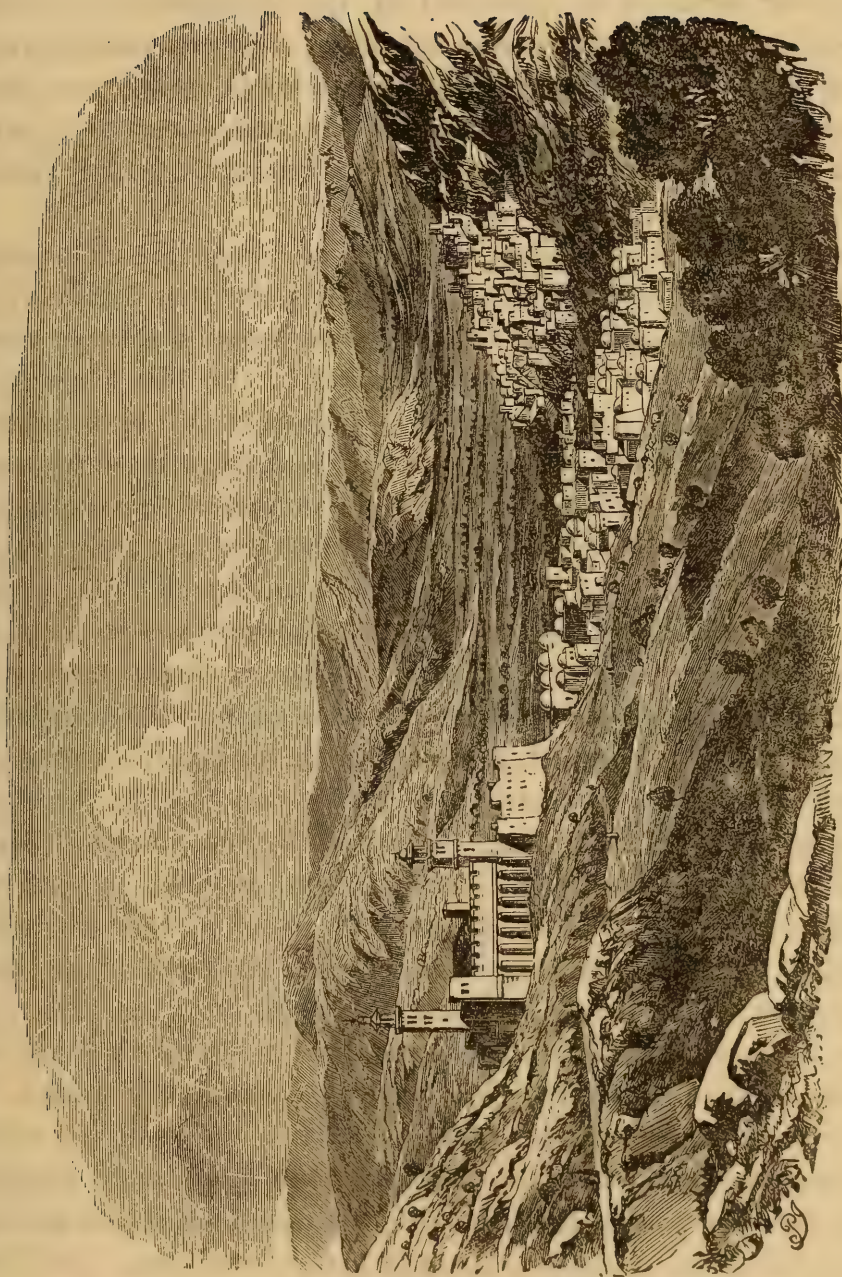
Then (to follow the narrative and reserve criticism for the end) the woman saw (or professed to see) the form of Samuel rising from the earth; and, uttering a loud cry, she charged Saul with having deceived her, for she now knew him to be the king. He calmed her fears, and demanded what she had seen. "I saw," she answered, "a god-like form rising up out of the earth." In reply to Saul's inquiries, she further described the apparition as that of "an old man covered with a mantle," doubtless the prophetic robe always worn by Samuel. By these tokens Saul recognized Samuel, and bowed his face to the ground, while Samuel asked, "Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" Saul poured forth his sore distress, attacked as he was by the Philistines and abandoned by Jehovah. Samuel replied that it was in vain to resort to him, for this was but the fulfilment of his prophetic word; that Jehovah had torn the kingdom out of his hand, and given it to David, because he had disobeyed him in sparing the Amalekites. He foretold his defeat by the Philistines, and added that on the morrow Saul and his sons should be with him among the dead. At this sentence, Saul fell prostrate his whole length upon the earth, and fainted away with fear and exhaustion, for he had fasted all the day and night. Having, at the urgent pressure of the woman and his attendants, partaken of a meal, the best that she could prepare for him, Saul returned to the camp the same night.

Meanwhile David's relations with the Philistine king Achish had obliged him to repair with his band to the Philistine camp. He was greatly troubled at the prospect of being obliged to fight against Israel, and was casting about in his mind for some pretext upon which he could avoid that necessity without compromising himself with his protector, when he was brought out of his dilemma by the jealousy of the Philistine nobles, who refused to allow him to accompany their army, as they could not be convinced, even by the protestations of Achish himself, that the conqueror of Goliath would be their faithful ally. After a show of great reluctance, and renewed expressions of confidence from Achish, David and his men departed with the morning light.

Having thus escaped the great danger of having to fight against Israel, he found that another disaster had been occasioned by his march with the Philistines. The Amalekites had seized the opportunity to take vengeance for David's forays; and when he and his men arrived at Ziklag the third day after leaving the Philistine camp, they found the city burnt, and their wives and children carried away as captives, including the two wives of David himself. They

wept over the ruin, and began to threaten David's life; "but David encouraged himself in Jehovah his God." He summoned Abiathar with the oracular ephod, and received the direction of Jehovah to pursue, with the promise of success. By means of a straggler, an Egyptian slave of one of the Amalekites, whom they found half dead with fatigue and hunger, they fell upon the enemy, who were feasting in all the disorder of security, and slaughtered them for a whole night and day, only 400 of the whole tribe escaping. Besides recovering their wives and children and all their property without any loss, they obtained a great booty in cattle from the enemy. A question now arose about the division of the spoil. It had happened that one-third of David's 600 men were too weary, after their long march, to keep up with the rest, and they had been left behind at the brook Besor with the baggage. As they exchanged congratulations with David on his return, the worst part of David's followers, "all the men of Belial," proposed that they should have no share in the spoil. David sternly forbade this injustice, and laid down what thenceforth became a law in Israel, that those who stayed with the baggage should have an equal share, man for man, with those who went to the fight. From his own share of the spoil he sent presents to the elders of Judah, to Bethel, Hebron, and other cities that he had frequented with his bands, and to the friendly Arabs of the desert, the Jerahmeelites and the Kenites.

On the third day after this victory, David received news of the terrible overthrow of Saul and his army in Mount Gilboa on the day of his departure. The Philistines had occupied the valley of Jezreel, and the Israelites were driven before them up the slopes and over the crest of Mount Gilboa with immense loss. The hottest pursuit was made after Saul and the band who kept round him. His three sons Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchishua, were slain, and he himself was mortally wounded by the Philistine archers. Disabled from flight, he begged his armor-bearer to draw his sword and slay him, that his last moment might not be insulted by the uncircumcised foes of God. On his refusal, Saul fell upon his own sword and died, and his faithful attendant, who had feared to raise his hand against God's anointed, did not hesitate to share his fate. On the next day the Philistines found the bodies of Saul and his three sons among the dead, and messengers were instantly dispatched through all the cities of Philistia to command rejoicings in the idol temples. They carried Saul's remains from city to city, and at last deposited the trophy in the temple of Ashtaroath. His head was struck from his body, and placed in the



HEBRON.

temple of Dagon, probably at Ashdod, while the headless trunk was exposed, with those of his sons, on the wall of the Canaanitish city of Bethshan. In this extremity of shame and ruin, there was one city whose heroic people remembered that Saul had saved them from a fate as shameful. While the Israelites west of Jordan were abandoning their cities to be possessed by the Philistines, the men of Jabesh-gilead made a night march across the river and took down the bodies of Saul and his sons, which they carried to Jabesh and burnt. They buried the bones under a tamarisk-tree, and observed a fast for seven days. The ashes were removed long afterward by David to the sepulchre of Kish at Zelah.

The sad tidings were brought to David at Ziklag by an Amalekite, who arrived with his clothes rent and earth upon his head, and said that he had escaped out of the camp of Israel, and had been an eye-witness of Saul's death. He told the tale of the hot pursuit; and then added (whether as an invention to please David, or whether he had really come up to the place where Saul had fallen upon his sword, while he was still alive) that the king, despairing of escape, had begged to be dispatched by his hand, and that he had dealt the last fatal blow. He produced the crown and armlet which Saul used to wear in battle, and gave them to David. The news was received with an unfeigned grief and consternation worthy of the reverence and affection which David had never lost for Saul, and of his deep love for Jonathan. He rent his clothes, and, with all his band, mourned and wept and fasted till the evening. Then he sent for the Amalekite, and asking how he had dared to put forth his hand to slay the anointed of Jehovah, he caused him to be put to death as guilty by his own confession. Finally, he took his harp, and poured forth a lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, which is the finest as well as the most ancient of all dirges. Under the title of "THE Bow," the favorite weapon of Jonathan, it was recorded in "The Book of Jasher," and taught as a standing lesson to the children of Judah. Its spirit is alike worthy of the poet and of the objects of his eulogy. A less generous heart, and one less devoted to duty, might have been content with the tribute of affection to his friend Jonathan, and have left the memory of his unjust master to perish in silence. But David was not so insensible to Saul's better qualities, to his old affection, and to the claim of the King of Israel to be celebrated in death by the same harp that had soothed his tortured mind while he lived. And so the poem has verified to every succeeding age its own beautiful and touching words.

This noble utterance of grief, in which David is the mouth-piece of Israel, forms a fit conclusion to the second period of his own life, as well as to the fatal experiment undertaken by the Israelites and Saul, of establishing a kingdom on the principles of self-will, and after the model of the nations around, in place of the royalty of Jehovah.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REIGN OF DAVID.

[B. C. 1056-1015.]

THE battle of Gilboa left Israel in a very forlorn state. The country west of the Jordan was overrun by the Philistines who occupied the cities from which their inhabitants had fled. The surviving members of the house of Saul took refuge on the east of the Jordan, and David, by the command of God, removed with his band to the ancient city of Hebron, where the men of Judah anointed him king over their tribe. From this place he sent a message to the men of Jabesh-gilead, thanking them for the honor paid to Saul's remains, and announcing his accession to the throne. He was now thirty years old, and he reigned in Hebron seven and a-half years (B. C. 1056-1048). The next event recorded is Abner's proclamation of Ish-bosheth, the eldest surviving son of Saul, as king over Gilead, the Ashurites, the valley of Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin, and nominally over all Israel: his residence was at Mahanaim, east of Jordan. It is added that Ish-bosheth was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and that he reigned two years. Now, as we cannot suppose an interval of five years from his death to David's full recognition, and as the Philistines were in full possession of all Israel west of Jordan except where David's power extended, it would seem that Abner was occupied for five years or more (B. C. 1056-1050) in recovering the territory of the other tribes from them, after which the two years of Ish-bosheth begin to be reckoned, so as to end just before David's full recognition as king of all Israel (B. C. 1048).

When Abner had established Ish-bosheth's power west of the Jordan, he endeavored to conquer Judah, and a civil war ensued, which was only ended by his own death and that of Ish-bosheth. The war was commenced by Abner's advancing to Gibeon, where he was met by the forces of Judah under JOAB, the son of David's sister Zeruiah, who now takes a foremost place in the history. The Pool of Gibeon, on the opposite sides of which the armies encamped, was made memorable by the deadly combat of twelve Benjamites against twelve men of Judah, in which each man seized his adversary by the head with

ANCIENT JERUSALEM



one hand, and with the other thrust his sword through his side, so that all of them fell down dead together. The scene of this mutual slaughter received the name of Helkath-hazzurim (*the field of the strong men*). In the battle which ensued, the men of Israel were routed. Abner himself was closely pursued by Asahel, one of the three sons of Zeruiah, who were as swift-footed as the wild roe. Unable to escape, and unwilling to kill Asahel, Abner twice entreated him to go after some one else, that he might have spoils to carry back with him ; but, as Asahel persisted, Abner thrust him through with a back stroke of his spear, and he fell dead, to the dismay and grief of all who came up to the spot. His brothers, Joab and Abishai, pressed on the pursuit as far as the hill of Ammah, east of Giah, in the wilderness of Gibeon. There, at sunset, the Benjamites rallied round Abner, and, after a parley between him and Joab, the latter sounded the trumpet of recall, and both parties retired during the night—Abner to Mahanaim, and Joab to Hebron. The former had lost 360 men, the latter only sixteen, besides Asahel, whom they buried in his father's sepulchre at Bethlehem.

The war went on long without any decisive action, but with a constantly increasing advantage to the side of David ; “David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker.” At length Abner, on an insult received from Ish-bosheth, who was a mere puppet in his hands, made overtures to David, who required, as a preliminary, the restoration of his wife Michal. David made the demand of Ish-bosheth, who took Michal from her second husband, Phaltiel, and sent her to Hebron. Abner now treated with the elders of Israel, and especially with the tribe of Benjamin, reminding them of David's designation by Jehovah, and of his services against the Philistines. So favorable was the response that he resolved to go in person to Hebron, with a guard of only twenty men, to represent to David the feelings of Israel and Benjamin. David received and feasted him, and Abner departed with the promise to gather all Israel to his standard. He had not gone far, however, when he was recalled by Joab (who had just returned from an expedition against the Bedouins of the desert, and who had censured David for allowing an old enemy to depart in peace), and was treacherously murdered by Joab in revenge for the death of Asahel, whom Abner had slain in fair fight. In this murder Joab was aided and abetted by his brother Abishai.

Calling Jehovah to witness that he and his kingdom were guiltless for all future time of Abner's blood, David imprecated a terrible

curse on Joab and his house. He then called his followers to bury Abner at Hebron with the honors due to a prince and chieftain. Joab was obliged to join in the universal mourning, "and King David himself followed the bier." David's conduct formed the climax of his favor with the people, who well knew his innocence: "as whatsoever the king did pleased all the people." But he bitterly felt his impotence to restrain his too powerful relations, and vented his indignation in the words which have become proverbial: "These men, the sons of Zeruiah, be too hard for me." He added threats that the doer of evil should be rewarded according to his wickedness; but it was not till Joab had again mortally provoked him by killing Absalom, that he deposed him from his office of captain of the guard, and gave it to Amasa, whose treacherous murder filled up the measure of Joab's crimes. Even then David left his punishment as a legacy to Solomon, by whom he was put to death.

Ish-bosheth, left helpless by the loss of Abner, fell a victim to the conspiracy of two of his captains, who slew him on his bed, intending to proclaim Jonathan's son, Mephibosheth (or Merib-baal), who was not only an infant, but lame. Being a child of five years old when the tidings were brought of the death of Saul and Jonathan, he was carried off by his nurse, who let him fall in the hurry of the flight, and so lamed him for life. His royalty was as impotent as his person; but yet he was the least unfortunate of Saul's house, from the favor which David showed him for his father's sake, and in fulfilment of their covenant. We shall hear much of him afterward; but meanwhile it is not clear from the narrative whether he was even proclaimed or brought out from his place of refuge, which, according to Josephus, was in the house of Machir ben-Ammiel, a prince of Gad or Manasseh, at Lo-debar, near Mahanaim.

The murderers of Ish-bosheth carried his head to David at Hebron, only to meet the fate of the messenger of Saul's death. They were put to death; their hands and feet cut off, and their bodies hanged over the Pool of Hebron, while the head of Ish-bosheth was buried in the sepulchre of Abner.

The minds of all the people were not united in favor of David. The elders came to him at Hebron, recognizing him as their brother, recalling his leadership of Israel in the time of Saul, and acknowledging that God had appointed him "to feed his people Israel." So they anointed him as king of Israel at Hebron, and he made with them a covenant, based doubtless on the law given by Moses for the

JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF DAVID, AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH.

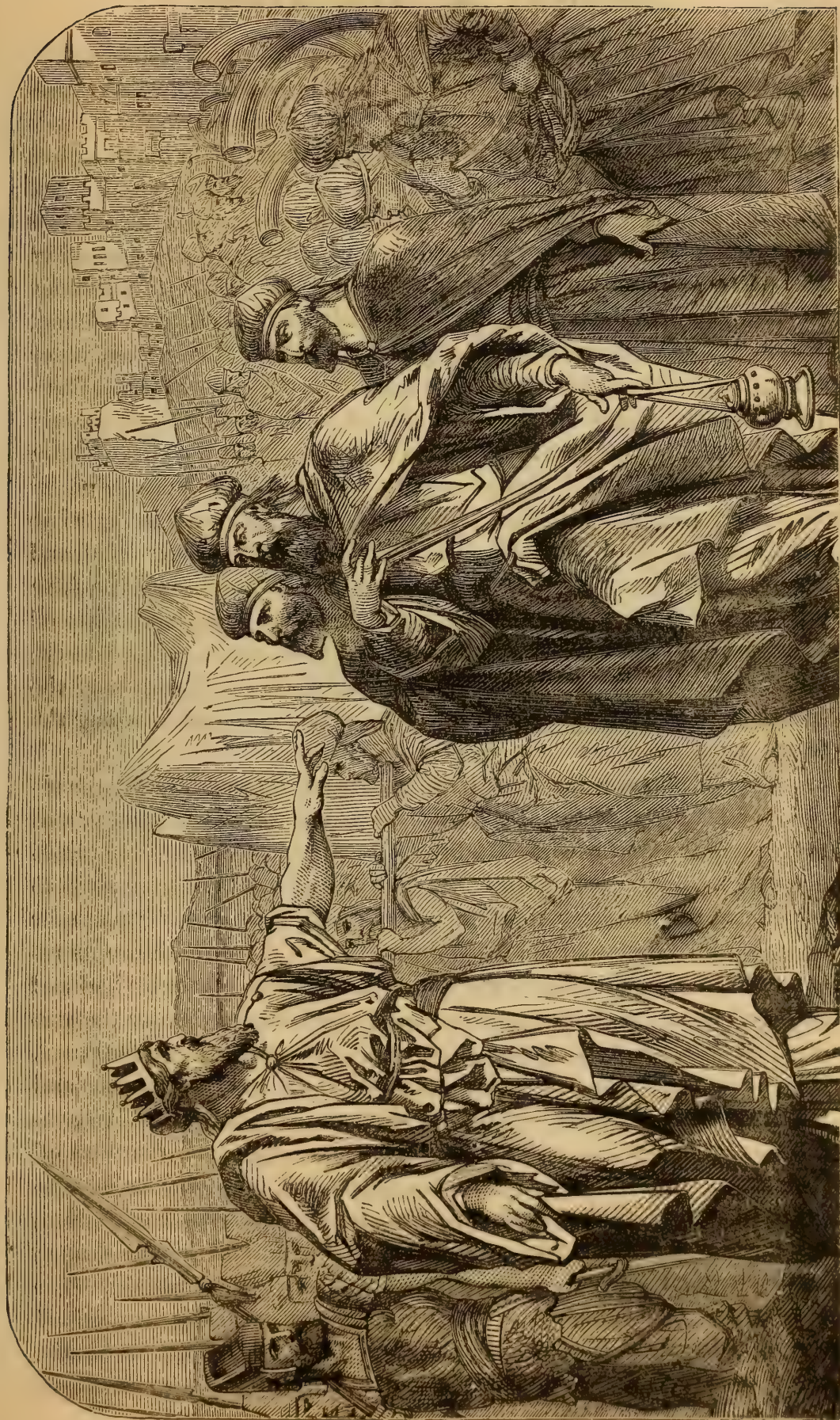


constitution of the kingdom, and the event was celebrated by a three days' feast. David was now at the head of a powerful army, composed of the best warriors of all the tribes, who came ready armed to him at Hebron. Judah sent 6800, Simeon 7100, Levi 4600, besides 3700 priests, under Jehoiada, with whom came the young Zadok, already famous for his valor, and destined to bring back the high-priesthood into the house of Eleazar. Even Benjamin, which had hitherto stood fast by the family of Saul, contributed 3000 men; Ephraim, 20,800, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, 18,000. Two hundred captains led the whole tribe of Issachar, whose decision gained for them the praise that "they had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." The 50,000 of Zebulun were all "expert in war, well armed, firm in their ranks, and of no double heart;" Naphtali furnished 37,000 such warriors, under 1000 captains; Dan, 28,600; and Asher, 40,000. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh sent 120,000 well-armed warriors across the Jordan. The sum is 337,600 men, besides the whole tribe of Issachar.

Having this powerful army, David resolved to remove the seat of government from the remote Hebron nearer to the centre of the country, and his choice at once fell upon Jerusalem, the strong city of the Jebusites, situated on a rocky height 2600 feet above the level of the sea. But another reason also probably recommended Jerusalem to David as the capital of his kingdom. It was impossible for him to desert the great tribe to which he belonged, and over which he had been reigning for some years. Now Jerusalem was the natural escape out of this difficulty, since the boundary between Judah and Benjamin ran at the foot of the hill on which the city stands. Jerusalem consisted of an upper and a lower city; and though the latter was taken by the men of Judah in the time of Joshua, the upper city defied their attacks, and the whole remained a Jebusite city till the period at which we have arrived.

B. C. 1048. David now advanced against the place at the head of the formidable army already described. No doubt he approached the city from the south. As before, the lower city was immediately taken, and, as before, the citadel held out. The undaunted Jebusites, believing in the impregnability of their fortress, manned the battlements "with lame and blind." But they little understood the temper of the king or of those he commanded. David's anger was thoroughly roused by the insult, and he at once proclaimed to his host that the first man who would scale the rocky

side of the fortress and kill a Jebusite should be made chief captain of the host. A crowd of warriors rushed forward to the attempt, but Joab's superior agility gained him the day, and the citadel, the fastness of ZION, was taken (1046 B. C). It is the first time that that memorable name appears in the history. The fortress, which now became the capital of the kingdom, received the name of "the city of David;" and David fortified its whole circuit round about from Millo, while Joab repaired the rest of the city. In this capital, the power of the king was now thoroughly established: "David went on, and grew great; for the Lord of hosts was with him." His power was acknowledged by Hiram, king of Tyre, who sought for the alliance which he henceforth steadily maintained with David and Solomon, and who now sent cedar-timber from Lebanon, with masons and carpenters, to build David a palace. But there was already "a worm in the bud," which afterward blighted all David's happiness. Disregarding the express command of Moses, he formed a numerous harem. Already, while at Hebron, he had added to his first wife, (1) Michal, restored to him by Ish-bosheth, and to (2), Ahinoam, and (3), Abigail, the two wives of his wanderings, four others, namely, (4) Maacah, the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, (5) Haggith, (6) Abital, and (7) Eglah; and each of them, except Michal, who was childless, had borne him one son at Hebron, namely, (1) Amnon, (2) Chiliab, (3) Absalom, (4) Adonijah, (5) Shephatiah, and (6) Ithream, and one daughter, Tamar, who was full sister to Absalom by Maacah. At Jerusalem he took more wives, whose names and number are not stated, and who bore him ten more sons. Besides these, he had ten concubines, whose children are not named. This list does not include BATHSHEBA, whose story will be related presently. She bore David five sons, of whom the youngest, SOLOMON, was his successor. In all this David stopped short of that fatal step contemplated in the warning of Moses, and taken by Solomon, of multiplying to himself wives from heathen nations, so as to turn away his heart from God; but the miseries he suffered in his family give the best answer to the folly which quotes Scripture in sanction of polygamy. He reigned at Jerusalem for thirty-three years, besides the seven years and a half in Hebron, making his whole reign, in round numbers, forty years (B. C. 1056-1015). He was thirty years old at his first accession, and seventy at his death. It is emphatically stated that "David perceived that Jehovah had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom *for his people Israel's sake.*"



DAVID BRINGS UP THE ARK OF GOD TO JERUSALEM.

A twofold work had been given him to perform: to establish the worship of Jehovah in the place which he had chosen above all others for his abode, and to extend the kingdom of Israel to the bounds promised to their fathers. With the former object first in his thoughts, he had proposed to the tribes who gathered at Hebron that the ark should be brought up from Kirjath-jearim, but the project was delayed by war. The Philistines, resolved not to give up without an effort their long domination over Israel, gathered their hosts in the valley of Rephaim, or the valley of the Giants. At the command of God, David fell upon them with a fury as resistless as the outburst of water through a broken dike, whence the scene of slaughter was called Baal-perazim (*the "height" of the outbursts*). The Philistines were not only routed, but disgraced by the burning of their idols, which were left on the field of battle. A second victory was gained in the same valley by a stratagem prescribed by God, whose presence was indicated to the army of Israel by a rustling in the tops of the mulberry-trees, and the Philistines were smitten from Gibeon to Gazer. "And the fame of David went out into all lands; and Jehovah brought the fear of him upon all nations." Henceforth David is found acting on the offensive against the Philistines; and meanwhile their defeat and the friendship of King Hiram secured peace for the nation along the whole maritime coast.

B. C. 1042. David had now the long desired opportunity for the removal of the ark. He had "sworn to Jehovah, and vowed to the mighty God of Jacob. Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed; I will not give sleep to mine eyes, nor slumber to mine eyelids, until I find out a place for Jehovah, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob." Since its restoration by the Philistines, the symbol of Jehovah's presence had had its stated abode at Kirjath-jearim, here called Baalah, under the care of Abinadab and his family. Thither David went with 30,000 men, chosen from all the tribes, and transported the ark, with music and singing, from Abinadab's house in Gibeah (the citadel of Kirjath-jearim) on a new cart, driven by Uzzah and Ahio, the two sons of Abinadab. But its progress to Jerusalem suffered a melancholy interruption. As the procession reached the threshing-floor of Nachon (or Chidon), the oxen shook the cart, and Uzzah laid his hand upon the ark to steady it, forgetting that Jehovah needed not his aid. The profanation was punished by his instant death, to the great grief of David, who named the place Perez-uzzah (*the breaking-forth on Uzzah*). But Uzzah's fate was not merely the penalty of his own rashness.



THE ARK.

The improper mode of transporting the ark, which ought to have been borne on the shoulders of the Levites, was the primary cause of his unholy deed; and David distinctly recognized it as a punishment on the people in general, "because we sought Him not after the due order."

The terror of this proof of Jehovah's jealousy stayed further progress for the time, and the ark was carried aside to the house of Obededom, the Gittite. There it remained three months, and brought to the family of this Philistine a blessing like that which had long crowned the house of Abinadab.

Meanwhile David prepared for its final transport to Jerusalem with a care suitable to the awful lesson he had received. Instead of

removing the old tabernacle, which was doubtless much impaired by age, he set up a new tent for it in the city of David. In the first procession, the king and his warriors had perhaps held too prominent a place, to the injury of the religious solemnity, which was now duly preserved. David intrusted the duty of carrying it to those whom Jehovah had appointed. He assembled the three families of the house of Levi, with the sons of Aaron, and the high-priests of both the branches, Zadok, of the house of Eleazar, and Abiathar, of the house of Ithamar, and bade them sanctify themselves to bring up the ark of God; and so they carried it on their shoulders after the manner prescribed by Moses. They were escorted by David and his chosen warriors, with the elders of Israel, and the procession started with every sign of joy. The first movement was watched with deep anxiety, lest there should still be some fault to provoke God's anger: but when the Levites had taken six steps in safety, it was seen that God helped them; and the procession halted, while David sacrificed seven bullocks and seven rams. He then took his place before the ark, clothed only with the linen ephod of the priestly order, without his royal robes, and danced with all his might, playing upon the harp as he led the way up to the hill of Zion, amid the songs of the Levites, the joyful shouts of all the people, and the noise of cornets, and trumpets, and cymbals, and psalteries, and harps. Having placed it in the tabernacle he had prepared, and having offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, he blessed the people in the name of Jehovah, and dealt to each of the multitude, women as well as men, a loaf of bread, a large piece of meat, and a flagon of wine, doubtless from the offerings. He then returned to bless his household; but his reception cast a shade even over this most joyful day of all his reign. His enthusiastic dance before the ark had been observed with scorn by his wife Michal from a window of the new palace; she met him on his return with insulting reproaches, to which he made an indignant answer; and she remained barren to the day of her death.

In both these ceremonials a prominent feature was the singing the praises of Jehovah to the music of various instruments. On the first removal of the ark, we are told that "David and all Israel played before God with all their might, and with singing, and with harps, psalteries, timbrels, cymbals, and trumpets." On the second occasion David made a complete arrangement of the musical service, placing it under the direction of the priests, Zadok and Abiathar, and appointing the Levites for its performance, with ASAPH at their head. The first book of Chronicles describes the order of this "service of song," and



THE LAVER.

preserves the Psalm of thanksgiving which David first delivered into the hand of Asaph and his brethren. The comparison of this with several in the book of Psalms shows that it is either an outline which was afterward expanded into separate poems, or an epitome of the Psalms used on the occasion. For there are many Psalms to be referred to the removal of the ark to Jerusalem, both on the ground of tradition and of their own internal evidence.

All other arrangements were made by David with equal care for the whole order of divine worship, according to the law of Moses. Asaph and his brethren were appointed to minister in the daily service before the ark. The office of chief doorkeeper was committed to Obed-edom, in whose house the ark had rested. Zadok and the priests were charged with the daily and other sacrifices at the tabernacle, which remained at Gibeon.

David's zeal for the house of God was still only fulfilled in part. His new city was blessed with the symbol of Jehovah's presence, but that sacred object had itself no worthy abode. The palace built for the king by Hiram's workmen was now finished, and he dwelt in it in peace; but as he sat in it he was troubled with the thought that while he dwelt in such a splendid mansion the Ark of the Covenant of Jehovah dwelt only in a tent, and he resolved to build a house for God to dwell in. He mentioned his intention to the prophet Nathan, who commended it; but that same night the word of God came to Nathan telling him to inform David that he was not to build the house as the necessities of his wars had made him a man of blood;

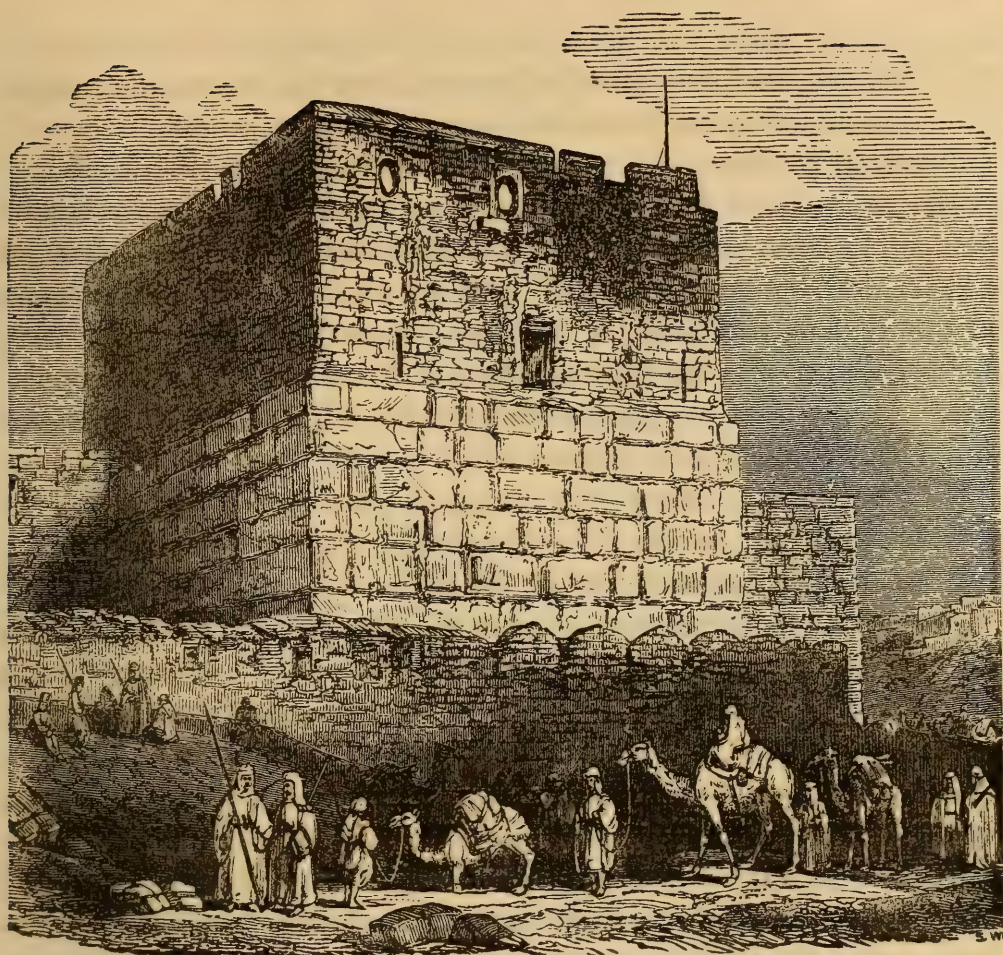
but that Jehovah, who had been with him hitherto, would first establish *his* house, and would raise up one of his sons, whose kingdom should be established forever, and who should build the house of God in the place chosen by himself. This prediction, referring first to Solomon, is expressed in terms that could only be fulfilled in the Messiah; and it is clear that David understood it so, from the wonderful prayer which he poured out before God in thanksgiving for the honor put upon him. Similar feelings are uttered in several of the "Messianic Psalms," which have therefore been regarded as written on the occasion of Nathan's prophecy, such as the 2d, 45th, 22d, 16th, 118th, and 110th, in all of which the promises of God to David and his house are celebrated in that wonderfully expressive language which reveals him who was at once David's Son and Lord.

His own throne, and the service of God's sanctuary, being thus established, David advanced to the final subjugation of the enemies of Israel.

I. We have already mentioned the two last invasions of the PHILISTINES: they were now, in their turn, invaded and subdued by David, who took the proud frontier city of Gath, "The bridle of the mother-city," with its "daughter towns." Except one or two minor combats, we hear of no further trouble from the Philistines during David's reign. This conquest secured to Israel its promised boundary on the southwest, the "river of Egypt."

II. Turning to the eastern frontier, David exacted from MOAB a signal vengeance for all her enmity against Israel down from the time of Balak. Two-thirds of the people were put to death, and the other third reduced to tribute. David's personal relations to this nation, whose blood he shared, had been so friendly that we have seen him committing his father and mother to the care of the King of Moab. A Jewish tradition says that they were foully murdered. There is not a word of this in the Scripture narrative; but we may be quite sure that David's vengeance was provoked by some treacherous insult, as in the later case of Ammon. Thus was Balaam's prophecy fulfilled:—"Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of Ar" (the metropolis of Moab).

III. The eastern frontier being now secured, for Nahash the Ammonite was his friend, David advanced to the conquest of the promised boundary on the northeast, "the great river Euphrates." Two SYRIAN kingdoms lay between him and his purpose. That of ZOBAH, which has been mentioned more than once before, was then



DAVID'S TOWER AT JERUSALEM.

governed by Hadadezer, the son of Rehob, whom David defeated, taking from him his force of 1000 chariots, 700 horses, and 20,000 infantry. The chariot-horses were hamstrung, according to the command of Moses, but David could not resist the temptation of reserving 100 chariots as an ornament for his royal state. The Syrians of Damascus, coming to the help of Hadadezer, were defeated with the loss of 22,000 men; and that fairest and oldest of the cities of the world was made tributary to David, and garrisoned by his troops. "Thus did Jehovah preserve David whithersoever he went."

These victories led to an alliance with Toi, king of B. C. 1040. HAMATH (the Cœle-Syria of the Greeks), who sent his son Joram to congratulate David on the defeat of Hadadezer, his own enemy. This, together with the old friendship of Hiram, king of Tyre, secured the northern frontier; and David returned to Jerusalem, laden with the golden shields of Hadadezer's body-guard, the brass taken from his cities, and the vessels of gold and silver and brass which Joram had brought as presents. All these, together with

the spoils of Moab and the Philistines, the plunder formerly taken from Amalek, and that gained afterward from Edom and the sons of Ammon, he dedicated for the service of the future Temple.

The long conflict of EDOM with his brother Israel was now brought to its first decision by a great victory gained by Abishai, the son of Zeruah, in "the valley of Salt" (on the south of the Dead Sea), in which the Edomites lost 18,000 men. David was probably in Syria at the time of this battle, which was followed up by a great army under Joab, who in six months almost exterminated the male population. David then visited the conquered land, and placed garrisons in all the cities. The young king, Hadad, however, escaped to Egypt, and became afterward a formidable enemy to Solomon.

These victories, which David celebrates in the 60th and 110th Psalms, carried the southern frontier of Israel to the eastern head of the Red Sea; and from that point to the frontier of Egypt, the Arab tribes had felt enough of his power as an exile not to molest him in the hour of his triumph. The bounds of the promised land were now fully occupied, though not even now so completely as if Israel had been faithful from the first. For, besides the scattered remnants of the old inhabitants, several of whom (as Ittai the Gittite, Uriah the Hittite, and others) were conspicuous among the king's great men; besides that the Philistines and others, who had been devoted to extermination, were only reduced to tribute; there was one fair province unsubdued, the whole coast of Phœnicia, the cities of which flourished under their native kings, the chief of whom was David's firm ally.

These extended limits were only preserved during the reigns of David and of Solomon, a period of about sixty years. For that time, however, the state formed no longer a petty monarchy, barely holding its own among the surrounding nations, as under Saul; but it was truly one of the great Oriental monarchies; too truly, indeed, for the magnificence of Solomon sapped its strength, and prepared its speedy dissolution. Meanwhile David's position is thus described by the prophet Nathan:—"Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, I took thee from the sheepcote, from following the sheep, to be ruler over my people, over Israel: and I was with thee whithersoever thou wentest, and have cut off all thine enemies out of thy sight, and have made thee a great name, like unto the name of the great men that are in the earth." Thus "David reigned over all Israel, and executed judgment and justice among all his people."

The constitution which David established for his kingdom was preserved, in its main forms, to the end of the monarchy.

I. *The Royal Family*.—We have already spoken of David's goodly progeny, which well entitled him to the epithet of "patriarch." The princes were under the charge of Jehiel, probably the Levite of that name: but, when Solomon was born, he was committed to the care of the prophet Nathan. The warm love of David for his sons was shown in an indulgence that was the proximate cause of the family calamities which were visited on him as a judgment for his one great sin. But those dark clouds had not yet gathered; and he had nothing to mar his pleasure in his children, two of whom, at least, Absalom and Adonijah, inherited his beauty.

II. *The Military Organization* was based on that of Saul.

(1.) "The *Host*" was composed, from the first formation of the nation in the desert, of all males capable of bearing arms, who were summoned to war by the judges or princes of tribes when the necessity arose. Saul formed a chosen band of 3000 as a standing army, the nucleus of the whole force, under ABNER, as commander-in-chief. The same post was held under David by JOAB, who won it by the capture of the citadel of Jerusalem. He led out the host to war when the king did not take the field in person. The standing organization was improved under David by the division of the whole host into twelve bodies of 24,000 each (288,000 in all), whose turn of service came every month, and each of which had a commander chosen from David's band of mighty men of valor. In accordance with the institution prescribed by Moses, the force was entirely of infantry: the 100 chariots reserved by David from the Syrians seem to have been only for purposes of state. The weapons constantly alluded to in the history and the Psalms are spears and shields, swords and bows. The use of body armor is mentioned in the story of Goliath.

(2.) The *Body-guard* was recruited to so great an extent from foreigners (and chiefly Philistines, a practice dating probably from David's exile) that the force bore a foreign name, like the *Scottish* archers and the *Swiss* guards of the French kings and the Pope. At least it seems most probable that "Cherethites and Pelethites" are proper names, the former of a Philistine tribe, and the latter a form of the word Philistines. They are mentioned in close connection with the "Gittites," a body of 600 men who came to David from Gath, under Ittai; but these seem only to have joined him on the special occasion of his flight from Absalom. The commander of the Cherethites and Pelethites was Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, the priest of the line of Eleazar.

(3.) The *Heroes*, or *Mighty Men* (*Gibborim*), were a peculiar and



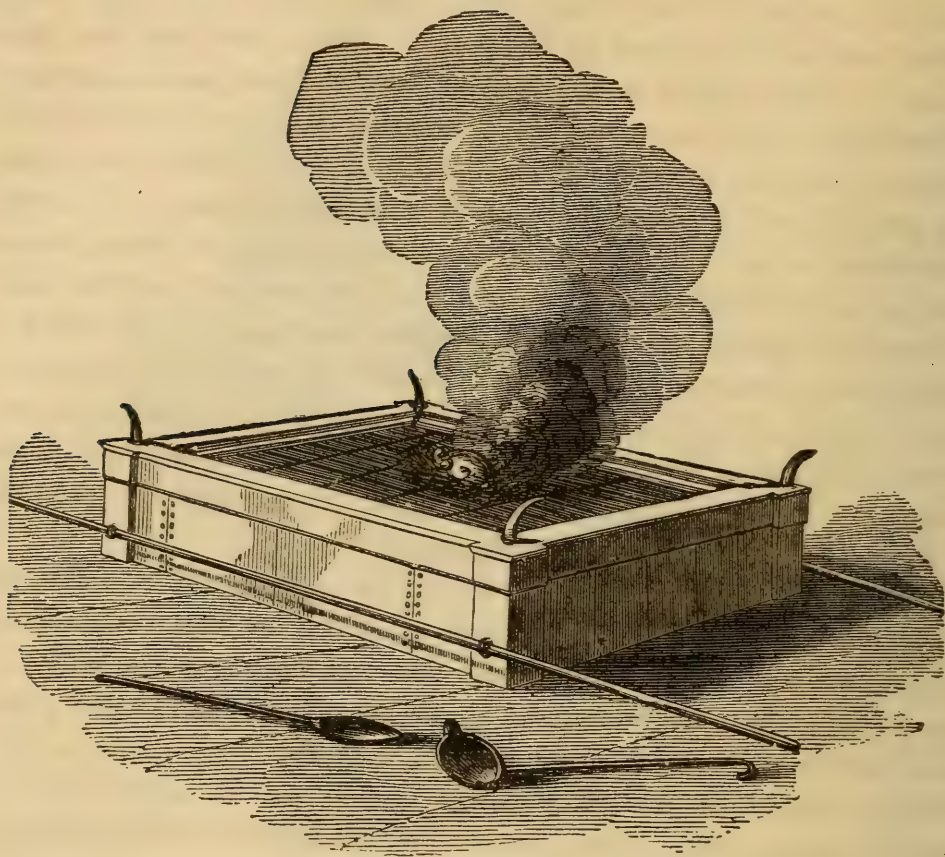
ALTAR OF BURNT-OFFERINGS.

favored body (like the *Cent Gardes* of Napoleon), composed originally of the 600 warriors who joined David in his exile, and afterward maintained at the same number. They were formed into three great divisions of 200 each, and thirty bands of twenty each, with their respective leaders. The captains of twenties formed "the thirty," and the commanders of two hundreds "the three," above whom was "the captain of the mighty men." This post was held by Abishai, the son of Zeruiah; but, though first in rank, he was inferior in prowess to "the three," who were Jashobeam (or Adino) the Hachmonite, Eleazar, son of Dodo the Ahohite, who was with David at Ephes-dammim, and Shammah, son of Agee the Hararite. We have also a list of "the thirty," some of whose names occur also in other passages: it opens with the name of Asahel, the brother of Joab, who was slain by Abner, and closes with that of Uriah the Hittite, who fell by the treachery of David himself.

III. The *Civil Administration* was conducted under the eyes of the king himself, assisted by a council, of which the chief members were Jonathan, the king's nephew, son of his brother Shimeah, who seems to have been his chief secretary; Ahithophel of Gilo, afterward so famous as Absalom's adviser; his rival Hushai the Archite, the king's "friend" or "companion;" Jehoiada, the son of Benaiah; and Zadok and Abiathar, the high-priests; together with Joab, and probably

Benaiah, whose military rank gave them, like Abner and David under Saul, a high place at the court. Then there were the great officers of state, Sheva or Seraiah, the "scribe" or public secretary; Jehoshaphat, the "recorder" or historian; Adoram; and Ira, the Jairite, who was "a chief ruler about David," with functions probably judicial, and the same rank was held by David's sons. The royal possessions in the fields, cities, villages, and castles, comprising farms, vineyards, olive and other trees, stores of wine and oil, herds of oxen and camels, and flocks of sheep, besides treasure, were intrusted to officers for each branch, all under a chief treasurer, Azmaveth, the son of Adiel. But a place was still found for the patriarchal government of the tribes, whose princes are enumerated; the prince of Judah being, not David himself, but his brother Elihu (doubtless the same as Eliab) by the right of primogeniture.

IV. The *Religious Institutions* were in part mixed up with the constitution of the monarchy itself. Like Saul and some of the judges, we see David offering sacrifices—an apparent usurpation of the priestly office, to be explained, perhaps, by the patriarchal priesthood, which was vested in the chief of a family, and, therefore, by a natural analogy in the chief of the state; and he even gives the priestly benediction. But his peculiar character, as the religious head of the state, is seen in his inspiration as a prophet and psalmist. "*Being a prophet*," as St. Peter explicitly declared, he foretold, in plainer and more glowing language than any that had yet been used, those great events, of which the whole ceremonial of the Jewish Church, and even his own kingdom, were but types, "the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." As a prophet too, he taught the people those principles of religious and moral truth of which the Psalms are full, and which, in the Proverbs, were to a great extent learnt by Solomon from him. As "the sweet Psalmist of Israel," who said of himself, "The Spirit of Jehovah spoke by me, and his word was in my tongue," it was his peculiar honor, not only for the Jewish Church, but for the Church Universal to the end of time, to direct that part of God's worship which is the best utterance of the heart, the tuneful notes of praise, inseparably blended with prayer and with the utterance of divine truth. His pre-eminence in this respect is unaffected by the doubts about the authorship of many of the Psalms. A great truth is expressed by the common title which names the whole book "The Psalms of David;" for he founded psalmody as an institution, taught it to Asaph and his immediate successors, and gave the model which all later psalmists followed.

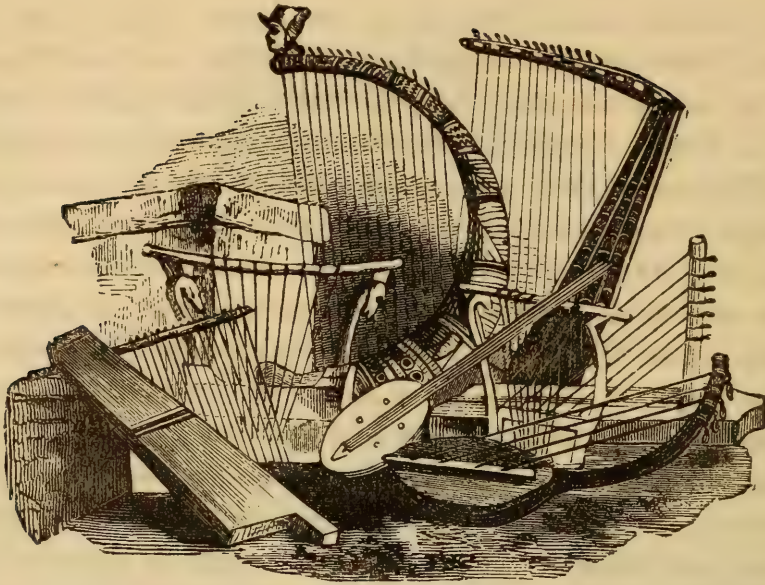


ALTAR OF SACRIFICE.

While he thus furnished the matter of psalmody, he regulated its manner, by arranging for the first time a full choral service. To this office David, in conjunction with the chiefs of the Levites, set apart three families, one from each of the three houses of the tribe, the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites. They were *prophets* as well as singers, “to prophesy with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals;” and they handed down their art from generation to generation by a systematic course of instruction, “the teacher as well as the scholar.” These families were those of ASAPH, the son of Berechiah the Gershonite, the chief singer, and also distinguished as a seer; of HEMAN the Kohathite, son of Joel, and grandson of the prophet Samuel, and himself “the king’s seer in the words of God;” and of JEDUTHUN (or Ethan), a Merarite, who is also called “the king’s seer.” The names of each of these leaders are found in the titles of particular Psalms; and the tripartite division was observed till the Captivity, and probably restored after the return. At first they were divided between the ark at Jerusalem and the tabernacle at Gibeon, the family of Asaph being assigned to the former, and

those of Heman and Jeduthun to the latter. The three families numbered 288 principal singers, divided by lot into twenty-four courses of twelve in each; but the total of the Levites engaged in praising Jehovah "with the instruments which David made" was 4000. The rest of the Levites, amounting to 34,000, were arranged into the three families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Six thousand bore the dignity of officers and judges, 4000 were set apart to the humbler office of doorkeepers, and the general service of the sanctuary, "the work of the house of Jehovah," was committed to the remaining 24,000. They were relieved of the hardest part of that work, the carrying the tabernacle and its vessels, now that God had given rest to his people, to dwell at Jerusalem forever; and as the offices which remained, though numerous, were comparatively light, David assigned them to the Levites above *twenty* years, though the census was still taken according to the ancient standard of *thirty* and upward. Their offices were to wait on the priests for the service of the house of Jehovah, purifying the holy place and the holy things, preparing the shew-bread and the meat-offerings, praising God at the morning and evening service, and assisting in offering the burnt sacrifices on the Sabbaths and the stated feasts.

For the higher duties allotted by the law of Moses to the priesthood, the sons of Aaron were arranged according to the two houses of Eleazar and Ithamar; his two elder sons, Nadab and Abihu, having died childless for their profanity. We have seen that Eleazar succeeded his father as high-priest; but it is clear that the head of the house of Ithamar was in some sense co-heir to the office. In the person and family of Eli this state of things was reversed: the high-priesthood was vested in the house of Ithamar; while that of Eleazar did not abdicate its claims. So, under David, we find both Zadok and Abiathar recognized as priests, the former being named first, by the right of primogeniture, while the latter actually held the office of high-priest. This double priesthood was in fact connected with a twofold service; Zadok ministering at the old tabernacle in Gibeon, and Abiathar before the ark at Jerusalem. By the census taken toward the close of David's reign, it appeared that the families of the house of Eleazar were twice as many as those of the house of Ithamar, there being sixteen of the former and eight of the latter. The twenty-four chiefs of these families were made the heads of twenty-four "courses," who were arranged in order by lot for the performance of the services of the sanctuary, and named ever afterward from their present chiefs. The courses were as follows:—



ANCIENT MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

1. Jehoiarib.	7. Hakkoz.	13. Huppoh.	19. Pethahiah.
2. Jedaiah.	8. Abijah.	14. Jeshebeah.	20. Jehezekel.
3. Harim.	9. Jeshuah.	15. Bilgah.	21. Jachin.
4. Seorim.	10. Shecaniah.	16. Immer.	22. Gamul.
5. Malchijah.	11. Eliashib.	17. Hezir.	23. Delaiah.
6. Mijamin.	12. Jakim.	18. Aphses.	24. Mahaziah.

To the eighth course (that of Abijah, or Abia) belonged Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist. The term for which each course was on duty is not expressly stated; but from the analogy of the service of the porters, and from the testimony of the Jewish writers, it seems to have been weekly, beginning on the Sabbath, the services of the week being arranged among the members of the course by lot. The twenty-four courses of singers were associated respectively with those of the priests.

These arrangements formed the model of the Temple service under Solomon, except that the separate worship of Gibeon was discontinued; and the house of Ithamar was finally excluded from the high-priesthood by the deposition of Abiathar.

Lastly, a special intercourse was maintained by David with Jehovah through the *prophets*; first, SAMUEL, who anointed him, and afterward protected him at Ramah; next GAD, who joined him in his exile; and lastly, NATHAN, the counsellor of his throne, and faithful reprover of his grievous sins.

Thus established in his kingdom, David had no further fear of rivalry from the house of Saul, and he was anxious to find an opportunity of performing his covenant with Jonathan. He learnt from

Ziba, who had been one of Saul's courtiers, that Mephibosheth, the lame son of Jonathan, was living in the house of Machir at Lo-debar; and, having sent for him, he restored to him all the land of Saul and his family. Committing the charge of this property to Ziba, David retained Mephibosheth at Jerusalem, and gave him a place at the royal table, like his own sons. We do not know how long afterward, but probably earlier than it stands in the order of the narrative, the king protected Mephibosheth from a great danger. The land was visited with a famine for three years; the cause of which was declared by the oracle of Jehovah to be "for Saul and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." This massacre in shameful violation of the oath of Joshua and the elders of Israel, was one of those acts of passionate zeal in which Saul tried to drown the remorse of his later years. In reply to David's offer of satisfaction, the Gibeonites demanded the lives of seven of Saul's sons; and the king gave up to them the two sons of Saul by his concubine Rizpah, and the five sons that Michal had borne to Adriel, to whom she was married when Saul took her from David. These seven were hanged by the Gibeonites on the hill of Gibeah, Saul's own city. They hung there from the beginning of barley harvest till the rains set in, though the law provided that, in such cases, the bodies should be buried by sunset. But Rizpah took her station upon the rock, with only a covering of sackcloth, to keep the bodies from the birds of prey by day and from the wild beasts by night, till the rain began to fall. Touched with her devotion, David caused their remains to be taken down and interred in the sepulchre of Kish at Zelah, together with the bones of Saul and Jonathan, which he transported from Jabesh-gilead. Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, whom David had refused to give up to the Gibeonites, was now the sole survivor of the house of Saul, with his infant son Micah, through whom the family was continued to the latest period of the nation's history. We hear of him again before the end of David's reign.

It has been observed that this famine was the first of those three great adversities of David's reign which are described in the alternative proposed by the prophet Nathan: a three years' famine, a three months' flight, or a three days' pestilence; when David, having had bitter experience of the first two, chose the third, as a dispensation direct from God.

This first period of David's reign is marked by another
B. C. 1036. great success in war, and, in connection therewith, by the fall which embittered the rest of his life, and which, as the prophet

declared at the time, has ever since "given great occasion to the enemies of Jehovah to blaspheme." NAHASH, king of the children of Ammon, who had been David's ally, and some suppose his relation, died, leaving the throne to his son Hanun. David sent an embassy of condolence and friendship to the new king; but Hanun, persuaded by his counsellors that the ambassadors only came as spies, sent them back with shameful personal insults. In anticipation of David's vengeance, the Ammonite obtained help from the Syrians of Beth-rehob, Zobah, Maacah, and Ish-tob, who joined him with 33,000 men. On the other side, Joab took the field, with all the host of Israel. A decisive battle was fought before Rabbah, the capital of Ammon. While the Israelites had followed the Beni-ammi up to the gates, the Syrian allies had enclosed them in the rear. Joab took front against the Syrians, with all the chosen warriors of Israel, leaving the rest under Abishai to make head against the Beni-ammi. The Syrians were routed, and the Ammonites then fled, and shut themselves up in their city, while Joab returned to Jerusalem. The defeated Syrians formed a grand confederacy under Hadarezer, with their brethren beyond the Euphrates; but David crossed the Jordan with the whole force of Israel, and defeated them in a pitched battle, in which they lost 7000 charioteers, 40,000 infantry, and their captain, Shophach. The Syrians became tributary to David, and abandoned the cause of Ammon.

The next year, at the return of the campaigning season, Joab again took the field, and ravaged the lands of the Beni-ammi, and shut them up in Rabbah, their chief city, and a strongly fortified place. David remained at Jerusalem; and if this inaction arose from a growing inclination to a luxurious enjoyment of his royal estate, his self-indulgence led him into a terrible temptation and wrought his fall. In the restlessness which follows a day of such indolence, he rose one evening from his bed to enjoy a walk upon the roof of his lofty palace of cedar, which overlooked the women's court of a neighboring house; and there he saw a fair woman in her bath, and became at once enamored. On inquiry, he found that she was BATHSHEBA (or Bathshua), the daughter of Eliam (or Ammiel), son of his counsellor, Ahithophel, and the wife of one of his "thirty mighty men," Uriah the Hittite, who was then fighting the king's battles under Joab. Such a discovery might have checked the passion even of a heathen despot, but David fell; and, when the consequence of his crime exposed himself to discovery and Bathsheba to a shameful death, the king, after a vain attempt to conceal his guilt, which only showed more of the noble

nature of the man he had outraged, added treacherous murder to his adultery. He made Uriah the bearer of his own death-warrant to Joab, who exposed the brave man to a sally from the best warriors of the Ammonites, and he fell in happy ignorance of his sovereign's guilt and his own wrongs. The artifice was kept up by a message from Joab to the king, excusing the apparent rashness of his attack by the significant conclusion, "Thy servant, Uriah the Hittite is dead also," and the messenger was sent back to comfort Joab with a cold-blooded allusion to the fortune of war. After the customary mourning for her husband, Bathsheba, who seems throughout to have consented to the sin, was taken to the house of David, and became his wife, and soon afterward bore him a son.

Thus far man's share in this drama of lust and blood.
B. C. 1034.

But now another voice is heard: "THE THING THAT DAVID HAD DONE DISPLEASED JEHOVAH." He sent the prophet Nathan to the king with that well-known parable of the rich man, who spared his own abundant flocks and herds, and seized for his guest the one ewe-lamb of the poor man, his darling and his children's pet. Our surprise that David's conscience was not at once awakened may yield to the consideration that his heart was not yet hardened in guilt, so that his natural sense of justice broke forth in the indignant sentence, "As Jehovah liveth, the man that hath done this thing is a son of death;" and he was going on to describe the restitution he would exact, when the lips of Nathan uttered those words, which have from that day been echoed by every sinner's awakened conscience, "THOU ART THE MAN!" Then the prophet pronounced the sentence of the King of kings on him who had just been sentencing the unknown culprit. Reproaching David with his ingratitude for all that Jehovah had done and would yet have done for him, he denounced the appropriate punishment; that, as his sword had broken up the house of Uriah, the sword should never depart from his own house; and that, as he had outraged the sanctities of domestic life, his own should be likewise outraged, but with the difference which God always makes between the secret sin and the public punishment: "For thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and before the sun." Then follow the few simple words of repentance and forgiveness: "And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned against Jehovah. And Nathan said unto David, Jehovah also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die." But the path of repentance, however plain, is a "strait and narrow way," and how David "agonized" to enter into it, we may

read in the 51st Psalm. In the bitterness of his anguish, as well as in the fulness of his pardon, David once more appears as the type of the sinning, suffering, repenting, and forgiven man, who has ever since found in that one psalm the perfect utterance of his deepest feelings. But even the "godly sorrow which worketh repentance unto life," does not avert the temporal consequences of sin, whether in the form of its natural fruits or of special judgments. And so Nathan not only does not recall the woes denounced on David's house, which were in part the natural consequence of his polygamy, and of that weak parental indulgence which has been the besetting sin of many a great man, but he goes on to declare a special punishment for that consequence of David's sin which we still see in action: "Because by this deed thou hast given great occasion to the enemies of Jehovah to blaspheme, the child also that is born unto thee shall surely die." And now David was called to prove the sincerity of his repentance by his submission to the punishment which began to work. No sooner had Nathan gone home, than God struck the newborn child with a mortal sickness; and David prayed and fasted, and lay all night on the ground, refusing all comfort from his attendants. On the seventh day David learnt the child's death from the whisperings of the courtiers, who feared to crush him with the news. To their great surprise, he put off all signs of mourning, went to worship in the house of God, and then sat down to eat; explaining to his attendants that, while there remained any hope of the child's life, he fasted and wept in the forlorn hope that God might yet grant him its life; but now mourning could not bring it back from the dead; and he added those memorable words, which we cannot but understand as expressing the higher hopes, with which they have so often been echoed by bereaved Christian parents: "*I shall go to him; but he shall not return to me.*" And "God, who comforteth them that are cast down," ordained that his relation to Bathsheba should be the source not only of comfort to David himself, but of glory to his kingdom, and of blessing to all generations of mankind, by the birth of a son, whom he named SOLOMON, in memory of the *peace* which was established at the same time, and whom, at the command of Nathan, he also named JEDIDIAH (beloved of Jehovah), in token of the special favor which God showed him from his birth. He became the successor of David, and the progenitor of the Messiah, of whose kingdom, as "the Prince of Peace," his peaceful reign was a conspicuous type.

The peace, which the name of Solomon commemorates, had been



THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT.

established by the final conquest of the Ammonites. Joab, having reduced Rabbah to the last extremities by taking the lower city, with its waters, reserved the honor of the victory for David, who marched out at the head of all Israel and took the city. He placed on his own head the sacred crown, called the "crown of Milcolm (or Moloch)," weighing a talent of gold, and set with precious stones, and added the spoil of the city to the treasures prepared for the house of God. The long resistance of the city, and the insult which had provoked the war, were punished by a cruel massacre, in which all

the cities of the Beni-ammi were involved. "David brought out the people, and put them under (or, cut them with) saws, and harrows of iron, and axes, and made them pass through the brick-kiln," the fire, perhaps, through which their children passed "to their grim idol."

The triumphant return of David and his army to Jerusalem concludes the first period of his reign, the glory of which is overshadowed by that great sin, the punishment of which was to render its second part so disastrous.

Before his marriage with Bathsheba, David had sixteen
B. C. 1030. sons, who lived as princes among the people, each in his own house. Only three of them are of any note in history: the eldest, AMNON, son of Ahinoam of Jezreel; the third, ABSALOM, son of Maacah of Geshur; and the fourth, ADONIJAH, son of Haggith. For the precedence due to Amnon as the first-born he was likely to have a formidable rival in Absalom, whose mother was a king's daughter, and who was himself unequalled for beauty among the people. But we do not hear of any jealousy or dissension among the king's sons till the following occasion led to fatal results. Absalom had a sister named Tamar, who shared his beauty, and of whom Amnon became so violently enamored that he fell sick. Marriage with a half-sister was forbidden by the Mosaic law, though Tamar, in pleading with Amnon, suggested that David might have consented to that alternative to avoid the crime which Amnon effected by a base stratagem. Amnon incurred the anger of David, who probably spared his life because he was his first-born, and the hatred of Absalom, who waited in silence an opportunity for revenge. When two years had thus passed, Absalom invited the king with all his sons, and Amnon in particular, to a sheep-shearing feast at Baal-hazor, on the border of Ephraim. David seems to have had suspicions, even after such an interval of time; but in the end he consented to his son's going, though he himself remained at home. Amid the mirth of the feast, Absalom's servants, having received their orders beforehand, slew Amnon when he was merry with wine. The king's sons fled, preceded by the rumor that they were all slain; but they soon arrived, weeping for Amnon, when the king and all his servants joined them in their mourning. Absalom fled to his grandfather, Talmai, king of Geshur, and remained there three years; while David, comforted for the irrecoverable fate of Amnon, grieved for the loss of his living son.

To end this state of things, Joab employed a "wise woman" of

Tekoah (afterward the birthplace of the prophet Amos), who appeared before the king in mourning, with a fictitious tale similar to the case of his own family. One of her two sons, she said, had slain the other in a quarrel, and all the family demanded the death of the homicide, which would leave her childless, and cut off her husband's name. When the king promised her protection, she applied the parable to him, and reproved him because he did not "fetch home again his banished." She enforced her request by the oft-quoted proverb, "We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again," and pleaded that God, in sparing the young man's life, had given the means for his recall. Learning from the woman by whom she had been prompted, David sent for Joab, and bade him bring back Absalom, whom however the king refused to see. Absalom dwelt for two years in his house at Jerusalem with his three sons, and his beautiful daughter Tamâr, gaining favor with the people by his handsome person. There can be no doubt that he was already meditating, perhaps not the dethronement of his father, but his own association in the kingdom as his heir. At length, impatient of his exclusion from the court,



DAVID PARDONS ABSALOM.

he sent for Joab, who was too cautious to go to him; upon which Absalom compelled him to come by setting fire to one of his fields of standing corn. Joab interceded with the king, who received his son and gave him the kiss of peace. We may suppose that the interview put an end to Absalom's hopes of sharing his father's throne, for he now began to prepare for rebellion. He surrounded himself with a body of fifty foot-runners, besides chariots and horsemen; and, taking his station beside the city gate, he met the suitors who came to the king with expressions of his regret that their causes were neglected, and with the wish that he were judge over the land, to give them redress, while every reverence made to him was returned with an embrace. "So Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel." This may partly be accounted for by the common love of change, and impatience at long-continued prosperity; but, besides this, Absalom's

unchecked proceedings prove that David was not living as of old in sight of the people—a certain cause of loss of popularity; the affair of Bathsheba, though only known in part, and his treatment of Absalom, may have bred discontent; and it has been conjectured, from the choice of Hebron as the head-quarters of the rebellion, that the men of Judah were offended at finding themselves merged with the other tribes. Absalom's chief captain and chief counsellor, Amasa and Ahithophel, were of that tribe, and there are symptoms of discord between Judah and the other tribes at the time of the king's return.

When the plot was ripe, Absalom obtained leave from the king to go to Hebron, the ancient sanctuary of his tribe, to pay a vow which he had made at Geshur in case he should return to Jerusalem. He took with him 200 men, not yet privy to his design, and sent round secret messengers to all the tribes, warning the adherents whom we have seen him gaining at Jerusalem that the trumpet would give the signal of his having been proclaimed king at Hebron. But perhaps his most prudent step was his sending for Ahithophel, David's most able counsellor, from his own city of Giloh. It is natural to suppose that Ahithophel had resented David's conduct to his grand-daughter Bathsheba; and his absence from Jerusalem, to sacrifice at his own city, may have been but a preparation for joining Absalom.

The first news of the conspiracy reached David as
B. C. 1023. tidings of its success. He at once resolved to fly from Jerusalem, lest the city should be stormed, and his servants consented. His departure from Jerusalem is related with a minuteness to which we have no parallel in the Scripture history of any single day, except that of which this was the type, when the Son of David, betrayed by "his own familiar friend," and rejected by his own people, went out by the same path "bearing his reproach." It was early in the morning when the king, leaving his palace in the care of his ten concubines, went forth by the eastern gate with all his household and a crowd of people; for there were still many who showed him the deepest attachment. Among his faithful guard of Cherethites and Pelethites, and his chosen heroes, the 600 who had followed him ever since his residence at Gath, was Ittai the Gittite. David released him and his countrymen from their allegiance; but Ittai vowed that he would follow the king in life or death, and David bade him lead the way. They passed over the brook Kidron (the Cedron of the New Testament), by the way that led over the Mount of Olives to Jericho and the wilderness, while "all the country wept with a loud voice." As David halted in the valley to let the people pass on, he was joined by

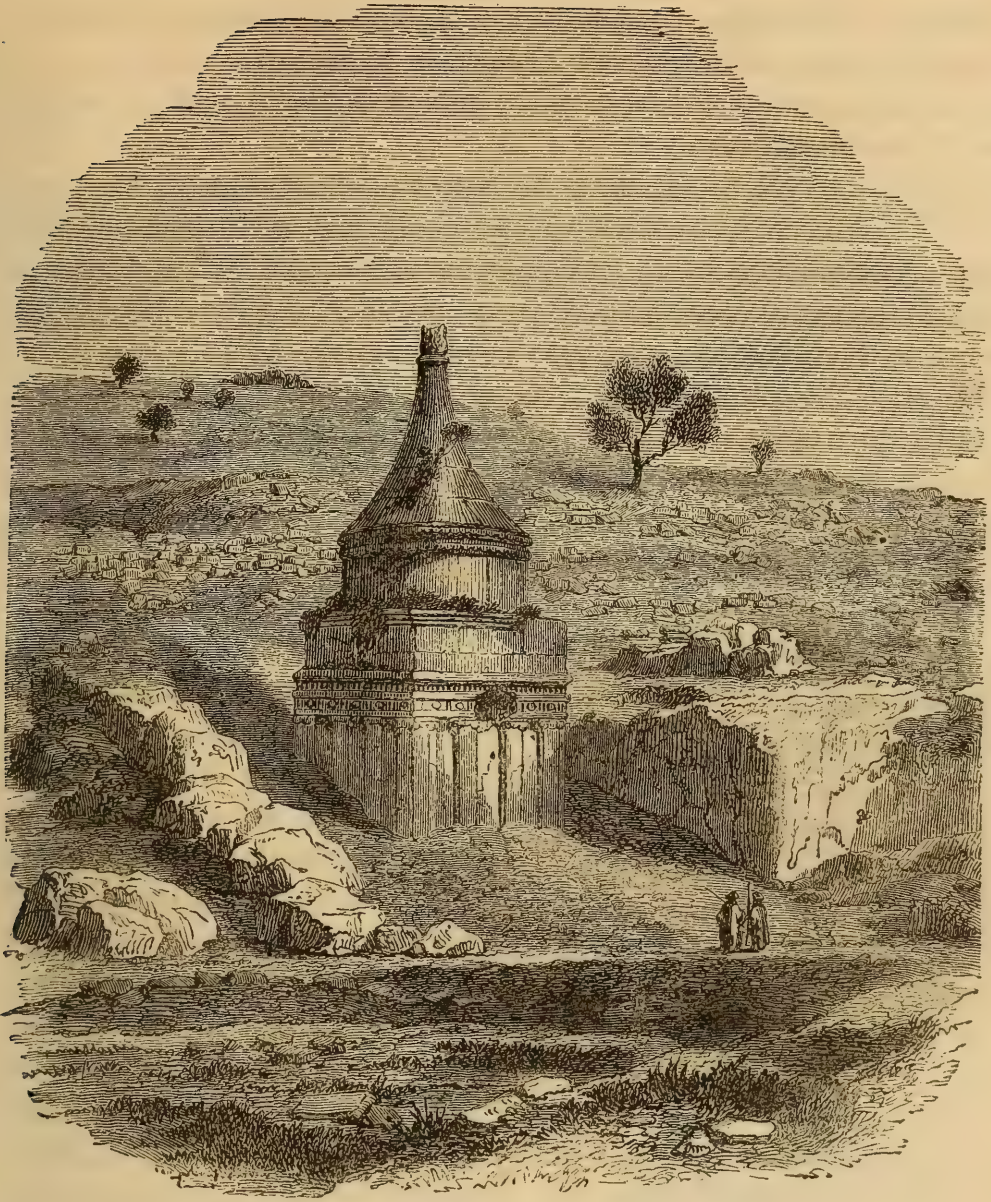
Zadok and Abiathar, with all the Levites, bringing with them the ark of God. With self-renouncing reverence, David refused to have the ark removed, for his sake, from the sanctuary where he had fixed its abode, and exposed to share his perils. If Jehovah willed to show him favor, he would bring him back to see both the ark and his habitation; if not—"Behold here am I! let him do to me as seemeth good to him!" He reminded the priests that they could do him effectual service in the city by employing their two sons, who were both swift runners, to bring him tidings, and so he sent them back with the ark. The weeping troop then ascended the Mount of Olives in the garb of the deepest mourning, the king himself walking bare-foot; and just as the grief reached its height, at the last view of the towers of Jerusalem, word was brought to David that Ahithophel was among the conspirators. He had scarcely uttered the prayer that God would turn the wise counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness, when the means of its fulfilment was presented. At the summit of the mount, he was met by his other counsellor and chosen "friend," Hushai the Archite, in the garb of mourning. David bade him to return into the city and offer his services to Absalom, in order to defeat the counsel of Ahithophel, and to place himself in communication with Zadok and Abiathar, whose sons would bring his messages to the king. Hushai returned to Jerusalem just as Absalom was entering the city, and was received by him with taunts for his desertion of his "friend," which must have confirmed him in his purpose, though he answered them with professions of fidelity to his new master as the chosen of Jehovah and of Israel.

Meanwhile, just at the height of noon, David passed over the brow of the hill into the territory of Benjamin, where he found himself among the friends of Saul. One of these, Ziba, the servant of Mephibosheth, met David, with two asses laden with refreshments, and by an artful story of his master's treason, obtained a gift of all his property. The other member of the house of Saul, Shimei, the son of Gera, a native of Bahurim, came out from that village as David passed by, and pelted him and his retinue with stones, cursing him as the bloody murderer of Saul's house. Abishai would have avenged the insult; but the king, with an outburst of impatience at the overbearing sons of Zeruah, let him curse on, as the messenger of the curse of God—a submission which seems to express the voice of David's conscience for the murder of Uriah. And what was there, he asked, so strange in the curses of a Benjamite when his own son sought his life? Uttering a hope that Jehovah would requite him

good for this cursing, he suffered the man to continue his insults down the hill-side. At the close of the day he reached the Jordan, and rested at its fords, the place he had appointed with the priests. Here they were roused at midnight by Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, and Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, who had narrowly escaped with their lives, bringing a warning to cross the river the same night.

For the day had been a busy one at Jerusalem. Absalom had no sooner entered the city than, by the advice of Ahithophel—who acted on the favorite maxim of conspirators, to commit their party by some unpardonable crime—he perpetrated the outrage which had been foretold by the prophet Nathan. Ahithophel's next advice proved the sagacity for which he was unrivalled. He proposed to pursue David with 12,000 chosen men, and to fall upon him when weary and dispirited: his followers would be sure to fly, the king's life only should be sacrificed, and the rest would return and dwell in peace. Absalom and the elders of Israel did not shrink from the atrocity of the scheme, but it was thought better first to consult Hushai. With consummate art, he inspired Absalom with the fear that David had chosen some hiding-place, where he and his men of war would be found chafing like a bear robbed of her whelps; and the first pursuers would certainly be smitten with an overthrow which would cause a panic through all the land. Let Absalom rather gather the whole multitude of Israel from Dan to Beersheba, and take the field in person, with the certainty of falling upon David as the dew covers all the ground; or, if he had taken refuge in a city, the force of Israel would drag it bodily with ropes into the river. The result was that which is usual with councils of war. The more daring plan, and the first thoughts, which are generally best, were abandoned for the "safer" course: "For Jehovah had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that Jehovah might bring evil upon Absalom."

Before, however, this decision was fully taken, Hushai advised the priests to send David warning of the plan of Ahithophel. On receiving it, as we have seen, David crossed the Jordan, with all his people, before the morning, and took up his abode at Mahanaim, the very place which had been the capital of his rival, Ish-bosheth, while he himself reigned at Hebron. Here he was visited by Shobi, the son of Nahash, whom David had no doubt set up as a vassal king of Ammon, in place of his brother Hanem, and by Machir, the former protector of Mephibosheth, and by Barzillai the Gileadite, of Rogelim, whose touching farewell is recorded later. These faithful friends brought him all the supplies needful for the rest and refreshment of his exhausted followers.



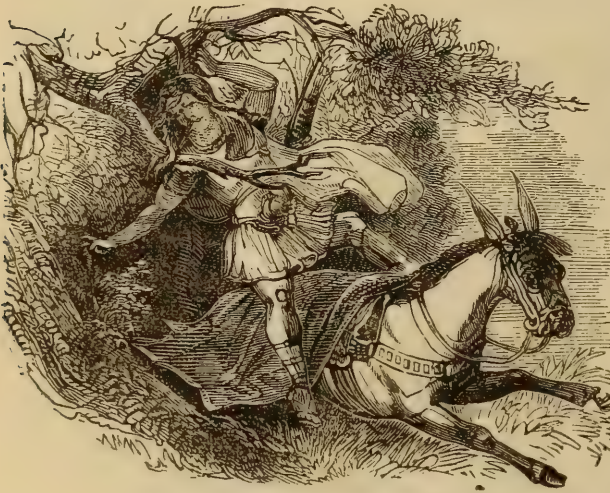
TOMB OF ABSALOM IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT.

Meanwhile Hushai was without a rival at the court of Absalom. Ahithophel was so mortified at the rejection of his advice, and so convinced of the consequent ruin of Absalom's party, that he took his departure to his native city; and, having set his house in order, he hanged himself, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers. His name has passed into a byword for the truth that "God taketh the wise in his own craftiness;" and his unscrupulous treason forbids all sympathy with his fate. Absalom assumed the royal state, and was solemnly anointed as king. Joab's office of captain of the host was conferred by him upon Amasa, the son of Ithra by Abigail, the

daughter of Nahash, step-daughter to Jesse, and sister to Zeruiah: he was half-cousin to David, and own cousin to Joab and Abishai. Absalom then crossed the Jordan in pursuit of David, and pitched his camp in Mount Gilead.

B. C. 1023. David prepared to receive the attack with his usual skill. He divided his forces into three bodies, under

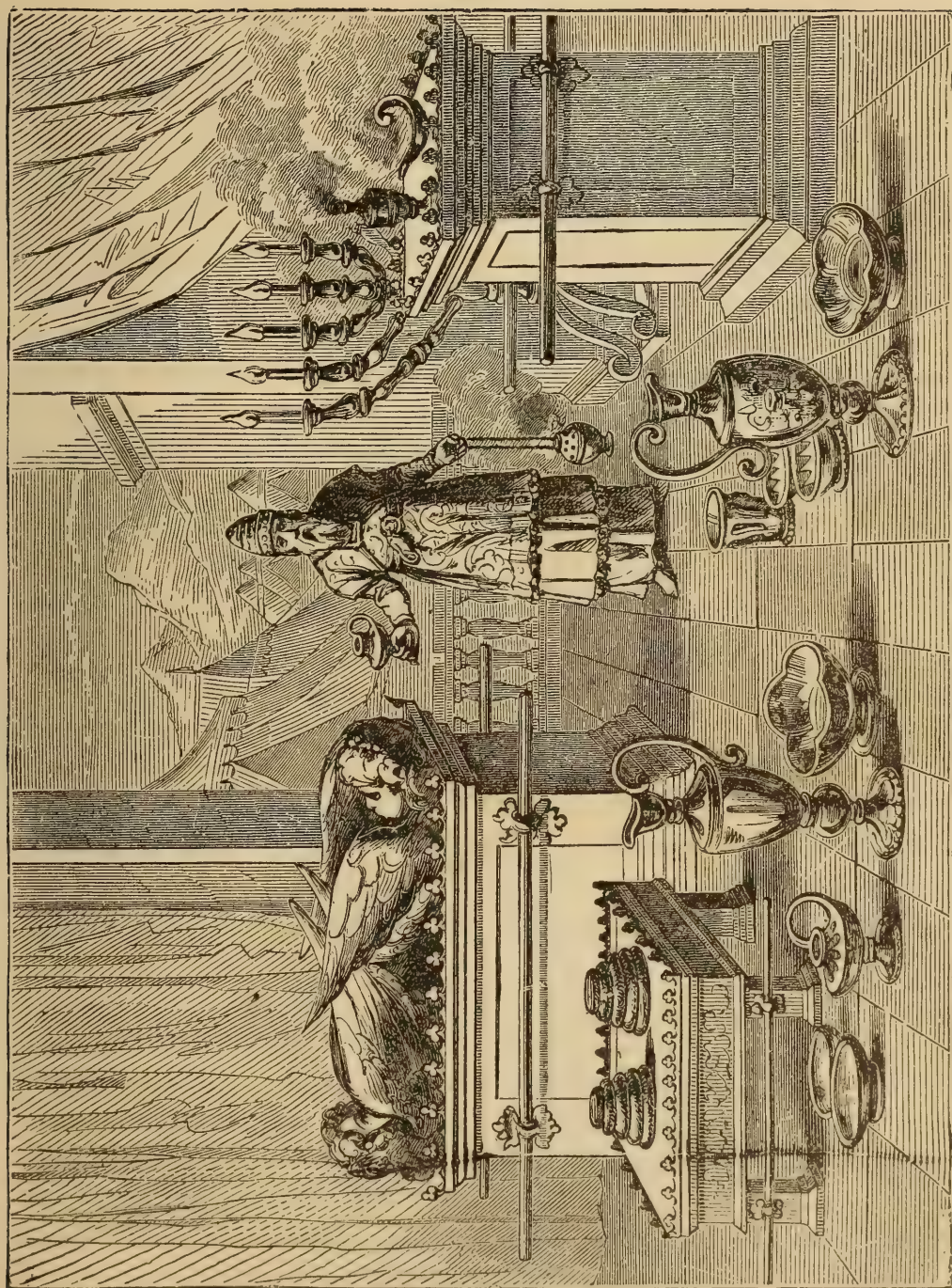
Joab, Abishai, and Ittai; and yielding to the people's entreaties, he himself remained to hold out the city in case of a defeat. Confident, however, in his tried veterans, and still more in the help of God, he was chiefly solicitous for the safety of his rebellious son. "Deal gently, for my sake, with the young man, even with Absalom," was his charge to the captains in the hearing of all the people, as he sat in the gate to see them march out to the battle. The armies met in "the forest of Ephraim," in Mount Gilead, where the entangled



DEATH OF ABSALOM.

ground was most unfavorable to the untrained hosts of Absalom. They were overthrown with a slaughter of 20,000 men, more of whom perished in the defiles of the forest than in the battle itself; if that might be called a battle, which consisted in a number of partial combats spread over the face of the country. Amid this scattered fight, Absalom was separated from

his men; and as he fled from a party of the enemy, the mule on which he rode carried him beneath the low branches of a spreading terebinth, and left him hanging by the luxuriant hair which formed his pride. The first soldier who came up spared his life, because of the king's command, and went to tell Joab. The unscrupulous chief hurried to the spot, and thrust three javelins into Absalom's heart, while his ten armor-bearers joined in dispatching him. Having sounded the trumpet of recall, Joab took down the body and cast it into a pit, over which the people raised a great heap of stones, as a mark of execration; a burial which the historian contrasts with the splendid monument which Absalom had prepared for himself in Shaveh, or the "King's Dale."



FURNITURE OF THE TEMPLE.

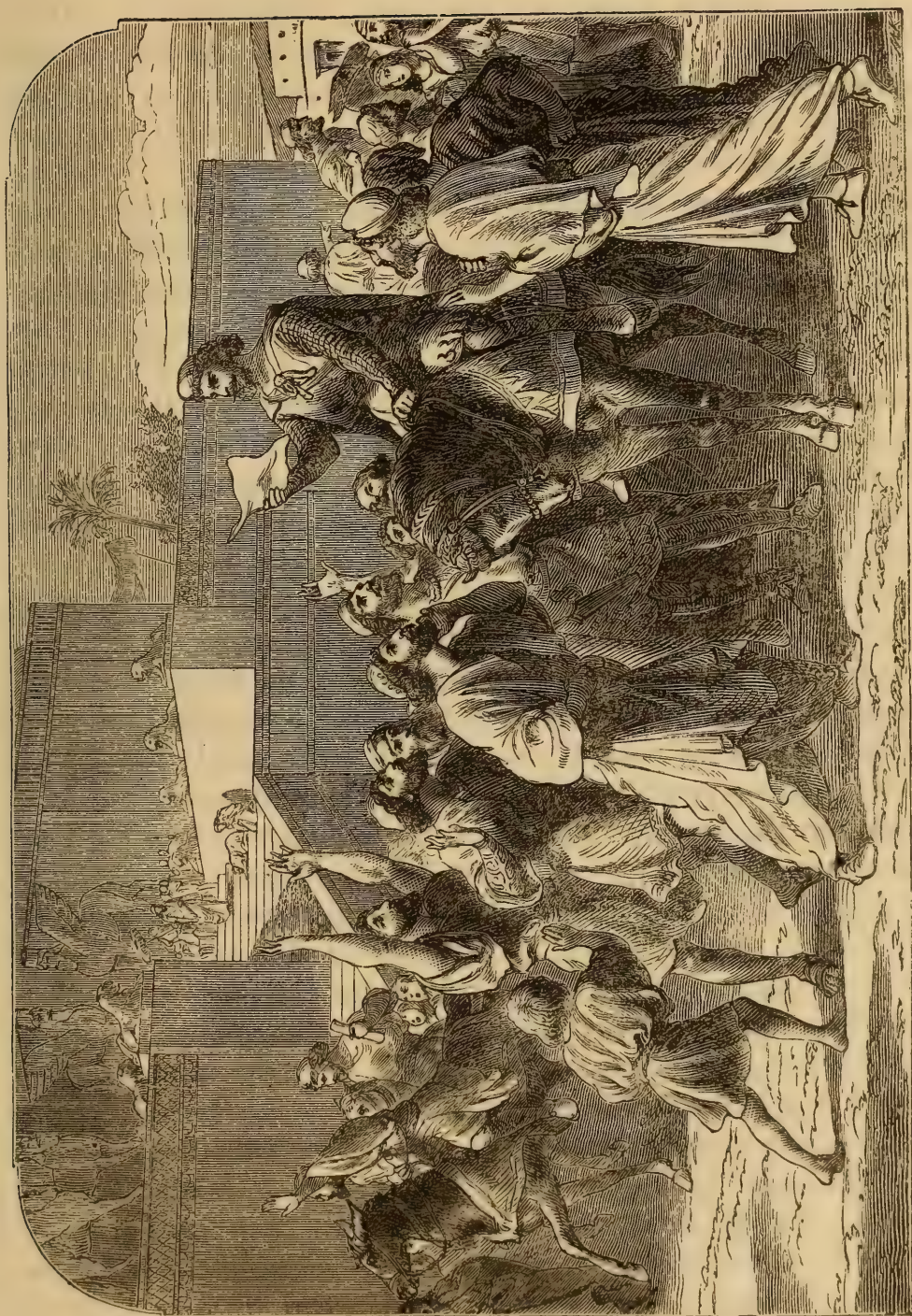
David waited at Mahanaim with an impatience which his knowledge of Joab must have rendered doubly painful. Joab's manner of sending the message has been explained from a desire, which even he felt, to spare the feelings of Ahimaaz, the young friend and messenger of the king. Bidding him wait till the morrow, Joab sent a Cushite follower of his own unknown to the court, with no other orders than to tell what he had seen. The blunt soldier, conscious of having done the king good service even by his disobedience, makes no attempt to break the news. But Ahimaaz was more considerate. Having prevailed on Joab to let him run after the Cushite, he outstripped him by his better knowledge of the ground. David was sitting in the gateway of Mahanaim, when the watchman on the tower above announced first one, and then a second runner. He presently recognized Ahimaaz by his style of running, and David felt sure that his favorite messenger must bring good tidings. And so at first it seemed; for he offered his breathless congratulations on the king's deliverance from his enemies. But the eager question, "Is the young man Absalom safe?" was evaded by the mention of some strange confusion that prevailed when the runner left. Before the king had time to ascertain his meaning, the Cushite entered with his news of the victory. The inquiry about Absalom was repeated, and called forth the answer, "The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man!" Then burst the floodgates of a father's heart. No scene in all history appeals to deeper feelings, and none is related in such simple and pathetic words as this:—"And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!"

The king's grief turned the victory into mourning, and the people stole back into the city like the remnants of a defeated army. David shut himself up, repeating the same mournful cry. The hand that had struck the blow roused him from his grief. Joab went into his presence, and upbraided him with lamenting for his enemies, instead of encouraging his friends, who would soon be driven away by his neglect. Most had already dispersed to their tents, but they returned on hearing that David had resumed his post at the gate of Mahanaim. Confusion prevailed throughout the tribes. They remembered that it was David who had delivered them from the Philistines; and, now that Absalom, their anointed king, was dead, they asked each other, "Why speak ye not a word of bringing the king back?" At this

crisis David sent for the priests, Zadok and Abiathar. Through them he appealed to the tribe of Judah, as his brethren, while he promised to make Amasa captain of the host in the place of Joab. The tribe, thus gained over as one man, invited him to cross the Jordan, and met him at the ancient camp of Gilgal. David's triumphant return is related as fully as his sad departure. With the men of Judah came a thousand Benjamites under Shimei, who was eager to make his peace with his insulted king; and Ziba, with his fifteen sons and twenty servants, crossed the river to anticipate his master's claim for restitution. The ferry-boat, which carried over the king and his household, had scarcely touched the shore, when Shimei fell down before him to confess his guilt and entreat pardon, which was granted, with another impatient rebuke of Abishai's remonstrances. The clemency, which David deemed becoming to the hour of victory, was sound policy toward Benjamin. He swore to preserve Shimei's life, but he kept a close watch on a man who had proved so dangerous, and warned Solomon against him on his death-bed; and Shimei justified David's distrust and provoked his own fate, by a new act of disobedience.

David was next met by Mephibosheth, whose supposed ingratitude was only noticed by a gentle rebuke. Mephibosheth, however, had a different tale to tell from that of Ziba, whom he accused of having compelled him to remain at Jerusalem while he went to slander him to the king. But he submitted all to David's disposal, since his life had been spared, when all Saul's family were but dead men; and now he had come to meet the king in the deep mourning which he had worn since his departure. Ziba seems not to have denied the truth of Mephibosheth's statement; but David, weary of the case, and unwilling to leave any one discontented on that joyful day, divided the property between Ziba and Mephibosheth, who thus received half when he thought he had lost the whole.

The most affecting incident of the day was the farewell of Barzillai, the wealthy Gileadite, who had supplied David's wants while he was at Mahanaim. He accompanied David over the Jordan, and the king invited him to Jerusalem that he might return his hospitality. "How long have I to live?" asked Barzillai, who had reached his eightieth year, "that I should go up with the king to Jerusalem?" Contenting himself with escorting David a little beyond the Jordan, he left his son Chimham to receive the favors which he himself was too old to enjoy; and one of David's last acts was to commend the family to the generosity of Solomon.



DAVID'S RETURN TO HIS KINGDOM.

The joy of the king's return was disturbed by the angry jealousy of the rest of Israel against Judah for beginning the movement without them. The fierce tone of Judah seems to have provoked the old animosity of Benjamin ; and Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjaminite, proclaiming that the tribes had no interest in the house of Jesse, blew the trumpet of revolt, and raised the cry, "Every man to his tents, O Israel!" The king, who had now returned to Jerusalem, ordered his new captain, Amasa, to muster the forces of Judah in three days, that the rebellion might be crushed while it was confined to Benjamin. Amasa's slowness compelled David to have recourse again to the sons of Zeruiah, and Abishai led forth the body-guard of Cherethites and Pelethites and the heroes, accompanied by Joab. Gibeon once more became the scene of battle. They found Amasa there before them with the main army, and under the show of an embrace, Joab dealt his favored rival one fatal blow, and then pressed on the pursuit after Sheba with his brother Abishai. One of Joab's followers stood over Amasa as he lay wallowing in his blood on the highway, bidding all the friends of Joab and of David to go forward ; but, when he saw their hesitation, he carried the corpse aside into a field, and covered it with a mantle, and so the pursuit went on. Sheba fled northward, raising the tribes of Israel on his way, to Abel-beth-maachah, near the sources of the Jordan, "a city and metropolis in Israel." The forces of Sheba seem to have melted away before Joab's hot pursuit, and he was besieged in Abel. This city was proverbial for the oracular wisdom of its inhabitants ; and "a wise woman" now saved it by first learning Joab's demands in a parley, and then inducing the people to comply with them by throwing the head of Sheba over the wall. The suppression of this rebellion closes the second period of David's reign. Its remaining part was only disturbed by a war with the Philistines at Gezer, the date of which is unknown, and in which several of David's heroes signalized their individual strength and prowess.

To this epoch ought probably be referred the remarkable Psalm, which is recorded in the second book of Samuel, as "a song spoken by David to Jehovah in the day that Jehovah delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul." It stands in the book of Psalms as the eighteenth, with the description of David in the title as "the servant of Jehovah ;" words no doubt intended to ascribe to him all David's glories. Needless difficulty has been felt about the mention of Saul in the title, which even recent events might have suggested, as Sheba's rebellion was the dying effort of Saul's

party ; but, what is more natural than that, in thanking God for deliverance from all his enemies, David should lay the greatest emphasis on the earliest and the most dangerous of them all ?

David's life, in the very character of its separate parts, is typical of that whole course of experience which is seen in the men who best represent humanity : a youth of promise, a manhood of conflict, trouble, and temptation, not free from falls, and a serene old age. The work which was properly his own was now done, and the third and closing period of his reign was occupied in preparing for the culminating glories of the *earthly* kingdom of Israel under his successor. But the parallel would scarcely have been true, had the evening of his life been perfectly unclouded. As has been remarked before, the three periods of his reign were stamped each with a great external calamity, the lesson of which God made plainer by the *numerical* parallel ; *three years of famine*, to avenge the cruelties of Saul, *three months of flight* before rebellious Absalom, and now *three days of pestilence*, a form of judgment analogous to the offence that called it down.

“Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number the people.” That this was no ordinary census, is clear not only from the punishment that followed it, but from the remonstrances of Joab, to whom the business was intrusted, and to whom it was so “abominable” that he omitted the tribes of Levi and Benjamin altogether. By David's own desire, all under twenty were omitted, “because Jehovah had said that he would increase Israel like to the stars of the heavens.” And that some distrust of this truth was at the root of David's sin, is implied in the terms of Joab's remonstrance. The transaction seems to have sprung from a self-confident desire to consolidate the forces of the kingdom, to exult in their greatness, and to hold them in the readiness of a full military organization for new enterprises. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that some specific conquest was meditated beyond the limits of the promised land. And so God sent a punishment which showed how easily he who had promised that Israel should be increased like the stars of heaven and the sand by the sea-shore, and who could have added unto the people, how many soever they might be, a hundred-fold, could cut down their numbers at a stroke.

B. C. 1017. Early in the morning after the work was finished, the prophet Gad was sent to David, whose conscience had already prepared him for the visit, to offer the choice of three modes of decimating the people, a three years' famine, a three months' flight before his enemies, or a three days' pestilence. The king, who had

experienced the two former calamities, now chose the latter with pious resignation, saying, "Let us fall now into the hand of Jehovah; for his mercies are great, and let me not fall into the hand of man." The pestilence raged for the appointed time, and 70,000 of the people died, from Dan to Beersheba. Its cessation was a turning-point in the history of the nation. The breaking out of the plague in Jerusalem itself was accompanied by the awful appearance of an angel hovering in the air just outside of the wall, and stretching out a drawn sword toward the city. At this sight, David cried to Jehovah, praying that he would let the punishment fall on him and his house, "but these sheep, what have they done?" His intercession was accepted. The prophet Gad came to him again, bidding him to erect an altar to Jehovah on the spot over which the angel had been seen. That spot was occupied by *the threshing-floor of ARAUNAH*, or ORNAN, one of the old Jebusites of the city. He was evidently a man of the highest consideration; and from certain expressions, it has even been supposed that he had been the king of Jebus before its capture by David. Araunah was engaged, with his four sons, in threshing corn by means of sledges drawn by oxen, when the vision of the angel caused them to hide themselves for fear; but on seeing the king approach, with his courtiers, Araunah came forth and bowed down before him, offering, as soon as he learned his wish, to give him the threshing-floor as a free gift, and the oxen and the implements for a burnt-offering. But David refused to offer to Jehovah that which had cost him nothing, and paid to Araunah the royal price of 600 shekels of gold for the ground, and fifty shekels of silver for the oxen. There he built an altar to Jehovah, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and the plague ceased.

This altar first distinctly marked the hill as the sacred spot which Jehovah had long promised to choose for his abode. The ark had indeed been placed for some time in the city of David, but the stated sacrifices had still been offered on the original brazen altar before the tabernacle of Gibeon; and even after the removal of the ark, God had spoken to David of his choice of a place to build his house as yet to be made. That choice was now revealed by the descent of fire from heaven on David's sacrifice, as upon the altar of burnt-offering in the wilderness; and David recognized the sign, and said, "This is the HOUSE OF JEHOVAH GOD, and this is the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel." The place received the name of MORIAH (*vision*) from the appearance of God to David, as the first destroying angel, and then by the sign of fire.

David at once commenced his preparations for the edifice. We have seen him long ago devoting to this use the spoils of his victories, which now amounted to 100,000 talents of gold and 1,000,000 talents of silver; and now he collected all the skilled foreign workmen that could be found in the land, to hew stones and to do all other work: he prepared iron and brass without weight, and procured the cedar-wood of Lebanon from the Sidonians and Tyrians. But the work itself was destined to another hand. To his son SOLOMON, now designated as his successor, he gave the charge to build a house for Jehovah, God of Israel. He told his son how God had denied him this desire of his heart, because he had been a man of war, and had shed much blood upon the earth; and how he had promised its fulfilment by a son, who was to be named Solomon (*peaceful*), because under him Israel should have peace, and whose throne should be established over Israel forever. He also charged the princes of Israel to help Solomon, and to set their heart and soul to seek Jehovah.

The designation of Solomon gave the deathblow to the hopes of ADONIJAH, the son of Haggith, David's fourth, and eldest surviving son, a man of great personal beauty, whom his father had always treated with indulgence. Taking advantage of David's increasing feebleness, he resolved to make himself king. Like Absalom, he prepared a guard of chariots and horses and fifty foot-runners, and he gained over Joab and Abiathar. Zadok, however, with Benaiah, the captain of the body-guard, and David's heroes, and the prophet Nathan, remained faithful to the king. When Adonijah thought his project ripe, he invited his adherents, with all the king's sons (except Solomon), who seem to have shared his jealousy, to a great banquet at the rock of Zohemoth, near Enrogel, where, amid the mirth of the festival, the cry was raised, "Long live King Adonijah."

The prophet Nathan informed Bathsheba of these proceedings, and arranged with her a plan to secure the interests of her son. Bathsheba went into David's chamber, followed soon after by Nathan, to tell him that Adonijah reigned, in spite of his promise to Solomon. The aged king had lost nothing of his prudence and decision. At his command, Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, supported by Benaiah, with the body-guard of Cherethites and Pelethites, proclaimed Solomon king amid the rejoicings of the people, and anointed him with the sacred oil, which Zadok took out of the tabernacle. The guests of Adonijah dispersed at the news, which was brought by Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, and Adonijah himself fled for sanctuary to the horns of the altar; but on Solomon's

assurance that his life should be spared if he proved worthy of his clemency, he retired to his own house. David gathered all the people to an assembly, in which he gave a solemn charge to them and their new king, to whom also he delivered patterns for the house of God, and the materials he had collected for the building. These were greatly increased by the freewill-offerings of the princes and the people. After David had offered thanksgiving and prayer for Solomon, all the people feasted together, and Solomon was inaugurated into his kingdom for the second time, while Zadok was publicly anointed as high-priest. The new king was established in prosperity and in favor with the people before his father's death. "And Jehovah magnified Solomon exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and bestowed upon him such royal majesty as had not been on any king before him in Israel." A constant memorial of this solemnity is preserved in that most magnificent of the Psalms of David, the seventy-second, in which the blessings predicted for the reign of Solomon form a transparent veil for the transcendent glories prophesied for Christ's kingdom, and which is marked as the crowning contribution of its author to the service of the sanctuary by its concluding words, "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended!"

Amid these happy omens for his house, David approached the end of his life. His last act was to send for Solomon and renew the charge to him to keep the statutes of Jehovah, as written in the law of Moses, that so he might prosper in all his deeds. He added directions in reference to the men with whom the young king might not know how to deal. JOAB was named as a just object of vengeance for his two treacherous murders of Abner and Amasa, which are described in very striking figurative language. BARZILLAI and his house are commended to Solomon's favor. The denunciation of SHIMEI has been already noticed. We may here anticipate the first acts of Solomon's reign, and see how he dealt with these and his other enemies. No sooner was David dead, than Adonijah had the audacity to solicit, through the intercession of Bathsheba, the hand of Abishag the Shunammite, who had been the companion of David's old age, though not exactly his concubine. In the latter case, marriage with her would have been only permitted to the king's successor; and in this light Solomon seems to have viewed the request. Indeed we can only understand what followed on the supposition, that this was a first insidious step in a new conspiracy of Adonijah with Abiathar and Joab, as Solomon's answer clearly implies. Adonijah was put to death by the hand of Benaiah; but Abiathar, in consideration of his

office and his old companionship with David, was only banished to his home at Anathoth, and deposed from the high-priesthood, which thus passed from the house of Ithamar, according to God's sentence against Eli. Upon this Joab fled for sanctuary to the horns of the altar; and there, refusing to come forth, he was slain by the hand of Benaiah. His death is regarded as a satisfaction for the blood of Abner and Amasa, the guilt of which was thus removed from the house of David, but his fate was sealed by his accession to Adonijah's conspiracy. He was buried in his own house in the wilderness, and Benaiah succeeded to his command. Shimei was ordered by Solomon to dwell in Jerusalem, with the express warning that his departure from the city, on whatever pretext, would seal his fate. Three years afterward he went to Gath in pursuit of two of his servants, who had fled to Achish, and on his return Solomon caused him to be put to death.

To return to David: the short Psalm, entitled "The B. C. 1015. last words of David," seems, from its closing sentences, to have been uttered in connection with his final words to Solomon. Its opening sums up the chief features of his life: "David, the man raised up on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet Psalmist of Israel." After a reign of forty years, seven in Hebron, and thirty-three at Jerusalem, "he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honor, and Solomon his son reigned in his stead." He was buried "in the city of David." After the return from the Captivity, "the sepulchres of David" were still pointed out between Siloah and "the house of the mighty men," or "the guard-house." His tomb, which became the general sepulchre of the kings of Judah, was known in the latest times of the Jewish people. "His sepulchre is with us unto this day," says St. Peter at Pentecost. His acts were recorded in the book of Samuel the seer, and of Nathan the prophet, and of Gad the seer, "with all his reign and his might, and the times that went over him, and over Israel, and over all the kingdoms of the countries." The substance of these records is preserved in the books of Samuel and the beginning of the first book of Kings.

The character of David has been so naturally brought out in the incidents of his life that it need not be here described in detail. In the complexity of its elements, passion, tenderness, generosity, fierceness—the soldier, the shepherd, the poet, the statesman, the priest, the prophet, the king—the romantic friend, the chivalrous leader, the devoted father—there is no character of the Old Testament at all to be compared to it. Jacob comes nearest in the variety of elements included within it. But David's character stands at a higher point

of the sacred history, and represents the Jewish people just at the moment of their transition from the lofty virtues of the older system to the fuller civilization and cultivation of the later. In this manner he becomes naturally, if one may so say, the likeness or portrait of the last and grandest development of the nation and of the monarchy in the person and the period of the Messiah. In a sense more than figurative, he is the type and prophecy of Jesus Christ. Christ is not called the son of Abraham, or of Jacob, or of Moses, but he was truly "the son of David."

To his own people his was the name most dearly cherished after their first ancestor Abraham. "The city of David," "the house of David," "the throne of David," "the seed of David," "the oath sworn unto David" (the pledge of the continuance of his dynasty), are expressions which prevade the whole of the Old Testament and all the figurative language of the New, and they serve to mark the lasting significance of his appearance in history.

His Psalms (whether those actually written by himself be many or few) have been the source of consolation and instruction beyond any other part of the Hebrew Scriptures. In them appear qualities of mind and religious perceptions not before expressed in the sacred writings, but eminently characteristic of David—the love of nature, the sense of sin, and the tender, ardent trust in and communion with God. No other part of the Old Testament comes so near to the spirit of the New. The Psalms are the only expressions of devotion which have been equally used through the whole Christian Church—Abyssinian, Greek, Latin, Puritan, Anglican.

The difficulties which attend on his character are valuable as proofs of the impartiality of Scripture in recording them, and as indications of the union of natural power and weakness which his character included. The Rabbis in former times, and critics (like Bayle) in later times, have seized on its dark features and exaggerated them to the utmost. And it has been often asked, both by the scoffers and the serious, how the man after God's own heart could have murdered Uriah, and seduced Bathsheba, and tortured the Ammonites to death? An extract from one who is not a too indulgent critic of sacred characters expresses at once the common sense and religious lesson of the whole matter. "Who is called 'the man after God's own heart?' David the Hebrew king, had fallen into sins enough—blackest crimes—there was no want of sin. And therefore the unbelievers sneer, and ask, 'Is this your man according to God's heart?' The sneer, I must say, seems to me but a shallow one. What are faults, what

are the outward details of a life, if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, the often baffled, never ended struggle of it be forgotten? . . . David's life and history, as written for us in those Psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given us of a man's moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest souls will ever discern in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul toward what is good and best. Struggle often baffled—sore baffled—driven as into entire wreck, yet a struggle never ended, ever with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose begun anew."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON.

[B. C. 1015-975.]

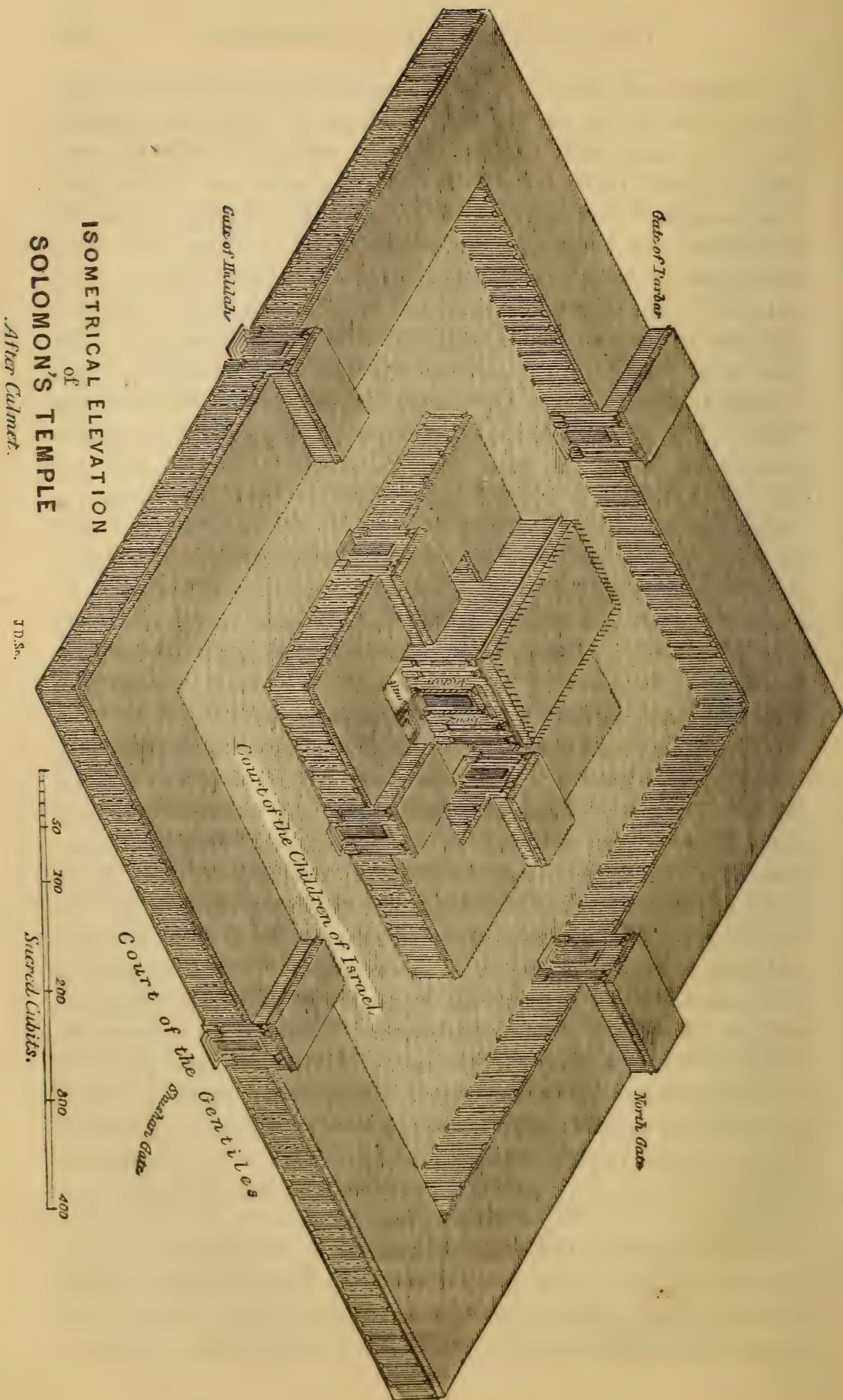
THE date of Solomon's accession as sole king can be fixed with precision to the year 1015 B. C. He was eighteen years old at this epoch ; and he reigned forty years, or, more precisely, thirty-nine years and a half, the sum of his own and his father's reign being eighty years.

The first act of his foreign policy showed a desire to strengthen his throne by foreign alliances, and was a wide departure from the spirit of the ancient theocracy. He married the daughter of B. C. 1015. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and formed an alliance with that monarch. This Pharaoh was probably a late king of the 21st (Tanite) dynasty ; for the eminent head of the 22d dynasty, Sheshonk I. (Shishak), belongs to the latter part of the reign of Solomon, and to that of Rehoboam. That this flagrant breach, not only of a general principle, but of the specific law against intercourse with Egypt, passed unpunished for the time, is an example of that great system of forbearance which lies at the basis of each new dispensation of God's moral government. But the law of retribution for sinful actions by their natural effects was working from the very first, and this marriage of Solomon was the first step toward his fall into idolatry. Meanwhile "Solomon loved Jehovah, walking in the statutes of David his father," and "God was with him, and magnified him exceedingly ;" and the only blot upon the outward purity as well as prosperity of the kingdom was the retention of the "high places," which had been the seats of the ancient worship, for sacrifice, in the absence of any house of God. The hill of Gibeon, where stood the tabernacle and the altar of burnt-offering, seems only to have been regarded as the chief of these high places ; and it was probably in the course of a series of sacrifices at the different sacred heights that Solomon visited Gibeon, "the great high place," and there, in the midst of a great convocation of the people, sacrificed a tenfold hecatomb—a thousand burnt-offerings—upon the altar.

This was the occasion chosen by Jehovah for his first personal revelation to Solomon. In the following night God appeared to him

in a dream, and asked him to choose what he should give him. After a thanksgiving for the mercies shown to David, and a prayer that the promise made to him might be established, Solomon, confessing himself to be but a little child in comparison to the great work committed him in governing and judging the people, asked for the wisdom and knowledge that might fit him for the office—"an understanding heart to judge thy people, to discern between good and bad." The desire, thus expressed in Solomon's own words, does not seem to have so high a meaning as is often assigned to it. He does not ask that profound spiritual wisdom, which would teach him to know God and his own heart: in this he was always far inferior to David. His prayer is for practical sagacity, clear intelligence, quick discernment, to see the right from the wrong amid the mazes of duplicity and doubt which beset the judge, especially among an Oriental people. And this gift he received. His aspirations, if not for the highest spiritual excellence, were for usefulness to his subjects and fellow-men, not for long life, riches, and victory for himself; and because he had not selfishly asked these things, they were freely granted to him in addition to the gift he had chosen. Assured of God's favor, he returned to Jerusalem, and renewed his sacrifices before the ark, and made a feast to all his servants.

An occasion soon arose to prove his divine gift of sagacity. Two women appeared before his judgment-seat with a dead and a living infant. The one who appealed to the king for justice alleged that they had both been delivered in the same house, the other woman three days after herself; that the other had overlaid her child in the night, and had exchanged its corpse for the living child of the first while she slept. The second declared that the living child was hers, and both were alike clamorous in demanding it. The king resolved to appeal to the maternal instinct, as a sure test even in the degraded class to which both the women belonged. Calling for a sword, he bade one of his guards divide the living child in two, and give half to one woman and half to the other. It is a strange proof of the progress of the monarchy toward despotic power that the command should have been taken in earnest, but so it seems to have been. The woman who had borne the living child now prayed that it might be given to the other to save its life, while the latter consented to the cruel partition; and the king had now no difficulty in deciding the dispute. The fame of the decision spread through all Israel, inspiring fear of the king's justice, and a conviction that God had given him that wise discernment which is prized in the East as a ruler's highest quality.



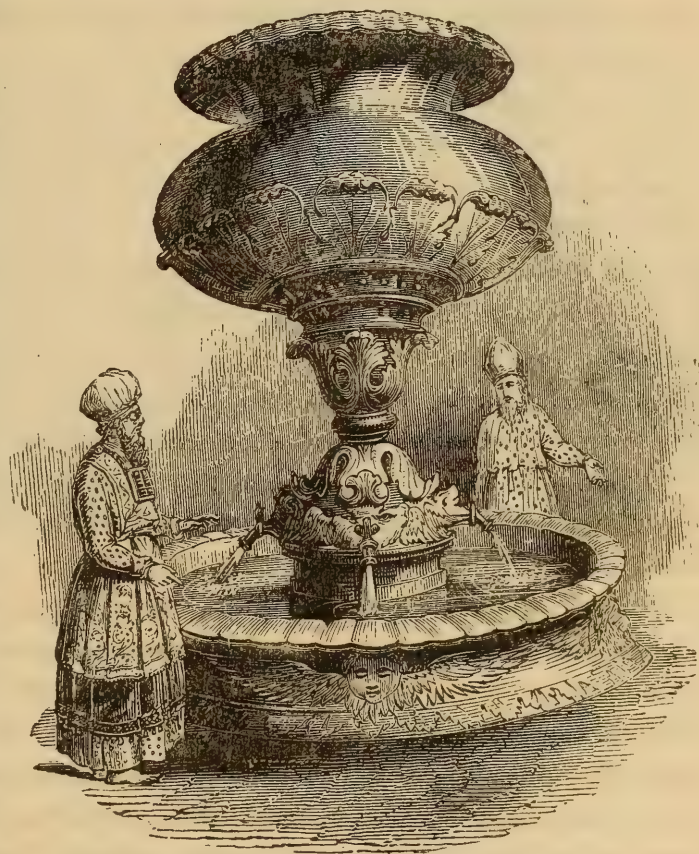
Solomon arranged his court on the same general basis as his father's, but on a scale of much greater magnificence. Among the names of his chief officers we find several of his father's most distinguished servants and their sons. There were "princes" or chief governors, two "scribes" or secretaries, a "recorder," a "captain of the host," "officers" of the court, the chief of whom had, like Hushai under David, the title of "the king's friend;" there was a chief over the household, and another over the tribute. The priests were Zadok and Abiathar, though, as we have seen, the latter was deposed. The supplies needed for the court were levied throughout the whole land by twelve officers, to each of whom was allotted a particular district to supply one month's provisions. But these contributions were increased by the subject kingdoms between the Euphrates, which was the eastern border of Solomon's dominions, from Tiphseh (Thapsacus) to Azzah, and the land of the Philistines and the Egyptian frontier. The provision for each day consisted of thirty measures of fine flour and seventy measures of meal, ten fat oxen and twenty from the pastures, and one hundred sheep, besides venison and fowl. Judah and Israel, increasing rapidly in numbers, gave themselves up to festivity and mirth, and "dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon." In the great military establishment, which Solomon maintained for state as well as for defence, he set at naught the law against keeping up a force of cavalry. He had 40,000 stalls of horses for his 1400 chariots and 12,000 cavalry horses, and their supplies of straw and provender were furnished by the twelve officers just mentioned. The horses and chariots were brought from Egypt, whence also the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Syria obtained theirs. A chariot cost 600 shekels of silver, and a horse 150. The chariots and cavalry were placed in garrison in certain cities, called "chariot cities," and partly with the king at Jerusalem. The commerce with Egypt supplied also linen yarn, which was made a royal monopoly. As the result of this and other commerce (to be spoken of presently), silver and gold are said, in the hyperbolical language of the East, to have been as stones at Jerusalem, and the cedars of Lebanon as abundant as the sycamore, the common timber of Palestine.

But all this magnificence was transcended by the personal qualities of Solomon himself. We have, it is true, no direct description of his personal appearance, but we have every reason to believe that he possessed the fascination and the grace of a noble presence. Add to

this, all gifts of a noble, far-reaching intellect, large and ready sympathies, a playful and genial humor, the lips "full of grace," the soul "anointed" as "with the oil of gladness," and we may form some notion of what the king was like in this dawn of his golden prime. He used these gifts not only for the government of his people, but for the acquisition and the embodiment in writing of all the learning of the age. He gave equal attention to the lessons of practical morals and to the facts of natural science. "He spake 3000 proverbs, and his songs were 1005." He is said to have been thoroughly instructed in natural history; but we must, however, avoid misconceptions, both as to the matter of Solomon's knowledge, and as to the form of its utterance. It does not appear that he possessed what would now be considered great proficiency in natural science, nor even such knowledge as Aristotle's, whose works on natural history the Rabbis pretend to have been derived from a copy of the writings of Solomon sent to him from the East by Alexander! Solomon's natural science, like that of Oriental philosophers in general, consisted rather in the observation of the more obvious facts in the common life and habits of God's creatures, with an especial view to use them for the poetical illustration of moral lessons: and in this way we find such knowledge used, not only in the Proverbs ascribed to him, but in many of the Psalms, and throughout the book of Job. The discourses in the latter part of that book about Behemoth and Leviathan are probably a type of the manner in which "Solomon spake of beasts." It clearly follows that we ought not to suppose that Solomon wrote elaborate treatises on these subjects which are now lost. Such forms of communicating knowledge do not belong to his age or country. His 3000 proverbs and 1005 songs probably contained nearly all that he wrote upon such matters in the form of poetical illustration. For the rest, it should be remembered that instruction, in his time and long after, was chiefly oral. The tents of the patriarchs and the abodes of their descendants witnessed many an hour when the ancient father would discourse to his descendants on the lessons of his experience and the traditions handed down by his fathers; and such we conceive to have been the converse held by Solomon in the midst of his splendid court, only on a much grander scale, and covering a much wider field. Thus, amid the public life of an Eastern monarch, not in the seclusion of the retired student, he poured out the knowledge which attracted the subjects of other kings from all nations of the earth, to hear for themselves that wisdom the fame of which had reached them in their distant countries. In one

celebrated instance the attraction proved sufficient to bring one of those sovereigns themselves from the remotest regions: but this visit of the Queen of Sheba belongs to a later period of Solomon's reign.

B. C. 1012. The king was meanwhile occupied with three great works—the building of the house of God, of his own house, and of the wall of Jerusalem. We have seen the vast preparations that David had made for the erection of the Temple, the designs for which he had given into the hands of Solomon, and how he had been aided by Hiram, king of Tyre. That faithful ally sent an embassy of congratulation on his son's accession, and Solomon sent back an answer informing Hiram of his prosperity, declaring his intention of building a house for God, and requesting his assistance, which Hiram gladly promised in a letter.



THE BRAZEN LAVER.

An arrangement was made by which

Hiram gave cedars and fir-trees out of Lebanon, which his servants felled, while those of Solomon squared and fitted them for their places in the building. The provisions for both parties were supplied by Solomon; for then, as in the time of Herod Agrippa, the maritime region of Phœnicia derived its supplies of food from Palestine. The prepared timber was brought down to the sea, and floated round to Joppa, under the care of the Tyrian sailors, whence Solomon undertook the thirty miles' transport to Jerusalem. He raised the laborers required for this great work by a levy of the strangers who lived in various parts of the land. All the remnant of these had been finally subdued by David, who, instead of exterminating them, retained them

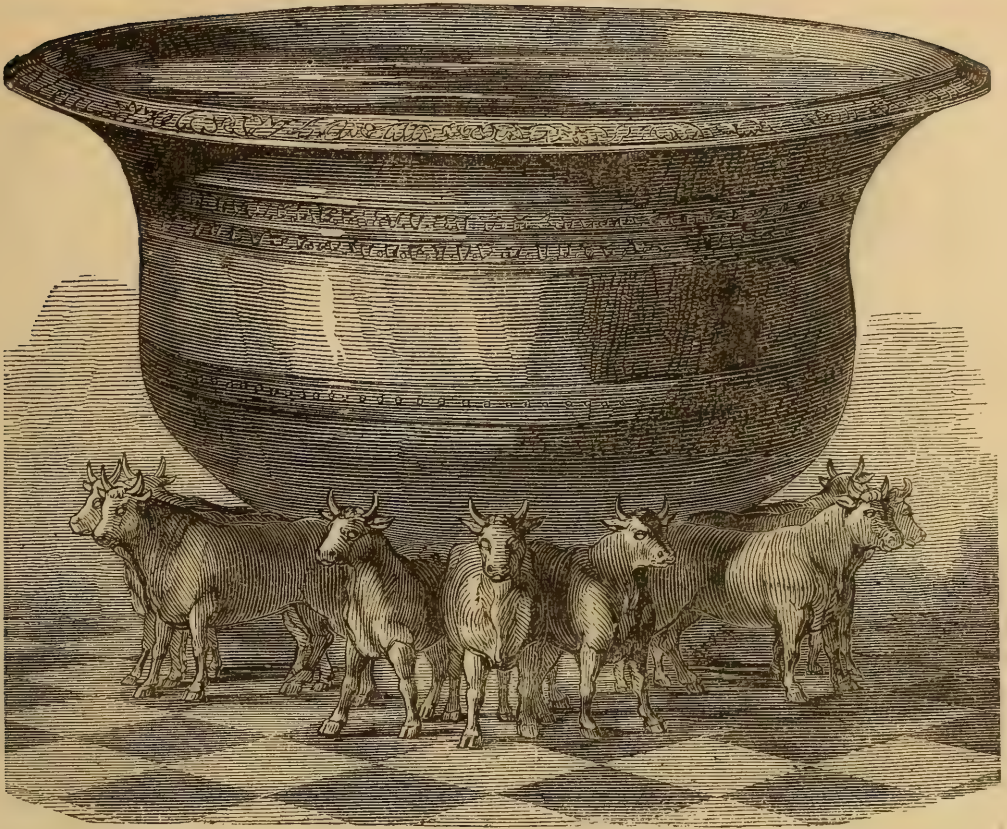
in a condition similar to that to which Joshua had reduced the Gibeonites. Solomon found their number to be 153,600; he appointed 70,000 for the work of transport, 80,000 as hewers in Lebanon, and the remaining 3600 as overseers. In addition to these, he raised a levy of 30,000 men out of all Israel, whom he sent to work in Lebanon by relays of 10,000, each relay serving for one month and returning home for two. Besides the timber, they hewed the great stones which were to form the foundation of the house; stones which by the time they reached Jerusalem, must have well earned the name of "costly stones," which is applied to them in the narrative. Some of these great stones are still, in all probability, those visible among the old substructions of the Temple.

Besides these contributions of materials and labor, Hiram supplied Solomon with a chief architect, a namesake of his own, for whom the King of Tyre expressed the reverence of a disciple for an artist by calling him "Hiram, my father." This Hiram was the son of a widow of Naphtali (or Dan), and his father had been a Tyrian artist. He devoted his hereditary skill to the service of the God whom his mother had doubtless taught him to reverence, in the spirit of Bezaleel, whom he resembled in the great variety of his accomplishments. Besides his principal profession as a worker in brass, he wrought in gold, silver, and iron, in stone and timber, in purple, blue, fine linen, and crimson; in short, his great gift seems to have been that of *design* in all its branches. The master-pieces of his art were the two pillars of cast brass, called Jachin and Boaz, which stood on each side of the porch in front of the Holy Place. The workmen under him had already been provided by David, who, as we have seen, secured the services of all the foreign artists residing in the land.

The actual building of the Temple was commenced in the fourth year of Solomon's reign, and the four hundred and eightieth year from the Exodus, on the second day of the month Zif (afterward Jyar=April and May), the second of the ecclesiastical year, B. C. 1012. So complete were the preparations that no sound of axe or hammer was heard about the building during its whole erection—

"Like some tall palm, the noiseless fabric grew :"

and it was completed in seven and a-half years, in the eighth month (Bul, afterward Marcheshvan=October and November) of the eleventh year of Solomon, B. C. 1005. It occupied the site prepared for it by David, which had formerly been the threshing-floor of the Jebusite Ornan or Araunah, on MOUNT MORIAH. The whole area enclosed by the outer walls formed a square of about 600 feet; but the



THE MOLTEN SEA.

sanctuary itself was comparatively small, inasmuch as it was intended only for the ministrations of the priests, the congregation of the people assembling in the courts. In this, and all other essential points, the Temple followed the model of the Tabernacle, from which it differed chiefly by having chambers built about the sanctuary for the abode of the priests and attendants, and the keeping of treasures and stores. In all its dimensions, length, breadth, and height, the sanctuary itself was exactly double of the Tabernacle, the ground-plan measuring 80 cubits by 40, while that of the Tabernacle was 40 by 20, and the height of the Temple being 30 cubits, while that of the Tabernacle was 15.

As in the Tabernacle, the Temple consisted of three parts, the Porch, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. The Porch of the Temple was 10 cubits deep (in the Tabernacle, 5 cubits), the width in both instances being the width of the house. The front of the porch was supported, after the manner of some Egyptian temples, by the two great brazen pillars Jachin and Boaz, 18 cubits high, with capitals of 5 cubits more, adorned with lily-work and pomegranates. The *Holy Place*, or outer hall, was 40 cubits long by 20 wide, being



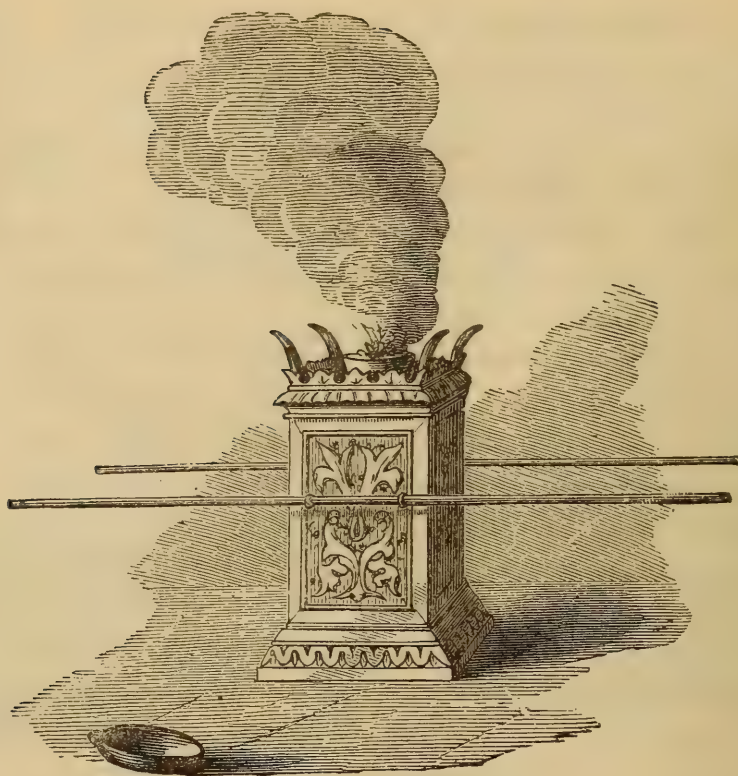
THE GOLDEN LAMP-BEARER.

in the Tabernacle 20 by 10. The *Holy of Holies* was a cube of 20 cubits, being in the Tabernacle 10. The places of the two "veils" of the Tabernacle were occupied by partitions, in which were folding doors. The whole interior was lined with wood-work richly carved and overlaid with gold. Indeed, both within and without, the building was conspicuous chiefly by the lavish use of the gold of Ophir and Parvaim. It glittered in the morning sun with a dazzling brilliancy. Above the sacred ark, which was placed, as of old, in the Most Holy Place, were made new cherubim, one pair of whose wings met above the ark, and another pair reached to the walls behind them. In the *Holy Place*, besides the Altar of Incense, which was made of cedar, overlaid with gold, there were seven golden candlesticks instead of one, and the table of shew-bread was replaced by ten golden tables, bearing, besides the shew-bread, the innumerable golden vessels for the service of the sanctuary. The *Outer Court* was no doubt double the size of that of the Tabernacle; and we may therefore safely assume that it was 10 cubits in height, 100 cubits north and south, and 200 east and west. It contained an inner court called the "court of the priests;" but the arrangement of the courts and of the porticoes and gateways of the enclosure, though described by

Josephus, belongs apparently to the Temple of Herod. There was an eastern porch to Herod's Temple, which was called Solomon's Porch, and Josephus tells us that it was built by that monarch ; but of this there is absolutely no proof, and as neither in the account of Solomon's building nor in any subsequent repairs or incidents is any mention made of such buildings, we may safely conclude that they did not exist before the time of the great rebuilding immediately preceding the Christian era.

In the Outer Court there was a new altar of burnt-offering much larger than the old one. Like the latter, it was square, but the length and breadth were now twenty cubits, and the height ten. It was made entirely of brass. It had no grating, and instead of a single gradual slope, the ascent to it was probably made by three successive platforms, to each of which it has been supposed that steps led. Instead of the brazen laver, there was "a molten sea" of brass, a master-piece of Hiram's skill, for the ablution of the priests. It was called "a sea" from the great size, being five cubits in height, ten in diameter, and thirty in circumference, and containing 2000 baths. It stood on twelve oxen, three toward each quarter of the heavens, and all looking outward. The brim itself or lip was wrought "like the brim of a cup, with flowers of lilies," *i. e.*, curved outward like a lily or lotus flower. There were besides ten smaller lavers for the ablution of the burnt-offerings. The chambers for the priests were arranged in successive stories against the sides of the sanctuary ; not, however, reaching to the top, so as to leave space for the windows to light the Holy and Most Holy Places. We are told by Josephus and the Talmud that there was a superstructure on the Temple equal in height to the lower part ; and this is confirmed by the statement in the books of Chronicles that Solomon "overlaid the *upper chambers* with gold." Moreover, "the altars on the top of the upper chambers," mentioned in the books of Kings, were apparently upon the Temple. It is probable that these upper chambers bore some analogy to the platform or Talar that existed on the roofs of the Palace-temples at Persepolis. Such were the chief features of this sacred edifice.

B. C. 1016. The dedication of Solomon's Temple was the grandest ceremony ever performed under the Mosaic dispensation ; for the giving of the law from Sinai was too solemn to be called a ceremony. Solomon appeared in that priestly character, which we have seen borne by his father, to perform this great act on behalf of the people, leaving to the priests and Levites the care of the ark and



ALTAR OF INCENSE.

the details of the service, especially the psalmody. The time chosen was the most joyous festival of the Jews, the Feast of Tabernacles, in the seventh month (Tisri or Ethanim = September and October) of the sacred year. Having done the labors of the field, and gathered in the vintage, the people assembled at Jerusalem from all parts of Solomon's wide territories. The full body of the priests attended, the usual courses being suspended, and they brought the ark in a grand and joyous procession from the city of David to the rest prepared for it in the Holy of Holies. There they placed it beneath the spreading wings of the cherubim, and drew out the ends of the staves, that they might be seen, as in the Tabernacle, behind the veil. Amid all the new splendors of its dwelling, the ark of the covenant was the same as of old; it contained nothing but the two tables of the law, which Moses had placed in it at Sinai. As the priests retired from within the veil, the Levites and their sons, arranged in their three courses of psalmody, with all instruments of music, and clad in white linen robes, burst forth with the sacred chorus praising Jehovah, "For He is good; for his mercy endureth forever." It was at this very moment, "just as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking Jehovah," that



FIRE FROM HEAVEN AT THE DEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

He gave the sign of His coming to take possession of His house: "The house was filled with a cloud, even the house of Jehovah, so that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the GLORY OF JEHOVAH had filled the HOUSE OF JEHOVAH. As that sacred cloud spread through the open doors over the sanctuary, the voice of Solomon was heard recognizing the presence of the God who had said that he would dwell in the thick darkness, and for whom he had now built a habitation forever. Then turning to the people from the great platform of brass, which he had erected in the midst of the court, in front of the brazen altar, the king blessed Jehovah the God of Israel, who had chosen Jerusalem as the place sacred to His name, and had performed His promises to David and fulfilled his desire to build Him a house. And now, kneeling down before the whole congregation, with his face toward the sanctuary, Solomon poured forth a prayer, unequalled for sublimity and comprehensiveness, in which the leading thought, repeated with beautiful variety and minuteness, is this: that the abode which Jehovah had now deigned to sanctify with His presence, might prove the centre of blessing and forgiveness to His people; that whatever prayer for help, whatever penitent confession in the time of suffering and exile they might offer toward that house, God would hear it from His true dwelling-place in heaven, and forgive His people who had sinned against Him. The prayer is, indeed, a prophecy of the history of Israel, and of God's chastisements of their sins, even to the Captivity. He concluded with a blessing and exhortation to the people.

The prayer of Solomon was followed by another sign of God's presence. The fire came down from heaven, as on the first altar of burnt-offering, and consumed the sacrifices, while the Shekinah again filled the house, preventing the entrance of the priests, as if, for that one day, God claimed the sanctuary as His very own, to the exclusion of all mere creatures. Then Solomon and all the people offered their sacrifices on the altar, 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep, the priests executing their office, while the Levites played and sang in the order and to the words of David. A great feast followed for twice seven days, seven for the Feast of Tabernacles, and seven for the dedication, and on the twenty-third day of the month Solomon dismissed the people. They returned to their homes, "glad and merry in heart for all the goodness that Jehovah had shewed unto David, and to Solomon, and to Israel His people."

Four years more were spent in the completion of the king's "own house," and of his other great works at Jerusalem. The palace

known as the "House of the Forest of Lebanon," was a magnificent edifice, and was supplied with audience hall, and courts and gardens, with fountains and cloisters for shade, and was in all respects worthy of its great occupant. Apart from this palace, but connected with it, was the palace of Pharaoh's daughter: too proud and important a personage to be grouped with the ladies of the harem, and requiring a residence of her own. The palace of Solomon was below the platform of the Temple, and he constructed an ascent from his own house "to the house of Jehovah," which was a subterranean passage 250 feet long by 42 feet wide, of which the remains may still be traced. Among his other buildings may be mentioned a summer-palace in Lebanon, stately gardens at Etham, *paradises* like those of the great Eastern kings, the foundation of something like a stately school or college, costly aqueducts bringing water, it may be, from the well of Bethlehem, dear to David's heart, to supply his palace in Jerusalem. It was about the same time that Solomon undertook the repair of the walls of the fortress of Zion, which David had "built round about from Millo and inward," as well as of Millo itself. These works were under the superintendence of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, of whom more will be heard presently.

After the completion of these works, God appeared a second time to Solomon, as at Gibeon, by night, and assured him that the prayers he had offered at the dedication of the Temple were accepted, while the renewal of the covenant with David and his house was accompanied with the most impressive warnings of the ruin which disobedience would bring upon king, people, and the sanctuary itself, which would be made, as it has indeed become, "a proverb and a by-word among all nations." Solomon arranged the Temple service according to the courses appointed by David; and he set the example of sacrifice to the people by his own stated offerings on the brazen altar daily, and on the Sabbaths and new moons, and at the three great festivals.

These great works, all connected with the establishment of God's house, and of his own royal state at Jerusalem, to which city they added an entirely new quarter, occupied the first half of Solomon's reign, a period of twenty years, 1015-996 B. C. The services of the King of Tyre were acknowledged by the cession of twenty cities along the sea-coast of Galilee, a gift at which Hiram expressed his discontent by a play upon the name of one of them, *Cabul*, a word signifying *dirt* in the Phœnician dialect. Notwithstanding his displeasure, Hiram returned the present, according to the custom of the East, by the gift of 120 talents of gold, and the alliance of the two kings re-

mained unimpaired. The cities seem to have been restored by Hiram, and fortified by Solomon.

The second half of Solomon's reign was inaugurated by magnificent works in other parts of his dominions, and by enterprises of foreign commerce. In the southwest, he rebuilt Gezer, which the King of Egypt had taken from the Canaanites and destroyed, but which he gave to Solomon as his wife's dowry. He also fortified Baalath, Beth-horon (the upper and the lower), as well as all the cities where he kept his stores and chariots. On the north he made a new conquest, the only one recorded in his reign, of Hamath-Zobah. It is not clear whether this was the same or distinct from the capital of Hamath, the kingdom of Toi, who was an ally, and probably after-



RUINS OF TADMOR.

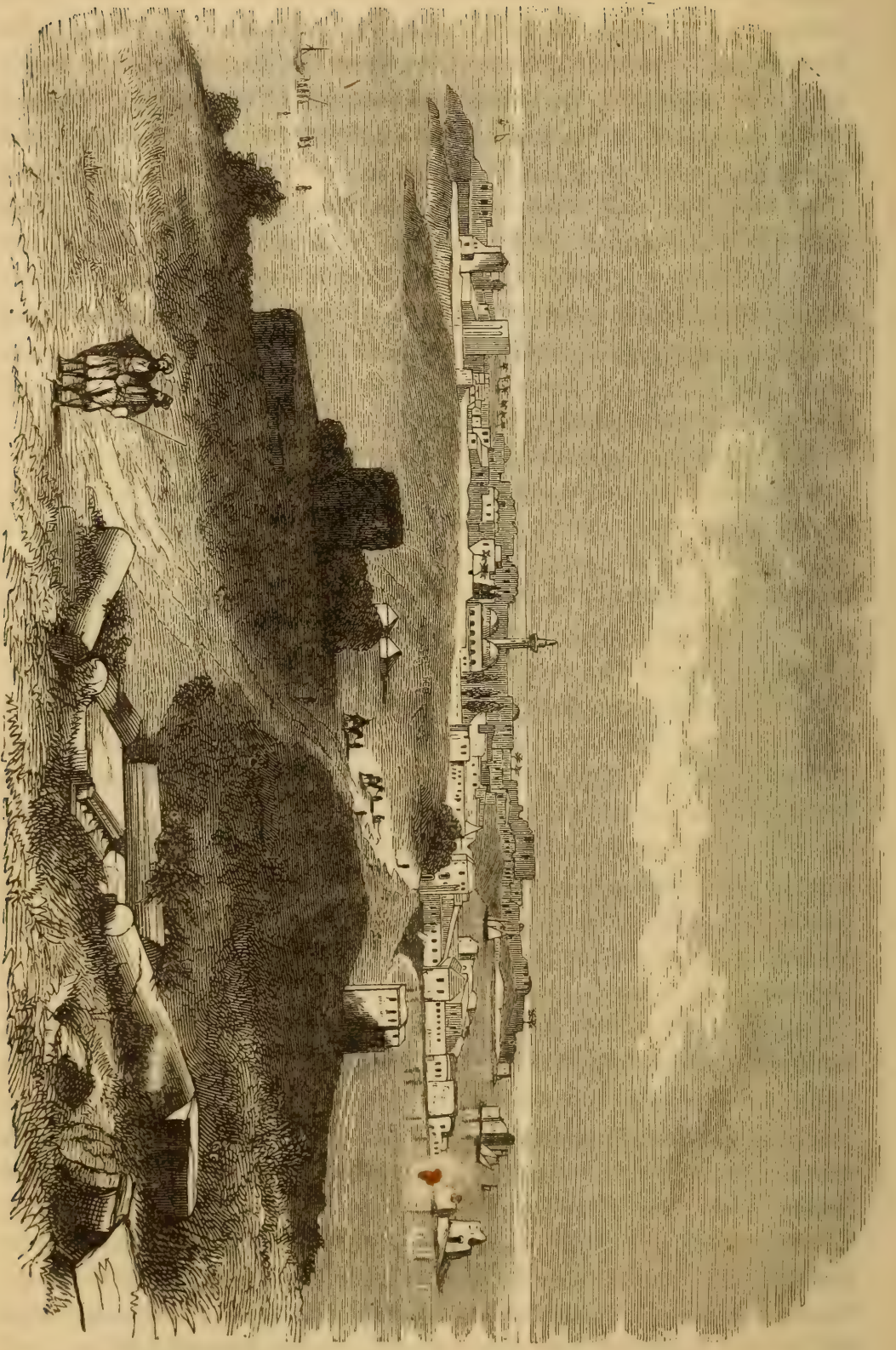
ward a subject of David; but, at all events, this Hamath, which appears to include the valley of the Orontes as far as the defile above Antioch, belonged to the kingdom of Solomon, who built in it several of his "store-cities," which formed dépôts for commerce. In the midst of the great Syrian Desert, half way between Damascus and Thapsacus (Tiphseh), where his kingdom reached the Euphrates, and where was the great passage of that river, afterward called the "fatal ford," here, in a beautiful oasis, he built the city of TADMOR, which be-

came long after, under the name of PALMYRA, the seat of Zenobia's brief empire, and whose ruins are among the most striking in the world: but travellers have sought in vain, among the stately relics of the Roman period, for any vestiges of the architecture of Solomon. While thus linking his dominions with the great highways of commerce to the north and northeast, he opened the path of maritime enterprise, both in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, in conjunction with the Tyrian fleets of Hiram. On the one side, it seems to be implied in Kings, and is expressly stated in Chronicles, that the king sent a navy every three years, probably by way of Joppa, to trade with the distant regions of the west, which were vaguely described by the name of Tharshish. The phrase "ships of Tharshish" is however not confined to ships that actually went to those regions: but like the

“East-Indiamen,” it rather describes a class of vessels fit for the most distant and difficult voyages : and the products which that navy brought seem rather to have come from Solomon’s oriental traffic. This was conducted from the two ports of Elath (*Ælana*, *Akabah*) and Ezion-geber, at the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea (*Sinus Ælaniticus*, *Gulf of Akabah*), which the conquest of Edom had added to the kingdom, and which were visited by Solomon in person. From these ports the fleet built by Solomon, and navigated by the skilled sailors of Hiram, sailed to OPHIR, a place in the Indian Ocean, probably on the eastern coast of Arabia, and returned after a three years’ voyage, bringing gold, silver, ivory, and precious stones for wealth and ornament, almug (or algum) trees, the rare wood of which was used for terraces (or verandas) to the Temple, and lastly (for Solomon added to his magnificence the whims of luxury), apes and peacocks.

The amount of gold brought to Solomon by this navy is variously stated at 420, 450, and in one year as much as 666 talents, besides what was brought by merchants, and the tribute of gold and silver from the chieftains of Arabia. Silver was so abundant as scarcely to be esteemed a precious metal, and all the king’s drinking-vessels were of gold. The “House of the Forest of Lebanon” too had all its vessels of pure gold ; and in it were hung 200 targets of beaten gold, each weighing 600 shekels, and 300 shields of three pounds each. But the most magnificent work made from these precious things was Solomon’s throne of ivory and gold. It was a chair of state, such as we still see in the Assyrian thrones, with a round back and two lions supporting the arms, and was elevated on six steps, each flanked by a pair of lions, the symbols of the tribe of Judah. The chair seems to have been made of ivory inlaid with gold, the steps of plates of ivory, and the lions of beaten gold.

Seated “high on this throne of royal state,” which shone with “the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind,” and “exceeding all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom,” Solomon dispensed justice, and received the visitors from all parts of the world, who came to hear his wisdom, bringing their presents of vessels of gold and silver, garments, armor, spices, horses and mules. Among them came one, whose visit has been rendered doubly memorable by the allusion made to it by Christ. Far to the south, on the shores of the Arabian Gulf, the country of SHEBA (probably the modern *El-Yemen*) was ruled by a queen, who seems to have enjoyed among the tribes of Arabia a reputation like Solomon’s for wisdom. His fame reached her ears, and she determined to judge for herself. With an immense caravan of



TYRE.

camels, bearing gold and precious stones and spices, she came to Jerusalem, to try Solomon with those "hard questions," which have always formed the favorite exercise of oriental ingenuity. "She communed with him of all that was in her heart." The perfect wisdom of the king's replies in this conflict of wit and learning, the magnificence of his buildings, the splendor of his royal state, the order of his court, completely overwhelmed the queen: "there was no more spirit in her." She confessed that all was true which she had heard, and refused to believe, in her own country; nay, the half had not been told her: and she blessed Jehovah, and the people to whom he had given such a king. Having given and received magnificent presents, she departed to her own country; and the odor of her visit was long preserved by such an abundance of spices as was never known at Jerusalem before or since. Whether she went back a convert to the true faith, as her praises of Jehovah seem partly to imply, and how far her visit tended to the planting of the numerous proselytes whom we afterward find in Arabia, can only be matter of conjecture; and the traditions, by which the simple narrative of her visit is overlaid, scarcely deserve notice. But the zeal with which she journeyed from the ends of the earth to prove for herself the wisdom of which she had heard so much, stands recorded by "One greater than Solomon" for the eternal shame of those who neglect to hear HIM, when he stands in their very midst; Him who is the incarnate WISDOM that formed the noblest subject of Solomon's discourse. The visit of the Queen of Sheba marks the culminating point of Solomon's glory. It remains for us to relate the lesson which his later years give of the vanity of all human splendor and the inherent defects of despotism, even when based on the recognition of the true religion.

The faults of Solomon were both personal and political. The fruit of the latter scarcely appeared till the reign of his son; but that reign commenced with a protest against "the heavy yoke" of Solomon, and the whips with which he chastised the people; and, as we shall presently see, the discontent had begun to show itself before his death. His personal faults were the natural result of unbounded wealth and luxury. That his fall was not more abject and irreparable, proves that "large heart" which Milton gives him, and still more God's faithfulness to his covenant with David. He began, as we have seen, by taking a foreign and heathen wife, the daughter of Pharaoh: to her he added wives from the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites, in short, from all the nations with whom God had expressly forbidden

intermarriages; and in defiance of the charge of Moses to the king, he had 700 wives and 300 concubines, with the result which Moses had foretold. In his old age, his wives turned away his heart from Jehovah to their gods, and induced him to provide places for their worship. He served Ashtoreth, the moon-goddess of the Zidonians, and Moloch (or Milcom), the "horrid king" whom the Ammonites worshipped with human sacrifices. The Mount of Offense, forming the south summit of the Mount of Olives, which rises directly opposite to Mount Moriah on the east, was made the sanctuary of this deity. He also built a temple to Chemosh, the obscene god of Moab, and similar fanes were erected for other gods, at which his wives burned incense and offered sacrifice.

These outrages, the more flagrant in the king who had himself built the Temple, and to whom Jehovah had twice given solemn warnings mingled with his promises, called down the wrath of God, whose covenant with David alone saved Solomon from the fate of Saul. The judgment was denounced upon him, that his kingdom should be "rent" from him and given to his servant; and his last years were troubled with the beginnings of the revolution. He had already some formidable enemies. One of these was HADAD, prince of Edom, who had escaped to Egypt from the massacre of Joab, and had married the sister-in-law of Pharaoh, who at last gave a reluctant consent to Hadad's return to his own country, where he began a harassing war against Solomon. A still more formidable adversary was raised up in the person of REZON, who had been a servant of Hadadezer, the Syrian king of Zobah, upon whose defeat by David, Rezon gathered a band of outlaws, maintained himself against the whole power of Solomon, and finally succeeded in founding the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, the relations of which to Israel were afterward so important.

But the great danger denounced on Solomon for his sin arose from one of his own servants, JEROBOAM, the son of Nebat, an Ephraimite of Zereda, whose mother, Zeruah, was early left a widow. He grew up to be "a mighty man of valor;" and was employed, as a young man, upon the fortifications of Millo. His energy attracted the notice of Solomon, who made him overseer of the works imposed upon the tribe of Joseph (Ephraim). According to the LXX., Jeroboam had the whole honor of completing the fortifications of the city of David; having done which, he aspired to the kingdom, and courted popularity by the same means which Absalom had used. There is nothing of this in the Hebrew text; and his designation by



EASTERN CASEMENT.

the prophet Ahijah seems as great a surprise to himself as that of Saul to Samuel. Jeroboam had gone out of Jerusalem, when he was met on the road by Ahijah the Shilonite, who snatched the new garment off his own back, and, tearing it in twelve pieces, gave ten of them to Jeroboam, telling him the word of God, that he would rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon except one tribe, which should remain for the sake of David, and to preserve God's worship at Jerusalem; while the other ten should be given to Jeroboam, but only after the death of Solomon. The matter reached the ears of Solomon, who sought the life of Jeroboam; but the latter fled to Egypt, and remained there with Shishak (whose name is now mentioned for the first time) till the death of Solomon. According to the LXX., Shishak gave him the sister of his wife and of Hadad's wife, as an inducement to his remaining in Egypt.

Amid such beginnings of impending trouble, Solomon approached the end of his course. The history says nothing of his repentance,

nor indeed of any result produced by God's warnings and chastisements. His whole character had probably become too worldly for the heartfelt penitence of his father. But yet we have in the book of Ecclesiastes a review of the whole experience of his life, based on the recognition of the fear of God; the review of a religious philosopher, rather than of a spiritual believer. It gives the experience of a man who has tasted every form of pleasure, and pronounces all to end in disappointment; and from this restless search after excitement—in which every supposed novelty is found to be the same thing over and over again, generation after generation, the Royal Preacher comes back to this simple result—that true life consists in the discharge of duty from religious motives: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole [life] of man."

B. C. 975. Solomon died at Jerusalem in the 40th year of his reign, and was buried in the royal sepulchre in the city of David. The history of his reign was written by the prophets Nathan and Ahijah, by Iddo the seer, in his "Visions against Jeroboam," and in the "Book of the Acts of Solomon." The first three works probably formed the basis of the narrative in the first book of Kings; while the substance of the last is preserved in epitome in the second book of Chronicles. Notwithstanding his immense harem, we only read of his having one son, his successor REHOBOAM, the son of Naamah, a princess of Ammon.

BOOK VI.


THE DIVIDED MONARCHY—THE CAPTIVITY AND THE RETURN.

[B. C. 975—400.]

CHAPTER XX.

THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL—FROM THE DIVISION OF THE MONARCHY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF AHAB.

[B. C. 975—884.]

OON after the death of Solomon, the prophecy of Ahijah was fulfilled; his kingdom was rent in twain, and the parts, both greatly weakened by the disruption, formed the separate kingdoms of Judah and Israel. To a superficial observer, the northern kingdom, including ten tribes, about two-thirds of the population, and, with the region east of the Jordan, more than the same proportion of the land,* and that much the best in quality, would seem to have had all the elements of greater strength. But, on the other hand, Judah retained the capital, the centre of the organized system of government and of the material interests of the nation, together with the accumulated treasures of Solomon. And, to say nothing of the energy of the tribe of Judah, which was, perhaps, equalled by Ephraim, Zebulun, and Naphtali, all the moral and religious elements of greatness were on the sides of the southern kingdom.

From the very first, the blot of rebellion clung to the cause of Israel; the divine selection of Jeroboam to punish the sins of Solomon was not held to justify his rebellion. He was indeed assured that obedience to God's law would be rewarded by the establishment of his kingdom and his dynasty; but his very first acts severed every religious bond to Jehovah and his worship, and his course was followed by his successors, of whom, with scarcely an exception, we read

* The areas of the two kingdoms were respectively, Israel, about 9375 square miles, Judah about 3435; the former being about as large as the State of New Hampshire, and the latter about half as large as New Jersey. The whole of Palestine was about equal in area to Maryland and Rhode Island combined.

the emphatic sentence, "he did evil in the sight of Jehovah, and walked in the way of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin."

On the other hand, the kingdom of Judah was preserved from the defection of the other tribes, expressly for the sake of God's covenant with David, and to maintain his worship at its chosen seat; and the immediate consequence of Jeroboam's *religious* revolt was to drive all the priests and Levites to Jerusalem. With the line of David remained God's promise of a permanent kingdom, made doubly sure by its ultimate reference to the Messiah; in that family the crown was handed on, generally from father to son; while, in Israel, the dynasty of Jeroboam ended with his son; and there followed a series of murders and usurpations, amid which the longest dynasties, those of Omri and Jehu, only numbered four and five kings each. From the disruption to the epoch at which Ahaziah, king of Judah, and Jehoram, king of Israel, were killed at the same time by Jehu, a period of ninety years (B. C. 975-884), Judah had only six kings (though Ahaziah reigned but one year), while Israel had nine; and, in the whole period of 255 years, from the disruption to the captivity of Israel, twelve kings of Judah occupy the same space as nineteen kings of Israel; a striking indication of the greater stability of the former dynasty. The moral superiority is equally striking, not only in the preservation of the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, while Israel was sunk in idolatry, but even on the comparatively weak ground of the personal character of the kings. It is true that the house of David was deeply corrupted, chiefly by its connection with the wicked house of Ahab; but it boasts the names of Asa, Jehoshaphat, Uzziah, Jotham, the godly Hezekiah, the penitent Manasseh, the pure Josiah; while not one of the kings of Israel is free from the blot of foul wickedness; for even the fierce zeal of Jehu had no purity of motive. The two kingdoms were equally distinguished in their final fate. The sentence of captivity was executed upon Israel about 130 years sooner than on Judah; and while the ten tribes never returned to their land, and only a scattered remnant of them shared the restoration of Judah, the latter became once more a small but powerful nation, not free from the faults of their fathers, but worshipping God with a purity and serving him with a heroic zeal unequalled since the days of Joshua, and preparing for the restoration of the true spiritual kingdom under the last great son of David.

The part of the history thus reviewed, down to the Captivity at Babylon, may be marked out into three great periods:—I. From the disruption to the simultaneous deaths of the kings of Judah and



DEFEAT OF THE ISRAELITES BY THE CHILDREN OF JUDAH.



RUINS OF THE GOLDEN GATE AT JERUSALEM.

Israel by the hand of Jehu, in B. C. 884:—II. To the captivity of Israel by Shalmaneser (or Sargon), in B. C. 721:—III. The remaining history of Judah, down to the Captivity at Babylon, in B. C. 586. We return to the thread of the history from the death of Solomon.

REHOBAM, or Roboam (LXX.) was the son of Solomon by Naamah, an Ammonite princess. As he was forty-one at his accession, he must have been born about the time of his father's association with David in the kingdom. The luxury in which he was trained seems to have given him a light and headstrong character, on which his father's precepts were thrown away; he was quite unequal to the difficulties bequeathed to him by Solomon; and he was scarcely seated on the throne, before the old jealousy between Judah and the other tribes broke out anew. It was probably to conciliate such feelings, as well as to comply with the form of popular recognition which had been observed in the case of Solomon, that, not content with his accession to the throne at Jerusalem, he held an assembly of all Israel at the ancient sanctuary of Shechem; unless, indeed, that assemblage were rather the act of the Israelites themselves, and of Ephraim in particular, with a view to resist his claims. At all events, such an opposition seems to have been prepared from the first convocation of the assembly; and JEROBOAM was sent for out of Egypt by the malcontents. His appearance at the head of the congregation may be taken as a proof that their demand for the redress of the grievances they had suffered under Solomon was a pretext for revolt. Rehoboam took three days for deliberation. He was advised by his father's old counsellors to take away the pretext by a conciliatory answer. This step, they thought, would have satisfied the majority of the people, with whom the names of David and Solomon had not yet lost their prestige. But the king would not yield a jot; and he took counsel with the younger men, who had grown up with him at the court. Urged on by them, he refused the petition with reckless insolence. "You complain of my father's heavy yoke; I will add to its weight! my little finger shall be thicker than his loins! He chastised you with whips; I will chastise you with scorpions!" Then Ephraim and all Israel raised again the old cry of Sheba, disclaiming all part in the house of David, and calling Israel to their tents. Adoram, the chief officer of the tribute, being sent to appease the tumult, was stoned to death, and Rehoboam only escaped by fleeing in his chariot to Jerusalem.

B. C. 975. The rebellion was complete, and Jeroboam was proclaimed king over all Israel at Shechem. The cities of

Judah, however, adhered to Rehoboam, and the tribe of Benjamin soon espoused his cause. Ever since the great blow inflicted on that tribe, it seems to have been more or less subordinate to Judah. The appearances to the contrary are rather proofs of the impatience with which the yoke was borne. The capture of Jerusalem, which lay within the bounds of Benjamin, from the Jebusites, by the great king of Judah, gave his house a powerful hold upon the feelings of the tribe; and it is not improbable, from the similar course afterward taken by Rehoboam, that David may have established his sons in the fortified cities of Benjamin. Perhaps too Jeroboam's profanation of their sacred city of Bethel may have offended the tribe. At all events, we find them answering the summons of Rehoboam to a war for the subjugation of the rebels, with all their military force. The united army of Judah and Benjamin amounted to 180,000 warriors; but the enterprise was forbidden by the prophet Shemaiah, as God had willed the separation of the kingdoms. A desultory warfare was however kept up between the two kingdoms under Rehoboam and his two successors, for a period of sixty years, and its cessation was followed by a most disastrous alliance with the house of Ahab. Meanwhile Rehoboam made every effort to strengthen his diminished kingdom; fortifying several of the most important cities of Judah and Benjamin, and furnishing them with arms and provisions. When the boundaries of the kingdom of Judah became settled, they embraced the territories of Dan and Simeon, which were originally included in the lot of Judah, and ultimately even a part of Ephraim. On the south, Edom was still retained till the reign of Jehoram, the fifth king; but we are not told whether Hadad was defeated or made tributary. The cause of Rehoboam was strengthened by the resort to him of the great body of priests and Levites from all parts of Israel, whom Jeroboam had deposed from their functions; and the first three years of his reign were exceedingly prosperous. But he was corrupted, like his father, by his numerous harem, which was composed of eighteen wives and sixty concubines; he had twenty sons and sixty daughters. His three chief wives were all of his own family; Mahalath, the grand-daughter, and Abihail, the niece of David, and Maachah, the daughter of Absalom. The last was his favorite wife, and the mother of Abijah, his successor. He provided for his other sons, and guarded Abijah from their rivalry, by giving them splendid establishments in the fortified cities of Judah and Benjamin. Meanwhile both king and people declined into idolatry, and practised the most abominable vices of the nations around, and their punishment was speedy.

In the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak (Sheshonk I.), king of Egypt, whom we have already seen as the protector of Hadad and

B. C. 970. Jeroboam, made an expedition against Jerusalem with all

the forces of his empire. He took the strong cities of Judah, and had reached Jerusalem, when the king and people, reproved by the prophet Shemaiah, humbled themselves before Jehovah, who saved them from captivity. Shishak, however, spoiled the Temple and the king's palace of their treasures, and carried off the celebrated golden shields of Solomon, which Rehoboam replaced by shields of brass, to keep up the old display when they were carried before him in processions. The kingdom of Judah became for a time tributary to Shishak, that the people might learn the difference between the service of God and the service of heathen kings. The expedition of Shishak is one of the chief points of contact between sacred history and the records of the Egyptian monuments. On the wall of the great temple of Karnak are the sculptured figures of captains with features clearly Jewish, and the appended inscription contains, among a long list of conquests, the name of "Yuda Melchi" (*the kingdom of Judah*).

The lesson seems not to have been lost on Rehoboam and his people. "There were yet good things in Judah;" but the sum of the king's character is this: "He did evil, because he fixed not his heart to seek Jehovah." He died after a reign of seventeen years, and was buried in the city of David. His acts were recorded by the prophet Shemaiah, by the seer Iddo, in his book of genealogies, and in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.

ABIJAH, the son of Rehoboam, was the second king of B. C. 957. Judah. He succeeded his father in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam's reign, and reigned three years at Jerusalem. He continued the war with Jeroboam, and gathered the whole force of Judah and Benjamin for the subjugation of the ten tribes. According to our present text, he brought into the field 400,000 chosen warriors, and Jeroboam met him with 800,000, of whom 500,000 fell in the rout at Zemaraim, in Mount Ephraim, where the favor of God prevailed against the skilful tactics which Jeroboam imitated from Joshua. The loss of the men of Judah is not stated. In consequence of this victory, Abijah took Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephraim, with their dependent towns; and Jeroboam never again made head against him. This success, granted to the arms of Judah "because they relied upon Jehovah, the God of their fathers," proved his forbearance with the sins of Abijah for David's sake. The fact that Abijah

upbraids the men of Israel with their rebellion and idolatry, and relies on the goodness of the cause of Judah, who had Jehovah for their God and the priests keeping his charge, is no proof that his personal vices are exaggerated in the book of Kings. Abijah followed the example of his predecessors in his numerous harem. He had fourteen wives, and was the father of twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters. His history was written by the prophet Iddo, and in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. He died, and was buried in the city of David, leaving the kingdom to his son Asa in such a state of strength and prosperity, that Jeroboam did not venture to resume the war; and the confusion which soon ensued in the royal family of Israel insured Judah a ten years' peace. Abijah's death was followed in less than two years by that of Jeroboam, to whose history we now return.

JEROBOAM I., the first king of the separate kingdom of Israel, was inaugurated (like Abimelech) at Shechem, by the choice of the men of Israel. He fortified that city and Penuel for his two capitals, west and east of Jordan, but fixed his own residence at the beautiful town of Tirzah. The ten tribes which adhered to him are probably to be reckoned by taking Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) as *one*, and excluding Levi and Judah. The secession of Benjamin still left the number *ten*, by counting Ephraim and Manasseh separately. Dan remained in the number, in virtue of its possessions in the north. Simeon was actually included in the kingdom of Judah; but the tribe seems to have sunk into such insignificance as to be numbered among the ten only by a sort of negative computation. Beyond the old limits of Palestine, Moab was attached to Israel; and Ammon would naturally preserve its family alliance with Rehoboam, to whom, as we have seen, Edom was also subject; but a common interest soon prompted these tribes to union, against both the kingdoms. As for the allies and tributaries of Solomon in Phœnicia and Syria, though now cut off from Judah, they are not at all likely to have submitted to the King of Israel. We hear of no further connection with Phœnicia, Cœle-Syria, and the Lebanon; and we soon find the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, whose rise we have already noticed, a most formidable enemy of Israel.

After all these deductions, Jeroboam was at the head of a fine kingdom, populous, powerful, and fertile, and abounding in the resources which Solomon had developed. The prophet Ahijah had promised the establishment of his kingdom on the condition of obedience to Jehovah. But Jeroboam had no faith in his political security so long

as his subjects continued to resort to the capital of his rival as their religious home. There were ancient sanctuaries within his dominions, and the erection of one of these into a new centre of worship, though illegal, might not perhaps have been altogether inexcusable. Or he might have allowed the priests to continue their domestic ministrations, and the people would only have been too ready to break off their visits to Jerusalem. But his fear prompted a more violent and fatal course, which added a religious schism to the political disruption, and brought down the divine wrath on his house and kingdom. Resorting to the idolatry which he had witnessed in Egypt, and following the example of Aaron, whose very words he used, he set up two golden calves, the symbols of the Heliopolitan deity Mnevis, in the two extremities of his kingdom. Dan was probably chosen as having been the sanctuary of the northern tribes, ever since the Danites had sat up there the images of Micah; Bethel as the "house of God" for all Israel since its consecration by Jacob. The latter was the chief seat of the new worship, which the king himself inaugurated on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, in imitation of the dedication of the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles, but a month later, "in the month which he had *devised of his own heart*." Having appointed priests "from the lowest of the people," in place of the Levites, whom he deposed and drove from their cities to Jerusalem, he erected an altar at Bethel, upon which he burned incense in the feast he had appointed. In the very midst of the ceremony, a man of God, sent by the word of Jehovah out of Judah, confronted Jeroboam at his altar, on which he prophesied that a son of David, named Josiah, should one day offer the bones of the idolatrous priests who sacrificed upon it; and he added a sign, that the altar should be rent and the ashes on it poured out upon the ground. The enraged king called on his guards to seize the prophet, and put out his own hand to lay hold of him; but the hand was withered and fell helpless, and an earthquake rent the altar. On the prophet's prayer, entreated by the king, his hand was restored, and he begged the man of God to accept his hospitality and a reward, which he refused, and departed by another way, as he had been commanded. How he yielded to an aged brother prophet the consent he had refused the king, how he was slain by a lion for his disobedience and buried by the old prophet, who entreated that his bones might be laid beside him, to preserve them from the fate denounced on the idol priests, is one of those beautiful episodes of Scripture familiar to our earliest recollections. But the warning had no permanent effect on Jeroboam, who persisted in his idolatrous worship, and consecrated

any one as a priest who could afford to bring the prescribed offering of a young bullock and seven rams.

So another chastisement befell him in his own family. His son Abijah, the only one of his house "in whom there was found some good thing toward Jehovah the God of Israel," was mercifully removed by death from the wickedness around him. On his falling ill Jeroboam sought help secretly from the God whom he had openly forsaken. It is an interesting point in the history of the kingdom of Israel, and one which most impressively teaches God's long-suffering, that in spite of the apostasy under Jeroboam, there were never wanting prophets to testify for Jehovah; and while the chief prophetic writers of a later age belong to Judah, those most distinguished for their actions, as Elijah and Elisha, prophesied in Israel. Thus Ahijah, the Shilonite, who had designated Jeroboam to the kingdom, was still at Shiloh; and to him the king's wife resorted in disguise, with a present of bread and honey. The prophet was blind, but God had warned him of her coming, and given him a terrible answer for her. At the sound of her feet upon the threshold, Ahijah addressed her by name, and recounting all the sins of Jeroboam, foretold the speedy extinction of his race and the coming captivity of Israel. The child was to die, but, as the reward of his piety, he alone of all his house should be buried in peace; the rest should be the food of dogs and vultures. The queen returned to Tirzah, and the child expired as she crossed the threshold. He was buried and lamented by all Israel, as their last hope amid the vices of the royal house and the calamitous defeat in the great battle with Judah. Not long after Jeroboam died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, after a reign of twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his son Nadab.

NADAB, the second and last king of the dynasty of B. C. 954.

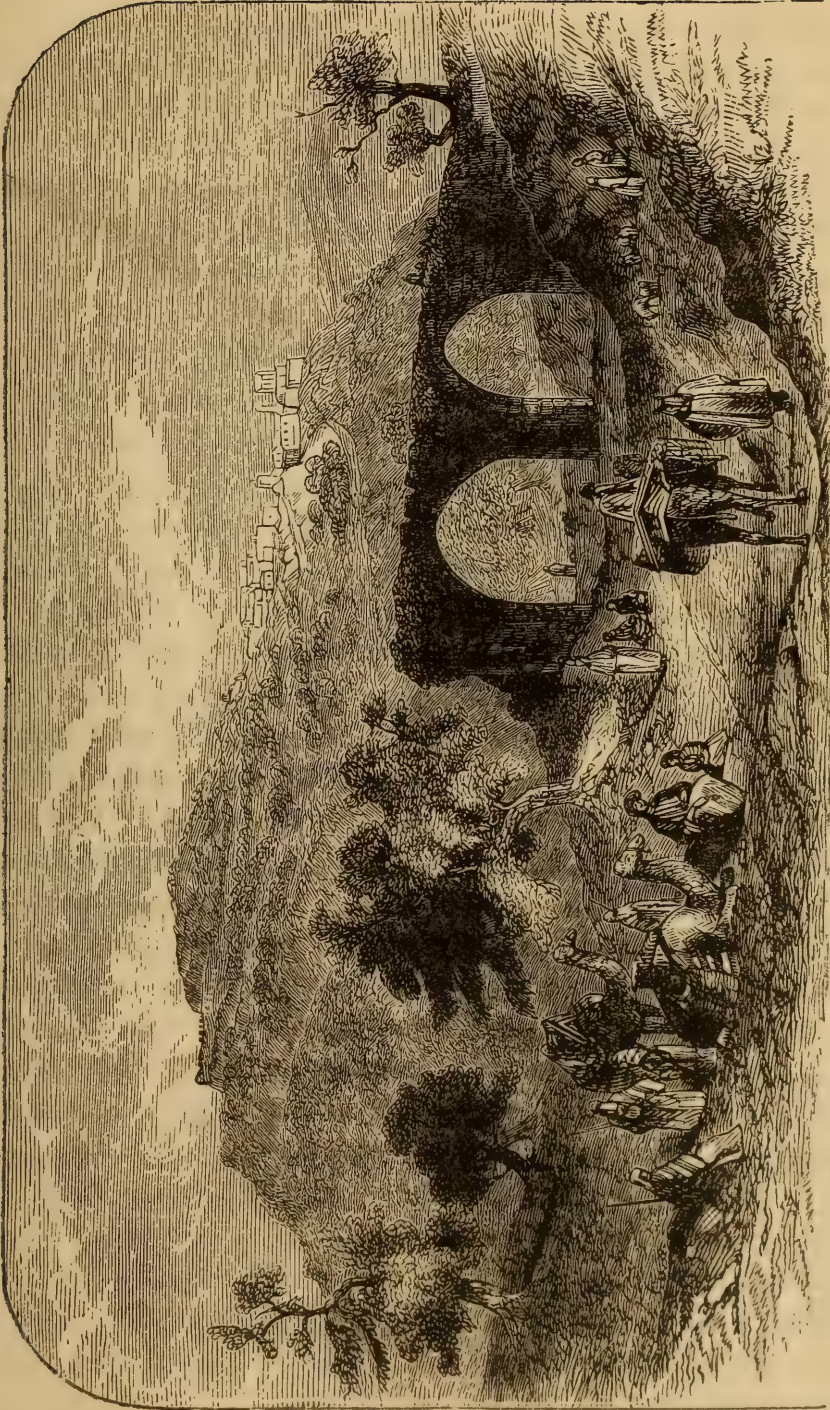
Jeroboam, succeeded his father in the second year of Asa, king of Judah, and reigned for parts of two years (B. C. 954-953), imitating the sins of Jeroboam. The only recorded action of his reign is the siege of Gibbethon, a city in the territory of Dan, which, having been abandoned by the Levites, to whom it belonged, when they were driven out by Jeroboam, had been occupied by the Philistines. Its possession was eagerly contested by the kings of Israel, who besieged it again and again. Nadab here fell the victim to a military conspiracy under Baasha, his captain of the host, who killed the king and all the house of Jeroboam, and so fulfilled the prophecy of Ahijah.

With the extinction of the first dynasty, the crown of Israel passed from the tribe of Ephraim to that of Issachar; but the second dynasty

also lasted for only two generations. BAASHA, the son of Ahijah, became the third king of Israel in the third year of Asa, king of Judah, and reigned at Tirzah four-and-twenty years. His entire addiction to the sins of Jeroboam brought upon his house the same fate as theirs, which was denounced upon him by the prophet Jehu, son of Hanani. His whole efforts seem to have been devoted to the war with Judah. In the thirteenth year of his reign (the fifteenth of Asa), alarmed by the defection of the worshippers of Jehovah to the pious king of Judah, he attempted to blockade the frontier by fortifying Ramah; but Asa called in the help of Benhadad I., the Syrian king of Damascus, who invaded the north of Israel, and took Ijon, Dan, Abel-maim, and the store-cities of Naphtali. This diversion recalled Baasha from Judah, against which he seems to have made no more serious attempts. He died and was buried at Tirzah, in the twenty-sixth year of Asa, leaving the kingdom to his son ELAH, the fourth king of Israel, who reigned for only parts of two years (B. C. 930-929), and was then killed at Tirzah, in a state of intoxication, by Zimri, the commander of half his force of chariots. With him perished all the house of Baasha, who were massacred by Zimri, as Jehu had foretold.

ZIMRI, the fifth king, enjoyed his usurpation at Tirzah only seven days. The army of Israel, which was then engaged in the siege of Gibbethon, having elected Omri, their general, as king, marched to attack Tirzah, which they carried by assault. Zimri shut himself up in the palace, which he burned over his head in his despair. The crown was also claimed by TIBNI, son of Ginath, and he drew half the people after him, but was defeated and killed, after a civil war of four years, from the twenty-seventh to the thirty-first of Asa.

B. C. 925. OMRI was the sixth king of Israel, and the founder of the third dynasty, which lasted for three generations and four kings. His father's name and tribe are unknown. The twelve years of his reign are probably to be dated from the death of Elah, as his full recognition is placed in the thirty-first year of Asa, and the accession of his son Ahab in the thirty-eighth of Asa; so that his six years' reign at Tirzah would include the civil war. He abandoned Tirzah, and built the famous city of Samaria, which continued to be the capital of the kingdom until the destruction of the kingdom of Israel. His dynasty became notorious for its wickedness, surpassing all its predecessors, so that "the statutes of Omri" became a by-word for a course opposed to the law of Jehovah. Of the particular events of Omri's reign, we are only able to infer from a subsequent



SAMARIA.

allusion, that the Syrian king of Damascus, Benhadad I., continued the war with Israel, and forced his own terms on Omri, who consented to receive a resident envoy in his new capital of Samaria. Israel was fast losing the power of an independent state; but the kingdom was still adorned with much wealth and luxury, when Omri left it to his son AHAB, in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, king of Judah, to whose long reign we must now return.

ASA, the third king of Judah, succeeded his father B. C. 955. Abijah, in the twentieth year of Jeroboam I., king of Israel, and reigned for the long period of forty-one years. His name, which signifies *curing* or *physician*, was significant of his work. Himself, a worthy son of David, and having "his heart perfect with Jehovah all his days," he reformed the religious and moral abuses of the three preceding reigns. He put down the unnatural vices which had grown up under Rehoboam, and destroyed the idols. Even his mother Maachah was deposed from the rank of "queen-mother"—which was reckoned a great dignity in the East—because she had set up an *Asherah* (or idol), probably for the impure orgies of Ashtoreth; and Asa cut down and burned her *Asherah*, and strewed its ashes on the brook Kidron, just as Moses had treated the golden calf. Still, however, the old hill-sanctuaries were retained as places of worship. They were suppressed by Jehoshaphat, but partially; and again long after by the zeal of Josiah. Asa repaired Shishak's plunder of the Temple by rich offerings of gold and silver, in addition to those dedicated by his father, probably in the early part of his reign, but since transferred to the heathen shrines. It is indeed curious to observe how soon the treasures, of which the Temple was repeatedly stripped—by Shishak, by Asa himself at a later time, and by other kings—were again supplied. The commerce established by Solomon with Arabia and the East, and with the silver-producing regions of Western Europe, must have continued to flourish. The great victory of Abijah over Jeroboam secured peace to Judah for the first ten years of Asa's reign; and he used it in building new fortifications to his cities. He raised an army of 580,000 men (if we might trust the numbers of our common text), of whom 300,000 were men of Judah, armed with spear and shield, and 280,000 Benjamite archers. This military preparation was probably connected with an attempt to throw off the tributary yoke which Shishak had imposed upon Rehoboam; and it brought upon Asa the whole force of the Egyptian monarchy. At least it is probable that "Zerah, the Cushite" (or Ethiopian), was a king of

Egypt. He invaded Judah at the head of a million of men ; but Asa encountered him at Mareshah (near the later Eleutheropolis) in the southwest of Judah ; and, after a fervent prayer to God, he routed the Ethiopian host and pursued them to Gerar. He returned to Jerusalem with the spoil of the cities round Gerar, and with innumerable sheep and cattle. A solemn appeal was made by God to king and people, while their hearts were still warm with the victory. The prophet AZARIAH, son of Oded, met Asa on his return, and exhorted him and his subjects to be strong, heart and hand, in seeking God. He gave an affecting description of the former state of Israel :—" For a long season Israel hath been (or was) without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law." His words roused the hearers to a new and more thorough reformation. The idols were removed from all the cities of Judah and Benjamin, and those which had been won from Ephraim. The altar of burnt-offering, which had probably been polluted, was renewed, and Asa called a great convocation at Jerusalem in the third month of the fifteenth year of his reign (B. C. 940). It was attended not only by all Judah and Benjamin, but by many of Ephraim, Manasseh, and other tribes ; and a covenant was made, with solemn oaths and joyful shouts and music, to serve God with all their hearts, and to punish all idolatry with death. This general defection to Asa of the worshippers of Jehovah throughout the kingdom of Israel must have added great strength, especially moral strength, to Judah. It alarmed Baasha, the king of Israel, who renewed the war with all his forces, and, as we have seen, fortified Ramah, as a sort of blockading station on the frontier of Judah, to prevent his subjects from going over to Asa. It was then that the good king of Judah committed the one great error of his life. He not only resorted to the heathen king of Damascus, Benhadad I., but he took the treasures of the house of God to purchase his alliance. Benhadad's invasion of Northern Israel recalled Baasha from Ramah, and the stones and timber which he had collected were carried away by Asa to build the frontier forts of Geba (the *hill*) and Mizpeh (the *watch-tower*) in Benjamin. The great well of Mizpeh was still remembered as Asa's work in the time of Jeremiah.

Asa's want of faith was reproved by the seer HANANI, the father of that Jehu who prophesied both to Baasha and Jehoshaphat. He told Asa that he had lost the honor of conquering Benhadad by seeking his alliance, and denounced against him constant war for the rest of his days. It is a sign of the growing loss of reverence for the

supreme authority of Jehovah, that even in Judah the discharge of a prophet's office had now come to involve danger to his person. Hanani was imprisoned by Asa in his rage, and others of the people were oppressed for the same cause. The king's conduct is to be ascribed partly to unbroken prosperity, and partly to the irritation of disease, for in his last years he suffered from the gout. The censure cast on him for "seeking not to Jehovah, but to the physicians," is no doubt founded on the principle, on which the whole retributive system of the Mosaic law is based, that every form of temporal suffering was to be viewed as a chastisement from God and to be met first by humiliation and prayer to him, who would then permit the physician or any other secondary agent to do his office with such success as it might be his will to grant. Asa sank under the disease in the forty-first year of his reign, having been contemporary with all the first seven kings of Israel. His body was laid in a bed of spices in a sepulchre he had prepared for himself in the city of David, and precious odors were burned for him in great abundance, as was the custom at the funerals of worthy kings.

JEHOSHAPHAT, the fourth king of Judah, was the son B. C. 914. of Asa and Azubah. At the age of thirty-five he succeeded his father in the fourth year of Ahab, king of Israel, and reigned at Jerusalem twenty-five years. He followed his father's piety, and possessed an energy which makes him the most like David of all the other kings of Judah. He raised the kingdom to the highest point that it had reached since the disruption; but his unhappy alliance with Ahab went far to neutralize all his excellences, and brought ruin upon his successors. He was contemporary with Ahab and his two sons, Ahaziah and Jehoram.

Jehoshaphat began his reign by fortifying the cities of Judah and Benjamin, as well as those taken by his father in Mount Ephraim, while he became rich by the presents which attested the confidence of his subjects; and Jehovah was with him. He carried on his father's reformation by removing the groves and high places; but this was only imperfectly accomplished, "for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers." In the third year of his reign, he gave a commission to his chief princes, in conjunction with certain Levites and priests, to teach the people and to read the book of the Law in all the cities of Judah. His piety was rewarded with prosperity. He had peace with all the surrounding nations. Even the Philistines paid him tribute, and the Arabians brought the immense flocks of rams and goats which David had described in the

72d Psalm. He continued to fortify and garrison the cities; at Jerusalem he had a band of captains, like those of David; and under their command was a greater army than had yet been raised, though the numbers in our text are very much too large. His power had become too great for the King of Israel to hope for success in a new war; and the growing strength of the Syrian kingdom of Damascus may have prompted the alliance which was now formed between Jehoshaphat and Ahab, and which requires us to look back to the history of Israel.

AHAB (properly *Achab*), the seventh king of Israel, and B. C. 918. the second of the dynasty of Omri, succeeded his father in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, and reigned twenty-two years at Samaria. His name has attained an evil eminence in the world's history. Like Antiochus Epiphanes and Nero, he had a love of art, and he was not destitute of generous impulses; but he stands forth an example of the lengths of wickedness to which a weak selfishness may be driven by the influence of a stronger will. His fate was decided by his marriage with JEZEBEL, a name even more infamous than his own, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians. The very name of this prince (the *Man of Baal*) suggests the consequences of the alliance. In place of the worship of Jeroboam's calves, which, monstrous idols as they were, yet professed to be symbols of Jehovah, the service of Baal was established throughout Israel. Ahab built him a temple and an altar at Samaria, and made him a grove for the impure orgies of Ashtoreth. There was a great college of his priests, or prophets, who numbered 450, besides 400 prophets of the groves; and all these were maintained at Jezebel's table. By her orders, the prophets of Jehovah were put to death, except a hundred, who were hid and fed in a cave by Obadiah, the governor of Ahab's house: for even at his court there was at least one servant of Jehovah, as there were Christians in Nero's household. The influence of the court and the force of persecution completed the apostasy of the people, so that it was an unexpected consolation for the great prophet of the age to be assured that Jehovah had 7000 left in Israel, whose knees had not bowed to Baal, and their lips not kissed him.

This darkest night of Israel's spiritual declension was broken by the appearance of the greatest of all the prophets since Moses; and the type of that great preacher of repentance who was the forerunner of the Christ.

ELIJAH THE TISHBITE has been well called "the grandest and the most romantic character that Israel ever produced." He meets us with a suddenness as startling as the first appearance of John the

Baptist preaching repentance in the wilderness of Judæa. There is not a word of his parentage; and of his birthplace we only know that it was in the land of Gilead east of Jordan. But this one fact accounts for the prophet's outward peculiarities. Like Jephthah among the judges, he came of a wild, uncultured, pastoral race, whose mode of life had become more and more assimilated to that of the Bedouins of the neighboring desert, and who retained great force of character and power of physical endurance. His only clothing was a girdle of skin round his loins, and the "mantle," or cape, of sheepskin, the descent of which upon Elisha has passed into a proverb. Sheltered from Jezebel's persecution in the solitudes of Mount Gilead, he had been prepared by Jehovah for his mission to the apostate king and people.



ELIJAH FED BY RAVENS.

It was probably about the tenth year of Ahab's reign, that Elijah suddenly appeared before the king to declare, as the word of Jehovah, confirmed by an awful oath, that there should be no rain in the land for three years but at his word. From the New Testament we learn that the prophet was more than a mere messenger of the judgment. "He *prayed earnestly* that it might not rain: and it rained not on the

land by the space of three years and six months. And he *prayed again*, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit." This passage, introduced to show the power with B. C. 910? God exerted by "men affected like ourselves," may help to guard us against too mechanical a view of the prophet's functions. In his agonizing prayer upon Mount Carmel, at the close of the drought, we see how his own desire went forth to meet the will of God; and, though the history is silent as to all that preceded his message to Ahab, the words of James justify the supposition of a like scene; when the prophet, brooding over the state of Israel, as we see him at a later period, and preparing to stand forth as the champion for God, like Luther in his cell, put up fervent prayers for the sign that might attest his mission. Like Luther again, who of all men beyond the records of Scripture, had most of Elijah's spirit, he was saved from the immediate risk, at which he discharged his mission, by the command of God to hide himself in the wady of the Cherith,

whose position is uncertain. The history leaves the court, to follow the prophet; but it has been supposed that Jezebel's slaughter of the prophets was in revenge for the denunciation of Elijah. He remained in his hiding-place, fed by the ravens morning and evening with bread and meat, till the brook dried up, and he had to seek another refuge. The word of Jehovah sent him, as our Lord emphatically declares, not to any of the secret worshippers of God in Israel, nor to any city of Judah, perhaps lest he should appear to be a partisan of the rival kingdom; but the honor of nourishing God's prophet was granted to a woman, a poor widow of the heathen city of Zarephath, in the territory of Zidon. Elijah went thither, and found at the city gate a poor woman gathering a few sticks, to bake a cake made of her last handful of meal and her last drop of oil, that she and her only son might share it and then die. We need not repeat the familiar story of the faith with which she consented to sustain Elijah, the miraculous replenishing of the barrel of meal and the cruse of oil, as long as the famine lasted, and the restoration of the widow's son to life at the prophet's prayer.



ELIJAH'S SACRIFICE.

In the third year, Elijah was bidden to leave his concealment and show himself to Ahab. The drought had now become so disastrous, that the greatest exertions were needed to find grass enough to save the lives of the king's horses and cattle. Ahab undertook the search in person, taking one way himself, and sending his chief officer, Obadiah, by another. The latter, who has been mentioned as a zealous worshipper of Jehovah, was encountered by Elijah, and reluctantly undertook the risk of announcing to Ahab the prophet's reappearance. The king met Elijah with the threatening question, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?"—and the prophet retorted the charge upon himself for his apostasy and idolatry. He then challenged the king to a decisive trial between Baal and Jehovah, and a scene ensued upon Mount Carmel which has no parallel in the history of the world. On the one side were Baal's prophets, to the number of 450, supported by the court and followed by the people; for neither the few secret wor-



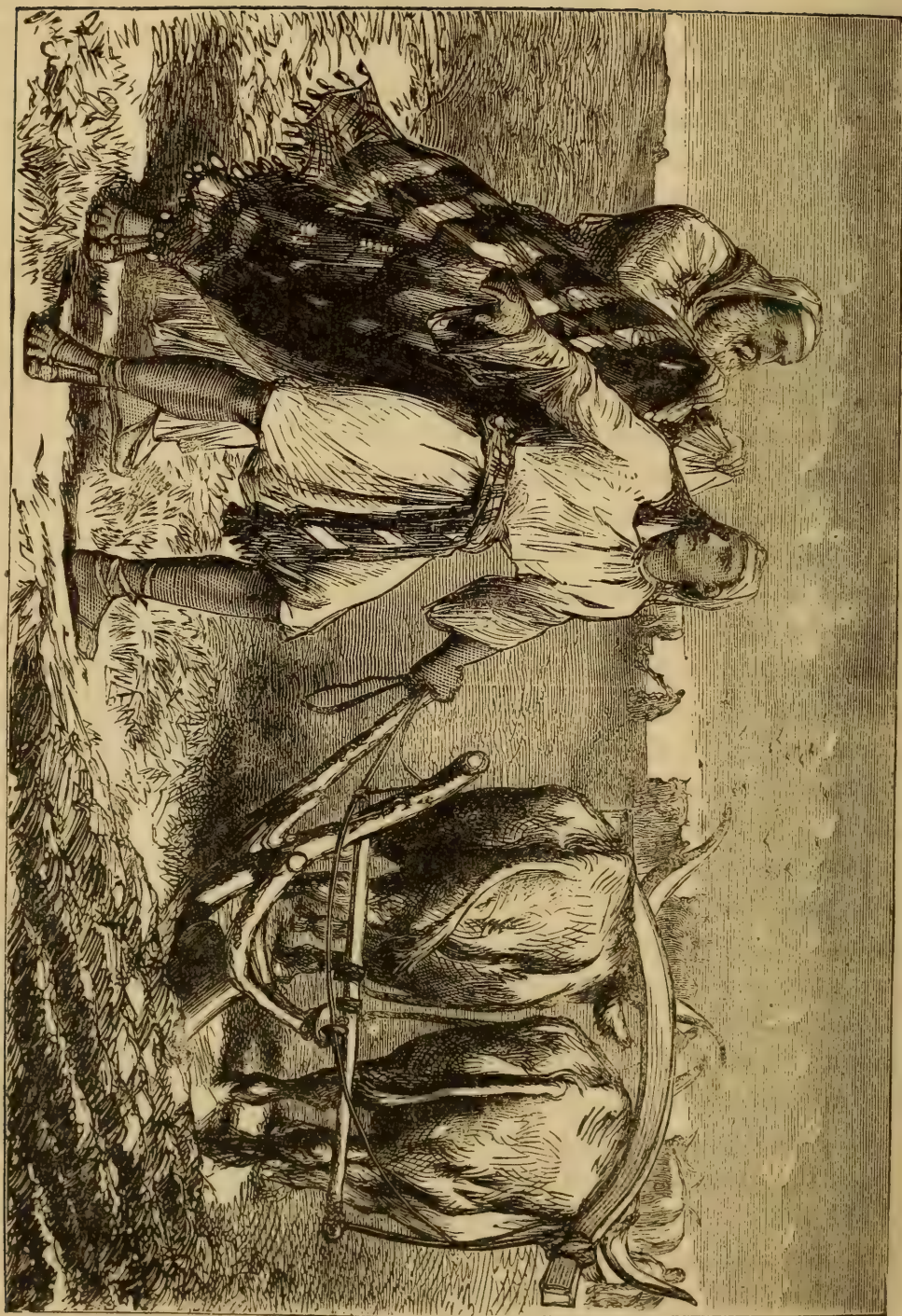
THE SHUNAMMITE'S SON.

shippers of Jehovah, nor the many whom his judgments had rendered dissatisfied with their idolatry, dared to show sympathy with the prophet. Elijah stood alone: but God was with him. His challenge was all the bolder, considering the juggling tricks with which the heathen priests were familiar, and which the king would be ready to abet.

But it is on the side of Elijah that we find precautions taken against such tricks, and taken by his own desire. He proposed a test of the simplest kind; that each party should prepare a bullock and wood, and pray to their respective gods to send down fire upon the sacrifice, "And the god that answereth by fire, let him be God." All the people assented to so fair a trial. Elijah gave Baal's prophets the choice between the victims, and the first trial. At early morn they prepared the sacrifice, and the air resounded till high noon with their wild chorus, growing more and more excited, "O Baal, hear us! Baal, hear us! Hear us!" The stillness of the summer noon was unbroken by an answer, and they leaped on their altar with frantic gesticulations. As the sun bent over the meridian, Elijah assailed both priests and god with that irony which the prophets often levelled at idolatry:—"Cry aloud! for he is a god! He is only abstracted in his own thoughts! Or he has gone hunting, or upon a journey. Or perhaps

he is asleep and must be awaked!" The priests renewed their cries, as if they half believed the last taunt, and cut their flesh with knives according to their custom, till their blood streamed down. But there was not a sign that their god so much as noticed them. And now the declining sun had reached the sacred hour of the evening sacrifice; and the exhausted priests ceased their "vain repetitions." With the utmost deliberation Elijah repaired the broken altar of Jehovah, and replaced the twelve unhewn stones that had formed it; for Carmel was a spot sure to have been a sanctuary, though the fact is not previously recorded. Having made a trench round the altar, and laid the bullock in pieces upon the wood, he for the first time commands the assistance of the people, to exclude all possibility of fraud. Thrice they poured water over the victim, the wood, and the altar, till the trench was full; so that no fire could possibly be concealed. At the very moment of the evening sacrifice, Elijah invoked the God of their fathers to show his divinity, and to turn back the people's hearts; and the fire came down from heaven in sight of all the people; consuming not only the sacrifice and the wood, but the very stones and dust of the altar, and licking up the water in the trench. All the people fell upon their faces crying out, "JEHOVAH, HE IS THE GOD! JEHOVAH, HE IS THE GOD!" Their new-awakened zeal was at once turned by Elijah against the idolaters. "Take the prophets of Baal!" he exclaimed—"let not one of them escape!" He was obeyed; and they were slain to a man on the bank of the river Kishon, a sacrifice to Baal in place of their vain offering. Ahab, who seems to have been a passive spectator of the scene, now yields himself to the direction of the prophet, who assures him that he hears the sound of abundant rain, and retires to his tent to eat and drink, while Kishon runs red with the blood of the priests. As he is thus engaged, Elijah withdraws to the summit of Carmel, and sits with his head bowed down between his knees, while his servant looks out over the sea for the first sign of rain in the west. Six times the lad reports that the sky is clear, and the prophet bids him look again; but at the seventh he brought back the message, which has ever since passed into a proverb:—"Behold there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand." At this sign the prophet sent the king word to prepare his chariot. The heaven grew black with clouds; and amid the cataracts of a rain-storm in that climate, Elijah ran before the king's chariot to the gates of Jezreel, a distance of sixteen miles.

The fierce spirit of Jezebel remained unsubdued, and her threats drove Elijah again to fly for his life. He traversed all Israel and



ELIJAH CASTING HIS MANTLE ON ELISHA.

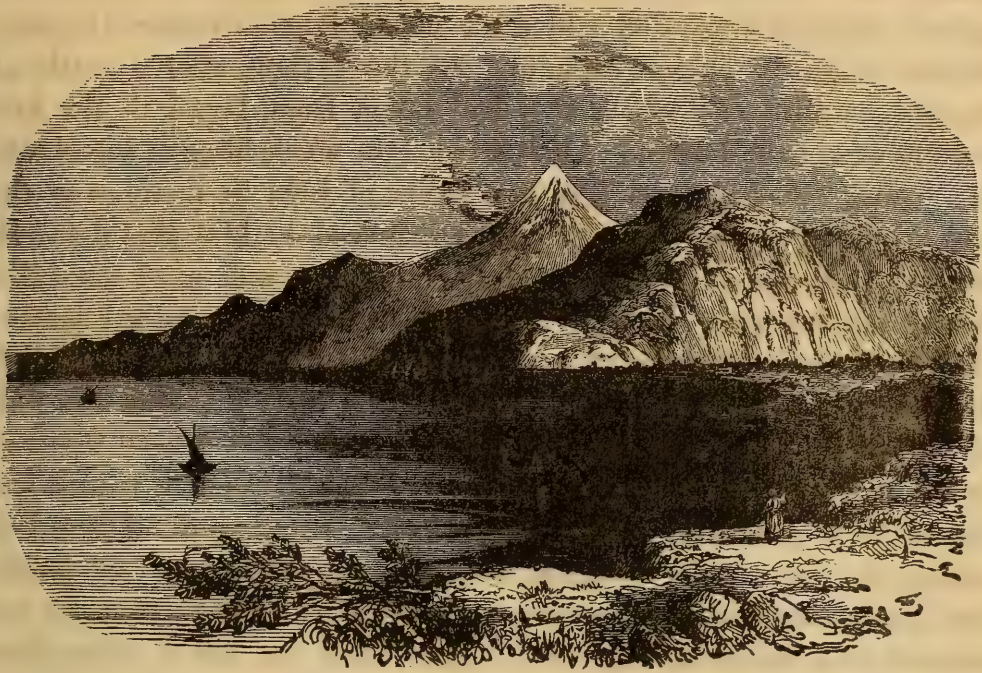
Judah to Beersheba; and there he left his servant, while he himself went forward under the impulse of the same Spirit which long after drove Christ into the wilderness. After one day's journey, he was overcome by fatigue and despair; and he sat down under a juniper tree, and prayed for death. His words betray that deep consciousness of individual weakness, to which the chosen servants of God have often yielded:—"I am not better than my fathers." But an angel touched him, and bade him arise and eat: he looked up, and saw a fire, with a cake of bread baked upon it, and a cruse of water by his head; and in the strength of that food he passed forty days and nights in the wilderness of Sinai. There, like Moses, he was favored with a vision of the glory of Jehovah. From that well-known scene of terrible convulsion, followed by an awful stillness, he learned the great lesson, that God's presence is to be felt, not so much in the grand displays of power which strike our senses, as in the "still small voice" that speaks directly to the heart. He had seen the fire come down from heaven, heard the people confess their God, and slain Baal's prophets; and yet the work seemed all to be done again; but now he learned that the quiet power of God's spirit was working in the people's hearts, and there were 7000 men who had not done homage to Baal. Thus reanimated for his remaining work, he was sent to prepare for three great changes affecting the state of Israel; to anoint Hazael as the future king of Syria, in place of Benhadad; Jehu, the son of Nimshi, as king of Israel, in place of Ahab's house; and Elisha, the son of Shaphat, to be prophet in succession to himself. These three were to follow each other in the destruction of the worshippers of Baal. Elijah only performed in person the last of the three acts, the designation of Elisha, leaving to him the other two, which he himself found no opportunity to execute.

ELISHA'S native place was at Abel-meholah (the *meadow of the dance*), a place in the valley of the Jordan, near its junction with the plain of Jezreel. He was plowing with twelve yoke of oxen, himself guiding the twelfth, a proof of the wealth he abandoned to "put his hand to the plow" of Jehovah, when Elijah arrived on his way up the valley toward Damascus, and, without saying a word, cast his prophet's mantle upon Elisha, as if claiming him for a son. Elisha, with a heart prepared by God, only begged to give his father and mother a parting embrace, and Elijah consented, in words implying a keen feeling of Elisha's separation from the ties of affection. Elisha celebrated the sacrifice of himself by offering the yoke of oxen with which he had been plowing, the flesh of which he boiled with the

wood of the yoke and the plow, and made a parting feast for the people of the village. He then followed Elijah and became "his servant," for such was the relation between a prophet and his nearest comrade, as afterward in the case of Elisha and Gehazi. It was, indeed, an honor which the first minister of the greatest king might have coveted, to be known as "Elisha the son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah." These events comprise the first period of Elijah's course. He disappears from the scene for a considerable time, occupied possibly with the journey to Damascus to anoint Hazael. The King of Israel, who no doubt supposed that he had got rid of his great "troubler," seized the opportunity to perpetrate a deed of enormous wickedness.

Ahab's capital was at Samaria; but he had a favorite residence at the beautiful city of Jezreel (now Zerin), "the Versailles of Israel," where we have already seen him. His regal lust of improving his fair domain was checked by a vineyard, the property of a man of Jezreel, named Naboth, who clung like a true Israelite to his patrimony, though the king offered him its price in money, or a better vineyard. With the petulance of a despot crossed in his will, Ahab took to his bed, and refused to eat; but he was roused by Jezebel from despondency so unworthy of a king who had power to make law for himself. So abject was the degradation of the people, so shameless the tyranny of the crown, that the elders of Israel at once obeyed the written orders of Jezebel to proclaim a fast, and in the name of religion and loyalty, to put their fellow-citizen to death on the evidence of witnesses of their own suborning. Naboth was dragged out of the city, and stoned as a blasphemer against God and the king, and, at the call of Jezebel, Ahab arose to take possession of the vineyard. But God sent Elijah to meet him there; and the king's conscience betrayed itself in the cry, "Hast thou found me, oh mine enemy?" "I have found thee," answered the prophet, and went on to mark the scene of this last crime as that of God's judgment for all his sins; "in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." Jezebel's fate was to be still more terrible; the dogs would eat her under the walls of Jezreel; and the whole house of Ahab should be exterminated, and their flesh given to the dogs and vultures. This was Elijah's last mission to Ahab, and he does not appear again till the next reign. For once Ahab repented and humbled himself with fasting and sackcloth, and God postponed the full execution of the sentence till after his death.

The last years of Ahab's reign were chiefly occupied by two great wars



MOUNT CARMEL.

with Syria. His signal victories in the first of these wars may be viewed as a token of the acceptance of his penitence for Naboth's murder. Benhadad II. had treated him as a vassal, and the King of Israel had complied with his demands; but when Ahab was required to give up his wives and children, he saw that it was but a pretext for a final quarrel. He refused with spirit; and it is to the mouth of this infamous king that we owe the noble proverb, "Let not him that girdeth on boast himself as he that putteth off." The king of Damascus received the message as he was carousing with the thirty-two confederate kings, who had followed him to the siege of Samaria; and he bade them set their immense forces in array against the city, and returned to his cups secure of an easy victory. At this juncture a prophet came to tell Ahab that God had delivered these hosts into his hand. His little army of 7000 men went out of the city, preceded by the 232 young princes of the tribes; and Benhadad, who was drinking in his tent at the noontide banquet, with a contemptuous indifference as to whether they came out for a sally or a surrender, ordered them to be taken alive. But each of the princes killed the man who laid hands upon him; their followers rushed to the attack; the panic-stricken Syrians were pursued with great slaughter, Benhadad hardly escaping on his horse. The same prophet warned Ahab to expect a new attack the following year. Benhadad's servants per-

suaded him to fight in the low country, as the gods of Israel were gods of the hills; but they added the good advice to replace the confederate kings by chosen captains. So the Syrians offered battle at Aphek, a walled city which they had taken from Israel in the low country east of the Jordan. Ahab divided the whole force of Israel into two bodies, which looked like two flocks of kids in presence of the vast armies of Syria; but a prophet announced to him that Jehovah would prove himself the God of the valleys as well as of the hills. After watching each other for seven days the armies joined battle; the Syrians were routed with a slaughter of 100,000 men, and 27,000 more were crushed by the fall (perhaps in an earthquake) of the wall of Aphek, in which they had taken refuge. Benhadad now resolved to throw himself on the mercy of Ahab, whose impulsive nature was shown in a generosity which proved fatal to himself. Instead of seizing the opportunity to regain the frontier of Solomon on the north-east, and to restore the kingdom of Israel in the fear of God, he was content with Benhadad's promise to give back the towns taken from Omri by Benhadad I. and to receive a resident envoy in Damascus. For the fourth time in this war, a prophet was sent to Ahab; and, after obtaining the king's judgment against himself by the ingenious preparation of a supposed case, he told the king that God would take his life in place of the life of Benhadad. So Ahab returned to Samaria in displeasure.

B. C. 897. The peace with Syria lasted for three years, but it does not appear that Benhadad restored the cities as he had promised. At length Ahab seized the opportunity of a visit from his ally, Jehoshaphat, whom he entertained sumptuously, to propose a joint expedition for the recovery of Ramoth-gilead. The pious king of Judah proposed to consult the word of Jehovah; and Ahab tried to satisfy him by summoning his own 400 prophets, men who seem to have been trained as prophets of Jehovah and to have spoken in His name, while prostituting their office to the king's pleasure. With one voice they promised Ahab the victory in the name of Jehovah. Still Jehoshaphat asked if there were no more prophets of Jehovah; and Ahab remembered a certain MICAIAH the son of Imlah, whom, however, he hated, as he was always a prophet of evil. He sent for him, apparently out of prison, and Micaiah went, declaring that he must speak the word which Jehovah should put into his mouth. He found the two kings upon their thrones in their robes of state, and all the prophets before them, one of whom, Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, had placed horns of iron on his head, to show how Ahab should push

the Syrians to destruction. Whether through fear or in irony, Micaiah at first chimed in with them; but, adjured by Ahab to tell the truth, he foretold the king's death by likening Israel to a flock without a shepherd; and, in the form of a vision like that at the opening of the book of Job, he denounced the other prophets as possessed by a lying spirit sent by God to deceive Ahab. Upon this Zedekiah struck and taunted him, and the king sent him back to the dungeon, while Micaiah warned both of their coming fate, and called the people to witness his words. The words of Micaiah induced Ahab to disguise himself in the ensuing battle at Ramoth-gilead, while Jehoshaphat wore his royal robes. Benhadad had commanded his chariots to direct all their force against the king, and Jehoshaphat was so hard pressed that he only escaped by crying out that he was not Ahab. In spite of his precautions, Ahab was mortally wounded by a chance shot from a bow. He was supported in his chariot, while the battle raged, till sunset, and then he died. At his fall the cry went through the host, "Every man to his city and to his country." His body was brought to Samaria, and there buried, but not till the words spoken by Elijah at Naboth's vineyard were fulfilled; for as his chariot was washed out at the pool of Samaria, the dogs licked up his blood. He was succeeded by his son Ahaziah.

Jehoshaphat returned to Jerusalem unmolested. The severe lesson of Ramoth-gilead was enforced by the prophet Jehu, who met him on the way, upbraiding him for his alliance with those who hated God, but praising him for his piety. The king addressed himself with renewed zeal to the work of reformation. He went in person through his kingdom from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim, reclaiming the people to the God of their fathers. He appointed judges in all the fortified cities, and in Jerusalem he established a court of priests and Levites and heads of houses, for the final decision of all cases relating to the law of Jehovah. At the head of the latter he set the high-priest Amariah for all religious causes, and Zebadiah, son of Ishmael, the prince of Judah, for matters relating to the king. To both he gave a charge worthy of his name. The judges throughout the land were reminded that they judged not for man but for God, and in the fear of Jehovah, with whom "*there is no iniquity, nor respect of persons, nor taking of gifts;*" and the supreme court was admonished to "*deal courageously, and Jehovah shall be with the good.*"

Meanwhile the disaster of Ramoth-gilead encouraged the old enemies on the eastern frontier. The Moabites, the Ammonites, with the people of Mount Seir, and the tribes of the neighboring

desert, threw off the yoke which they had borne since the time of David. We read of two campaigns, the first against Jehoshaphat by a league of all these tribes, and the second against Jehoram, king of Israel, and Jehoshaphat as his ally, by the king of Moab, who was the vassal of Israel, as Ammon and Edom were of Judah.

When word was brought that the hordes of the enemy were at En-gedi, on the west side of the Dead Sea, Jehoshaphat proclaimed a fast through all the land, and in a congregation of all Judah, with their wives and children, before the Temple, he offered a prayer which is the echo of Solomon's, appealing to God not to let the heathen, whom he had driven out before his people, cast them out of his possession; for so, in the true spirit of the covenant, he calls their land. The answer was at once given in a most striking and unusual form. In the midst of the congregation, the Spirit of Jehovah fell upon JAHAZIEL, the son of Zechariah, a Levite of the family of Asaph, and he cried out to the king, with all Judah and Jerusalem, to go forth on the morrow to a victory without a battle; their part would be only to "stand, and see the salvation of Jehovah." The king bowed his face to the ground, while the Levites raised a lofty song of thanksgiving. With renewed songs of praise, they marched forth in the morning toward the wilderness of Tekoa, where, at that very time, a strange scene of slaughter was enacting. Confused by the ambuscades they had set for the men of Judah, the different nations fell one upon the other. The people of Moab and Ammon, having first cut to pieces the inhabitants of Mount Seir, turned to mutual slaughter; and, when the men of Judah approached, and their scouts looked out from the watch-tower over the wilderness, the whole face of the ground was covered with dead bodies. No less than three days were occupied in gathering the spoil, which was more than they could carry away, and on the fourth they assembled to renew their songs of praise in the valley which was thence called Berachah (*blessing*); and they continued them as they marched back to Jerusalem, and up to the house of God, with Jehoshaphat in their van. This great deliverance struck terror into all the nations, and secured peace to Judah for the rest of his reign. The campaign in which he aided Jehoram against Moab had a very similar issue. He also joined Ahaziah in an attempt to renew the maritime enterprises of Solomon by way of the Red Sea; but the fleet was wrecked at Ezion-geber, as a punishment for his alliance with Ahaziah, according to the word of the prophet ELIEZER, son of Dodavah, of Mareshah, and Jehoshaphat refused Ahaziah's proposal to renew the attempt.

He died, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David, leaving his kingdom to his unworthy son Jehoram, who had already been associated in the government during the last years of his father's life (see 2 Kings i. 17, viii. 16). His name is preserved in the "valley of Jehoshaphat," the deep ravine between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. But it seems more than doubtful whether the name is derived from him, and is not rather an appellative, signifying the great judgment of which the scene is laid by the prophet Joel in the "Valley of the Judgment of Jehovah."

HAZIAH, the eighth king of Israel, began to reign in B. C. 897. the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned two years in Samaria. He was the son of Ahab and Jezebel; and his character is emphatically described by the words, "he walked in the way of his father and of his mother," as well as in the way of Jero-boam. Besides worshipping Baal, he sent to consult Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, when he was dangerously ill from a fall through a lattice of his palace. This brings Elijah again upon the scene. He was sent by God to meet the king's messengers, and to denounce their master's death, because he had inquired of an idol, as if there were not a god in Israel. The prophet was not personally known to the messengers; but from their description of him as "a hairy man, girt with a girdle of leather about the loins," Ahaziah at once recognized Elijah the Tishbite, whose wild form and sharp words had been the terror of his father's court. He sent a captain of fifty with his band to seize the prophet. They found him sitting on "the top of the mount" (probably Carmel), and the captain, seemingly in a mocking tone, called to him, "Thou man of God, the king hath said, Come down." "If I be a man of God," said Elijah, "let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty:" and it was done. A second captain of fifty went and repeated the order in a more per-emptory form, "Come down *quickly*," and he had the same fate. The third implored the mercy of Elijah, who, at God's command, went with him, and repeated to the king himself what he had already said to his messengers. This was Elijah's last appearance to the house of Ahab. As he had predicted, Ahaziah never rose again from his bed, but died, leaving his kingdom to his brother Jehoram. His commercial league with Jehoshaphat has already been mentioned.

It is at this point that the sacred narrative introduces one of the greatest events of the old dispensation, the ascent of Elijah. The chronology is intricate, but the event seems to have taken place about the time of Ahaziah's death. The chief difficulty arises from the

letter which Elijah sent to Jehoram, king of Judah, prophesying his destruction because he followed the sins of the house of Ahab. This, by the way, is the only point of connection between Elijah and the house of David, and the only mention of his name in the Chronicles. Now Jehoshaphat, the father of Jehoram, took part in the campaign which is related after Elijah's ascension, and in which too Elisha appears as the prophet. That Elisha ever left his attendance upon Elijah to act in public, before he received the prophet's mantle, is a supposition quite unwarranted by the history. That the letter of Elijah to Jehoram was written before but delivered after his ascension, is a violent assumption. The true and simple explanation is, that Jehoram began to reign over Judah some years before his father's death, as we have already seen. There is, therefore, no reason to depart from the order of the narrative in Kings.

When the time had come that God had appointed to B. C. 896. "take up Elijah into heaven by a whirlwind," the prophet was with Elisha at Gilgal. We know not what intimation he had received of the manner of his departure; but thus much is clear, that he desired to end his life, as he had passed its greater portion, in solitude with God. But his devoted servant had also been forewarned of his loss, and persisted in following him to Bethel. There the sons of the prophets meet Elisha with the words, "Knowest thou that Jehovah will take away thy master from thy head to-day?" and he answers, "*I do know it*: hold ye your peace." The same scene is repeated at Jericho, where Elijah again fruitlessly asks Elisha to stay behind. They went on to Jordan, while fifty of the sons of the prophets came out to gaze after them across the plain. Arrived at the river's edge, Elijah rolled up his sheepskin mantle, and smote the water, which parted, as long ago before the ark, and they walked through on dry ground. At the moment of passing the river, they exchanged their last words. Elisha, desired to name a parting gift, asks that a double portion of Elijah's spirit may rest upon him; that is, that he may not only succeed to the prophetic office, but be made the true heir of the power to work miracles, and turn the hearts of Israel to their forsaken God. "Thou hast asked a hard (or bold) thing," said Elijah; "if thou see me taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so." They were still talking as they walked forward, when Elisha found himself separated from his master by a chariot and horses of fire; and Elijah was borne up on the wings of the storm to the vault of heaven. Elisha saw him before he vanished in the sky, and rending his clothes uttered the bitter

outcry of a bereaved son, "My father! my father! The chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!" He saw the meaning of the chariot sent to convey him who had been the true strength of Israel against her own kings, who trusted in forbidden chariots and horses. He saw too that his last prayer to his master was granted: he took up the mantle which Elijah had let fall, and at once put his power to the proof by again dividing the waters of Jordan on his return to Jericho, where the prophets, who had remained watching, welcomed him as the successor of Elijah. The prophets sent fifty active men in search of Elijah, thinking that God might have carried him away to some lonely mountain, though Elisha warned them that it would be in vain; and his word was confirmed by the return of the messengers after three days. Elisha's stay at Jericho was marked by a miracle, which the local tradition commemorates to the present day, the cure of the bitter water of one of the two springs that rise at the foot of the hill behind the town by casting into it a new cruse of salt. Thence he returned by the way he had followed with Elijah to Bethel; and at this seat of the calf-worship of Jeroboam, he received an insult which is thus related by one familiar with the spot. The road to the town winds up the defile of the *Wady Suweinit* under the hill which still bears what, in all probability, are the ruins of Ai, and which, even now retaining some trees, was at that date shaded by a thick forest, the haunt of savage animals. Here the boys of the town were clustered, waiting, as they still wait at the entrance of the villages of Palestine, for the chance passer-by. In the short-trimmed locks of Elisha, how were they to recognize the successor of the prophet, with whose shaggy hair, streaming over his shoulders, they were all familiar? So, with the licence of the Eastern children, they scoff at the new-comer as he walks by, "Go up, roundhead! go up, roundhead!" For once Elisha assumed the sternness of his master. "He turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of Jehovah, and there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tore forty-and-two children of them." There is nothing to show that these "children" were too young to be responsible for their wantonness, which was probably meant to try whether the new prophet might be more safely insulted than his predecessor. From Bethel Elisha returned to Carmel, and thence he went to dwell at Samaria, being fully recognized as the new prophet.

JEHORAM (abbreviated JORAM), the ninth king of Israel, B. C. 896. was the son of Ahab and Jezebel, and the successor of his brother Ahaziah. His accession is marked by a twofold date—in the



MOSES BEFORE PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.

eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the second year of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, that is, the second year of Jehoram's association with his father in the kingdom. He reigned twelve years at Samaria. He maintained a close alliance with Judah, and it was perhaps by the influence of Jehoshaphat that he was a shade better than his father and his brother. He removed Ahab's image of Baal, but he still maintained the idolatries of Jeroboam.

The defeat of Ahab at Ramoth, and the consequent dominion of the Syrians in the country east of Jordan, had encouraged Mesha, the king of Moab, to revolt from Israel, and to refuse his annual tribute of 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams. Ahaziah's illness had prevented him from taking the field, but Jehoram applied for help to Jehoshaphat, through whose territory it was now necessary to march to reach Moab on the east, by way of the wilderness of Edom. The King of Edom, the vassal of Judah, joined the expedition. After a seven days' march through the desert, the armies were without water. The pious Jehoshaphat longed to consult a prophet of Jehovah, and it was found that Elisha, the son of Shaphat, "which poured water on the hands of Elijah," was in the camp of Israel. It was only after sternly bidding Jehoram to resort to the prophets of his father and mother that Elisha consented, for the sake of Jehoshaphat, to give an answer. He called for a minstrel, and as he played, the spirit of Jehovah came upon the prophet. Bidding them dig trenches all over the plain, he promised that God would give them not only water, but a complete victory over Moab. In the night the trenches were dug, and at the time of the morning sacrifice water flowed into them from the hills of Edom, so that the whole plain looked like a lake. As the Moabites advanced to meet the enemy, the red rays of the rising sun, reflected from the water, threw a hue of blood on the whole plain. They remembered the recent slaughter which they had shared with the Ammonites and Edomites, and thought that the allied armies had been destroyed by a like panic, and raised the cry, "Now, therefore, Moab, to the spoil!" Rushing in disorder upon the camp, they were met by the whole army, and were pursued into their own country with immense slaughter. The victory was followed up by an exterminating war. The cities of Moab were razed, and their stones thrown into the corn-fields; the wells were filled, and the fruit-trees were cut down. The only refuge left was the city of Kir-haraseth; and even this was on the point of being taken by storm, when the King of Moab, with 700 chosen warriors, tried to cut his way through to reach the King of Edom, but he was driven back into the

city. He resorted to the forlorn hope of his horrid superstition. Mounting the wall, in sight of the besiegers, he offered his eldest son and heir as a burnt-offering to Moloch. It would seem that this act of despair roused the sympathy of the Edomites, as well as the horror of Jehoshaphat: "There was great indignation against Israel; and they departed from him, and returned to their own land:" and the next we hear of the relations between the allies is the revolt of Edom from the King of Judah.

To Elisha's aid in this war may probably be ascribed those friendly relations between Jehoram and the prophet, which belong to the history of the latter. Indeed, the deeds of Elisha filled the greater part of the annals of Israel under Jehoram. We need not repeat here the simple and familiar narrative of his multiplying the oil of a prophet's widow, to save her and her two sons from the hard creditor; the hospitality he received from a great lady of Shunem, to whom a son was first granted at the prophet's prayer, and by the same prayer her dead son was brought to life again; his healing of the poisoned pottage for the sons of the prophets at Gilgal; his multiplication of the twenty barley-loaves and ears of corn for the famished people of that place; and his causing the iron axe-head that had fallen into the Jordan to swim to the surface. The exquisite narrative of the healing of Naaman's leprosy, and the punishment of Gehazi's covetousness, brings us back to the affairs of the state, and shows Israel harassed by predatory incursions from Damascus, and the King of Syria issuing his mandates in a tone which the King of Israel bitterly resents. During these incursions Jehoram was saved more than once by the warning of Elisha from being taken prisoner by the Syrian bands. Enraged at being thus baffled by the prophet, who, as a courtier told the King of Syria, could "tell the King of Israel the words that thou speakest in thy bed-chamber," Benhadad sent a great force to seize him at Dothan. During the night the Syrian chariots encompassed the base of the hill, on which the ruins of the city still stand, and in the morning Elisha's terrified servant came to tell him that they were surrounded. The young man's eyes were opened at the prophet's prayer, and he saw the whole mountain full of chariots of fire and horses of fire, guarding his master; the oft-quoted emblem of those bands wherewith "the angel of Jehovah encampeth round about them that fear Him and delivereth them." As the Syrians drew near, they were struck blind, and Elisha led them to Samaria, where he restored their sight. By his command the King of Israel fed them and sent them home again, and the result was a cessation of the predatory attacks from Syria.

Thus far we see Jehoram, who had put down the worship of Baal, upheld against all his enemies by the power of Jehovah through the friendship of Elisha. But now comes a great change, which we cannot well be wrong in ascribing to his relapse into the idolatry which we find restored at the close of his reign. Not yet, however, is he forsaken by God. His great enemy presses him harder than ever: Samaria suffers a siege, unequalled in horror till the final catastrophe of Jerusalem: the king vents his rage upon Elisha, who had probably foretold the visitation; but the cruel purpose of "this son of a murderer," as the prophet terms him, is rebuked by Elisha's prophecy of the plenty that is to visit the famished city on the morrow—a prophecy fulfilled by the panic flight of the Syrian host during the night. No incident in Scripture history is more picturesque than the despairing visit of the four lepers to the deserted camp. "If we sit still here, we die! If they save us alive we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but die!" The date of these events may be fixed, with great probability, to the fifth year of Jehoram's reign; on the assumption that his last seven years coincided with the seven years' famine foretold by Elisha, probably as another visitation for the king's apostasy. And now the time was come for the judgments, long since revealed by God to Elijah, to fall upon all the chief actors in the horrid drama of which the family of Ahab is the centre, and Jezebel their evil genius; on that house itself, on its enemy Benhadad, and its allies of the apostate family of David, to whom we must now turn, to understand their share in the catastrophe.

JEHORAM, the fifth king of Judah, seems to have reigned **B. C. 889.** in conjunction with his father for about three years. We have seen how the necessity of this supposition is involved in the date assigned to his namesake of Israel; and it is expressly stated that Jehoshaphat was still King of Judah when his son Joram began to reign, at the age of thirty-two, in the fifth year of Joram, king of Israel. He reigned eight years at Jerusalem. Through his ill-fated marriage with **ATHALIAH**, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, he thoroughly imbibed the spirit of that evil house. He set up the worship of Baal in the high places, and prostituted the daughters of Judah to the infamous rites of Ashtoreth. His reign would have been the last of the Jewish monarchy, had not God remembered his covenant with David, and forborne to cut off his house. But he was visited with judgments only short of such a catastrophe. Elijah's last public act was to send him the letter we have already mentioned, predicting his death by a loathsome disease, and the destruction of his

whole house. The latter was a fit retribution for his own atrocity to his father's house. Jehoshaphat had placed his six younger sons in fortified cities of Judah, besides giving them large presents in gold, silver, and jewels, while he gave the kingdom to Jehoram. But as soon as Jehoshaphat was dead, Jehoram murdered all his brothers—the first example of that abominable mode of avoiding a disputed succession. The first calamity of his reign was the revolt of Edom. Marching with his whole force, he got hemmed in by the Edomites; and, though he extricated himself by a successful night attack, the province was lost. Edom became again an independent state under its own king, as Isaac had predicted; and though, fifty years later, Amaziah overran the country, took Petra, and massacred many of the people, they were never again subjugated to Judah. Next came the revolt of Libnah, a fortified city of Judah, perhaps one of those that had belonged to the princes, rising to avenge their murder. Then the kingdom was nearly overthrown by a great invasion of the Philistines and Arabians, who had been tributary to Jehoshaphat, and who now stormed and plundered the king's palace, and massacred or carried off all his wives and children except his youngest son Ahaziah. The last infliction was a loathsome and incurable disease of the bowels, of which he died, "and departed without being regretted." He was buried in the city of David, but not in the sepulchre of the kings, and no odors were burned at his funeral. He died in the twelfth year of Joram, king of Israel, and was succeeded by his son Ahaziah.

AHAZIAH (properly Achaziah), the sixth king of Judah, **B. C. 885.** was twenty-two years old at his accession, and reigned only one year. Being the son of Athaliah, daughter of Ahab, he was nephew to Jehoram, king of Israel, a conjunction which threatened the establishment of idolatry in both kingdoms; for Ahaziah was addicted to all the evil practices of the house of Ahab. But, as if the presence of Ahab's grandson on the throne of David had filled up the measure of God's forbearance, both kings were cut off by one stroke. Toward the end of the seven years' famine already mentioned, Elisha was sent to Damascus to designate Hazael, a high officer at the court of Benhadad II., as the future king of Syria. There is something strange in this appointment of a heathen king, the murderer of his master, and the cruel enemy of Israel, by the prophet of Jehovah. Nor was Elisha himself insensible of this, for he shed tears of grief and shame as he thought of the work to which Hazael was ordained. He was appointed by God the minister of his

providence to execute his wrath on the house of Ahab; and so Cyrus, as the destroyer of Babylon and the restorer of Judah, is called "the anointed of Jehovah," though he knew him not. Benhadad was lying ill, when he heard of Elisha's coming; and he sent Hazael, with presents that loaded forty camels, to inquire of the man of God about his recovery. The reply was an enigma, suited not to suggest, but to unveil the treacherous thoughts of Hazael. "Tell him he *may* recover"—his illness is not mortal—"but Jehovah hath showed me that he *shall* die," said the prophet, with a look that made Hazael blush for shame. Then, with a burst of grief, the prophet foretold the cruelties that would be inflicted on God's people by Hazael, who exclaimed, "What, is thy servant a dog, that he should do these monstrous deeds?" "And yet he did them," says one of our old divines, pointing the moral lesson for all ages. Elisha replied by plainly announcing that Hazael should be king of Syria. Then followed the catastrophe, of which history gives many other examples, and which our great poet has idealized in the tragedy of Macbeth, when ambition plunges men into crime under the specious pretext of destiny. Hazael gave Benhadad the assurance that he should recover, and the next day he suffocated him with a cloth dipped in water, and usurped the kingdom.

B. C. 884. It was probably amid the confusion of this change of dynasty that Jehoram, king of Israel, with Ahaziah as his ally, took possession of Ramoth-gilead, the scene of Ahab's death. Jehoram was wounded in a battle with the Syrians, and returned to Jezreel to be healed, and Ahaziah soon afterward went to visit him. Their absence from the army gave the opportunity for their destruction. Elisha sent one of the sons of the prophets to Ramoth-gilead to anoint JEHU, son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi, one of the captains of the army, to be king of Israel, according to the word of God to Elijah. Calling Jehu out of the court where the captains were assembled into an inner room, the prophet discharged his office and then fled. Jehu returned to his comrades, and, after trying to pass off the visit as a madman's freak, he told them what had happened. This was the signal for revolt. The captains spread their cloaks as a carpet of state on the top of the stairs which mount from the inner court of an eastern house to the roof; there they placed Jehu in sight of the army, blew the trumpets, and shouted "Jehu is king." After taking precautions to prevent any one leaving Ramoth-gilead to carry the news, Jehu mounted his chariot and drove headlong to Jezreel. The approach of his party was announced by the watchman, and

Joram sent out a horseman to meet them. To the question, "Is it peace?" Jehu answered, "What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me!" A second messenger was seen to follow Jehu in the same fashion. By this time they were near enough for the watchman to recognize Jehu by his furious driving, the sign of his impetuous character. Joram ordered his chariot in haste, and went forth with Ahaziah. They met Jehu at a fatal spot, the field of Naboth the Jezreelite. Jehoram, who, perhaps, still thought that Jehu had come with tidings from the army, again asked, "Is it peace?" "What peace," retorted Jehu, "so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?" Crying to Ahaziah, "there is treachery," Joram fled; but an arrow from Jehu's bow entered his back and came out through his heart, and he fell dead in his chariot. Then Jehu reminded Bidkar, his charioteer, how they had ridden together behind Ahab when Elijah laid upon him the burden of judgment at that spot, and bade him cast Joram's body into the plot which his father had seized by Naboth's murder, to be devoured by the dogs, while he himself rode on to Jezreel to execute vengeance upon Jezebel. Even then the spirit of the aged queen, who had defied Elijah in the hour of his triumph, did not quail. In her royal head-dress, and with painted eyebrows, she looked down from the latticed window of her palace on the city wall, and saluted Jehu with the taunt, "Had Zimri peace, who slew his lord?" But she too had traitors in her palace; and, at the call of Jehu, two or three of her eunuchs dashed her down from the lattice. Her blood bespattered the city wall, and Jehu drove his chariot over her mangled corpse, which was left in the space before the city into which offal is thrown from the walls to be devoured by the dogs. It was not till Jehu had sat down to feast with his comrades that he bade some of his soldiers to "go and see after the cursed woman and bury her, for she was a king's daughter." They went, and found that the dogs had left nothing but her skull and feet, and the palms of her hands. Her fate recalled to Jehu's memory the words of Elijah concerning her, which he repeats with even greater minuteness than the original historian, so strong an impression had they made upon him. Thus perished this remarkable woman, distinguished above all the other monsters of her sex for never having betrayed a feeling of remorse. Her name is used by St. John as a type of the worst form of spiritual wickedness, and after-ages have made it a proverb. There were still seventy sons of Ahab left at Samaria: and Jehu sent letters to their governors and to the elders of Samaria, ironically challenging them to

set up one of the seventy for king. On their promising submission, a second letter ordered them to bring him the heads of all the seventy to Jezreel on the morrow. They were brought and piled in two heaps on each side of the gate, and when the people assembled in the morning, Jehu appealed to them, "I conspired against my master and slew him, but who slew all these?"—thus committing them to a full share in the massacre. All that remained of the family of Ahab in Jezreel were hunted down and slain, with the officers of the court and the priests. Jehu then went to reside at Samaria. At the shearing-house beside the road he met forty-two of the kinsmen of Ahaziah coming on a visit to Jezreel, in evident ignorance of these events. All were seized by his order and slain at the well of the shearing-house. Proceeding on his way, Jehu met Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, who was afterward famous as the founder of the ascetic sect of the Rechabites. After mutual assurances that their hearts were "right," Jehu invited the zealot to mount the chariot and witness *his* zeal for Jehovah. Arrived at Samaria, he finished the slaughter of the house of Ahab, and then planned with Jehonadab one crowning act of zeal to destroy the worship of Baal at a stroke. He declared that "Ahab served Baal little, but Jehu shall serve him much," and proclaimed throughout Israel a solemn assembly for Baal in the temple which Ahab had built at Samaria. The worshippers of Baal took the bait, and assembled to a man. As if to give more dignity to the festival, but in reality to mark the votaries of Baal, he had them clothed in the sacred vestments, and himself went into the temple with Jehonadab, to charge the Baalites to see that no servant of Jehovah remained to pollute the ceremony. Eighty men were stationed at the gates to prevent escape at the peril of their own lives. The sacrifices were offered, and the orgies of the feast had begun, when Jehu gave the signal to the guards, who rushed in and slew the Baalites, and cast out their bodies to the dogs and vultures. They then stormed the fortified sanctuary; they broke to pieces the great stone statue of Baal, and burned the other images, razed the temple to the ground, and assigned its site to the vilest uses. Amid all the sins of the later kings of Israel, the worship of Baal was never openly restored.

The fate of the King of Judah is variously related. B. C. 884. According to the account in the Chronicles, he fled to Samaria when Joram was killed, was found hidden there, and was brought to Jehu, who put him to death, but granted him an honorable burial from respect to the memory of Jehoshaphat. The narra-

tive in Kings certainly conveys the impression at first sight that Jehu, after mortally wounding Joram, turned to pursue the King of Judah (a step improbable in itself, and inconsistent with the rest of the same narrative), and that Ahaziah was mortally wounded at the pass of Gur, near Ibleam, and died when he reached Megiddo. This pursuit may have taken place in consequence of his being pointed out to Jehu while attempting to escape from Samaria, but we cannot expect to clear up every difficulty in such brief and ancient histories. This much is clear, that his body was carried to Jerusalem and buried in the sepulchre of the kings.

One member of the house of Ahab was still left, his daughter Athaliah, the queen-mother of Judah, and the heir to her mother's fierce and dauntless spirit. By her means it seemed as if the Baal-worship, destroyed in Israel, was to be restored in Judah. On hearing of her son's death, she slew all the royal seed of Judah except Joash, the youngest son of Ahaziah, a new-born infant, who was hidden by his aunt Jehoshabeath, the daughter of Jehoram, and wife of the high-priest Jehoiada. Athaliah usurped the crown for six years, which may be passed over, for they are barren of events, to finish the story of the house of Ahab. She does not seem to have brought over the people to idolatry; for it was the regular order of the Temple-service that enabled the high-priest to effect the revolution by which Joash was restored.

In the seventh year Jehoiada took counsel with five "captains of hundreds," by whose means the Levites and heads of houses were assembled from all the cities of Jerusalem to swear allegiance, in the Temple, to the sole remaining scion of the house of David, a child seven years old. It was the custom on the Sabbath for the guard of priests and Levites to divide themselves into three bodies, of whom one kept the doors of the Temple, another the gate called "Sur" (or "the gate of the foundation"), while the third were on duty at the royal palace. To avoid suspicion, the last occupied their usual post, but the other two-thirds formed a close line across the court of the altar round the person of Joash, armed with spears and David's sacred shields, with orders to cut down any who should attempt to enter, while the rest of the people were in the outer court. When all was prepared, Joash was brought forward and crowned with full ceremony.

The acclamations of the people reached the ears of Athaliah, who hastened to the Temple, and found the king standing by the entrance amid the princes, the trumpets blowing and the singers praising God.

She rent her clothes and cried out "Treason!" But Jehoiada commanded the five captains to carry her out of the Temple, and to cut down any who tried to follow her; and they slew her at the entrance of "the horse-gate" by the royal palace. Jehoiada then renewed the covenant, as in the time of David, of the people and the king with each other and Jehovah. The Temple of Baal was razed, the idols destroyed, and his priest Mattan slain before his own altar. The service of the Temple was arranged according to the order prescribed by David. The king was brought in solemn procession from the Temple through the great gate to the royal palace, and set upon the throne of Solomon. By the death of Athaliah the last member of Ahab's house had perished: "all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL—CONTINUED FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF AHAB, TO THE CAPTIVITY OF THE TEN TRIBES.

[B. C. 884-721.]

JEHU, the tenth king of Israel, reigned twenty-eight years, and founded the fourth dynasty which consisted of five kings, but lasted a much longer time than Omri's, namely, 111 years. This prolongation of his dynasty was expressly granted as the reward of his zeal against the house of Ahab. Nor was this all. Under the house of Jehu, Israel became almost as great as she had been immediately after the disruption. Jehoash, the grandson of

Jehu, entered Jerusalem as a conqueror. He also drove back the Syrians, and his son Jeroboam II., recovered the eastern frontier from Hamath to the Dead Sea. Jehu, however, became heedless of God's law, and declined into the sins and idolatry of Jeroboam. From his reign began the loss of those territories which had been first occupied in the conquest of the land. "Jehovah began to cut Israel short." Hazael overran the whole land of the two and a-half tribes, in Gilead and Bashan, east of the Jordan, as far south as the Arnon. Such are the few brief records of Jehu's long reign. He died and was buried at Samaria, and was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz.

In Jehu's reign we are brought into contact for the first time, at least since the mention of Chedorlaomer and his allies, with the great monarchies of Western Asia. The British Museum possesses an obelisk of black basalt, brought by Mr. Layard from Nimroud, which was set up by SHALMANESER I., king of Assyria, to commemorate his victories. It appears that, while Benhadad II. and Hazael were warring against Israel, they had to sustain a conflict with Assyria; and among the tributaries to Shalmaneser appears the name of "Jehu (or Yahua), the son of Khumri" (Omri). The erroneous patronymic is accounted for by Omri's being regarded as the founder of the kingdom of Samaria, the name of the city itself appearing on the obelisk in the form "Beth-khumri" (*house of Omri*).

JEOHAHAZ, the eleventh king of Israel, and the second of the house of Jehu, succeeded his father in the twenty-



ENTHRONEMENT OF JOASH.

third year of Joash, king of Judah, and reigned seventeen years in Samaria. He followed the sins of Jeroboam, and suffered from constant and unsuccessful wars with the kings of Syria, Hazael and his son Benhadad III. So low was Israel reduced that Jehoahaz was only suffered to maintain a force of fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and 10,000 foot. "The King of Syria had destroyed them, and had made them like the dust by threshing." Still God did not withdraw all his compassion from them, for the sake of his covenant with Abraham; and in answer to the prayers of Jehoahaz, he raised up deliverers for them in this king's son and grandson, Jehoash and Jeroboam II. Jehoash seems to have reigned two years in conjunction with his father. The death of Jehoahaz was simultaneous with that of Joash, king of Judah, and very little before that of Hazael, king of Damascus.

JOASH (abbreviated from JEHOASH), the eighth king of B. C. 878. Judah, was the youngest son of Ahaziah, the sixth king, and of Zibiah, of Beersheba. In the year B. C. 884 he was left apparently the sole survivor of the stem of David, lopped as it had been by repeated massacres. Jehoshaphat's sons were all slain by their eldest brother Jehoram. All Jehoram's sons were killed by the invading Philistines and Arabians except Ahaziah. Ahaziah's collateral kindred were put to death by Jehu, and his sons were all massacred by their grandmother Athaliah except Joash, whose escape and elevation to the kingdom we have already related. He was proclaimed in the seventh year of Jehu, being himself seven years old, and he reigned forty years at Jerusalem. For the first twenty-three years and more he kept his piety, and enjoyed high prosperity, under the guidance of his early guardian, the high-priest Jehoiada. His reign began, as we have seen, with the destruction of the idols, and the renewal of the covenant of Jehovah, but the people still worshipped in the high places. In conjunction with Jehoiada, Joash undertook the reparation of the Temple, which had not only been plundered of its vessels for the service of Baal, but injured in its fabric, during the reign of Athaliah. The king's zeal was not satisfied with the progress made by Jehoiada and the priests in using the free contributions of the people, and there seems even to be a charge of peculation against the Levites. So the king constructed the first "money-box" in the well-known form of a chest with a hole in the lid, which was placed at the gate of the Temple for offerings, and each day its contents were counted by the king's officers and handed over at once to the artificers. This was done in the twenty-third year of Joash: the repairs of the Temple were soon finished, and

there was enough money left to provide vessels for the service of the sanctuary. The money brought for trespass and sin-offerings belonged to the priests.

The order of the Temple-service was maintained during the life of Jehoiada, the high-priest, who died at the age of 130, and was buried among the kings, for his services to the house of God. A most unhappy change ensued. The princes of Judah, who had doubtless been jealous of the high-priest's unbounded influence, seem to have persuaded the king that it was time to be his own master; and the first use that he and they made of this new liberty was to neglect the house of Jehovah, and to serve groves and idols. But not without warning and remonstrance. At this point of the history occurs that remarkable passage which introduces the line of prophets whose writings remain to us, and who began to appear about this time, Elisha being still alive:—"Yet He sent prophets unto them, to bring them again unto Jehovah; and they testified against them: but they would not give ear." Nay, more, by adding to their sins the blood of the martyr whom Christ names with "righteous Abel"—both victims to the passion that knows the truth and hates it—they made themselves a type of the generation that slew the Lord. The Spirit of Jehovah came upon Zechariah the son Jehoiada, and probably high-priest, who told them that they could not prosper, because they had forsaken God; and even in the court of the sanctuary, which they were, perhaps, attempting to profane by a sacrifice to Baal, they stoned him to death, by the king's order, between the Temple and the altar. This was the very space within which Joash had been guarded by Jehoiada and his line of Levites; and the narrative lays stress on the king's ingratitude to the son of the man who had saved his life. The dying cry of Zechariah, "Jehovah look upon it, and require it," never ceased to echo through the annals of the Jews, till they "filled up the measure of their fathers" by invoking the guilt of Christ's blood upon their heads. Meanwhile, it found an immediate response in the calamities of the last years of Joash.

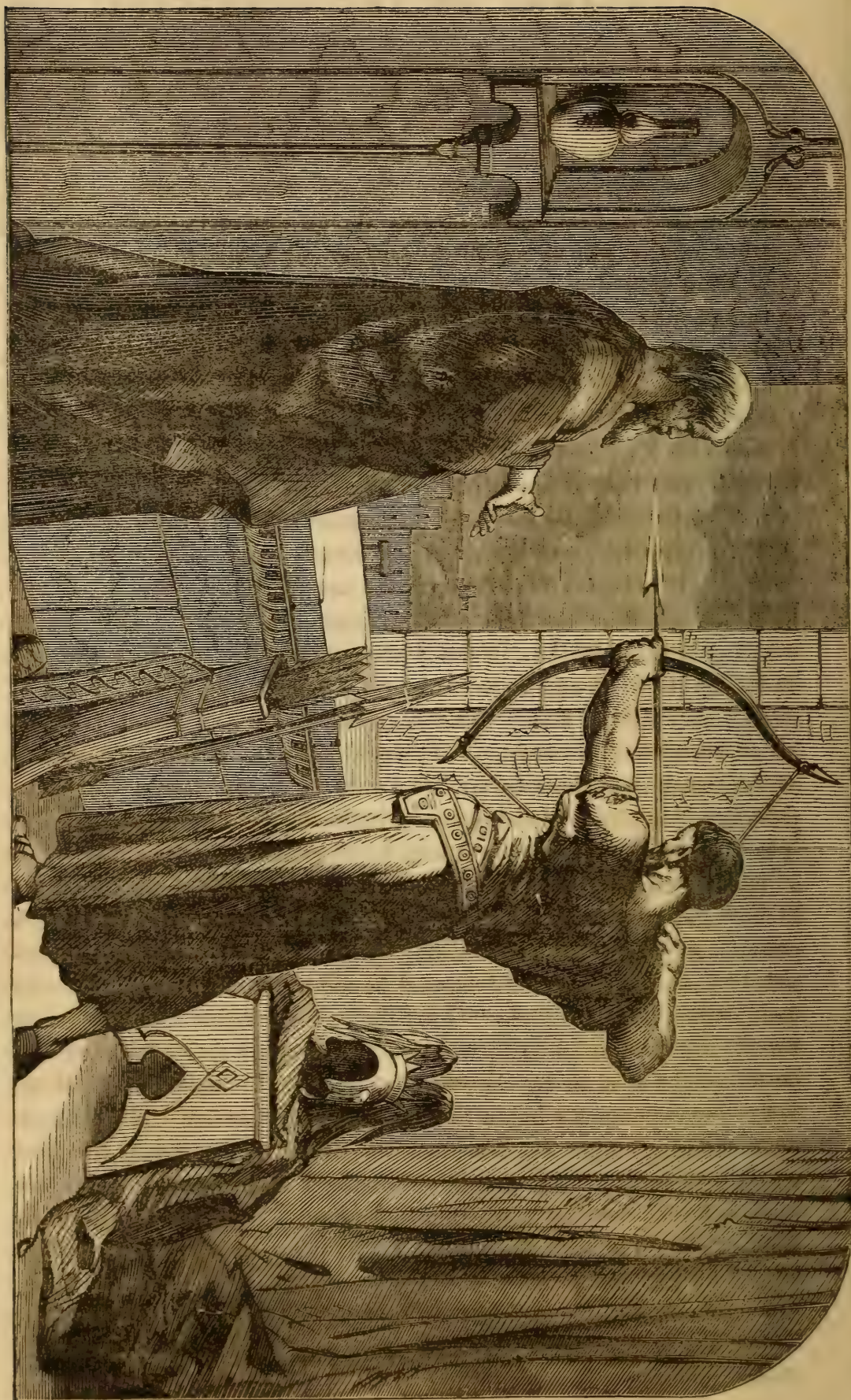
Hazael, the king of Syria, had overrun the trans-jordanic provinces of Israel during the disastrous reign of Jehoahaz, which began about the time that Joash finished the restoration of the Temple, and was now drawing to a close. After a campaign against the Philistines, Hazael marched toward Jerusalem. His small force defeated the whole host of Judah; and the princes, who had seduced Joash into idolatry, were either killed in the battle or given up to Hazael and put to death, as the ransom of the people from massacre. Jeru-

salem itself was only saved from the horrors of a sack by the surrender of all the consecrated vessels and treasures both of the Temple and the king's palace. Thus, within a year of the murder of Zechariah, "they executed judgment upon Joash." Scarcely had the Syrians retired, leaving Joash grievously ill in the fortress of Millo, whether from a wound or from vexation (for the cause is not stated), than he was slain in his bed by two of his servants, of Ammonite and Moabite extraction, at the age of forty-seven. Thus ended a reign that had promised to restore the purity of David's kingdom. Joash was buried with his fathers in the city of David, and was succeeded by his son Amaziah. He died in the same year as Jehoahaz, king of Israel.

And now it seemed as if God had sufficiently punished the personal faults of the first kings of both the restored monarchies; for a new era of prosperity began for Israel and Judah under Jehoash and Amaziah, the histories of whose reigns are closely interwoven.

B. C. 841. JEHOASH (or JOASH), the twelfth king of Israel, and the third of the line of Jehu, began to reign, in conjunction with his father Jehoahaz, in the thirty-seventh year of Joash, king of Judah (B. C. 841), and alone two years later (B. C. 839); his entire reign lasted sixteen years. There is an apparent discrepancy between his character and his actions. It would seem as if the calf-worship of Jeroboam had become so inveterate in Israel that a king who practised it might yet be chosen as a deliverer from foreign oppression if he did not serve Baal; or it may be that God willed to give Israel a final opportunity of restoration, irrespective of the character of the king, "and would not destroy them, neither cast he them from his presence *as yet*." We find Jehoash received with favor when he visited Elisha upon his death-bed, and he mourned over him in his own words when he lost Elijah, "O my father! my father! the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!" The prophet assured him of victory over the Syrians by significant actions. He bade him shoot an arrow from the open window toward Syria, and himself laid his hands with the king's upon the bow, as if to give divine power to the shot, which he called "the arrow of Jehovah's deliverance from the Syrians," who were to be smitten in Aphek. Then he bade the king strike the ground with the arrows. The three strokes signified three victories; and the prophet was angry with the king for not striking five or six times, as he would then have consumed them utterly. The whole was a parable of the co-operation of human effort with the divine counsels. It was fulfilled by three great victories which Jeho-

JOASH SHOOTING ARROWS FROM A WINDOW AT THE COMMAND OF ELISHA.



ash gained over Benhadad III., the son of Hazael, and by which he recovered the cities which Hazael had taken from his father. Meanwhile ELISHA died, and a last miracle was wrought by his remains. A man was about to be buried in the same rock in which the prophet's sepulchre was hewn, when the bearers were alarmed by the approach of one of the predatory bands of Moabites that now infested Israel. They thrust the body hastily into the first open tomb in the face of the rock. It was that of Elisha, and upon touching his remains, the dead man came to life and stood upon his feet. All these events happened in the early years of Jehoash. The other great event of his reign was the conquest of Jerusalem, which is related under the reign of Amaziah. He died, and was buried in the royal sepulchre at Samaria, and was succeeded by his son JEROBOAM II., the greatest king of Israel.

B. C. 839. AMAZIAH, the ninth king of Judah, was twenty-five years old when he succeeded his father Joash, in the second year of Jehoash, king of Israel, and he reigned twenty-nine years at Jerusalem. His mother was Jehoaddan of Jerusalem. His was a mixed character, like his father's:—"He did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, but not with a perfect heart"—"not like David his father;" and the people still sacrificed in the high places. He put his father's murderers to death, but spared their children, in obedience to the law of Moses—an act of clemency which is recorded probably because it was then unusual. He prepared a great expedition for the recovery of Edom, which had revolted from Jehoram. To the whole force of Judah and Benjamin, numbering 300,000 warriors of twenty years old and upward, he added 100,000 picked men of Israel, whom he hired for 100 talents of silver. But, at the command of a prophet, he dismissed these mercenaries, who returned in anger, and sacked several of the cities of Judah. Meanwhile Amaziah advanced into the "Valley of Salt" (the Ghor), south of the Dead Sea, and there defeated the Edomites, with the slaughter of 10,000 men. Ten thousand more were dashed to pieces from the rocks of Sela (Petra), the Idumæan capital, which Amaziah took, and called Joktheel (*Possession of God*). To assert the more strikingly his dominion over the country, Amaziah sacrificed to the idols of Mount Seir; and he silenced the reproof of a prophet with threats and with the taunt, "Art thou made of the king's counsel?" "I know," rejoined the prophet, "that God hath determined to destroy thee;" and misfortune filled up the rest of Amaziah's reign. Whether urged on by arrogance, or provoked by the conduct of the disbanded

mercenaries, he sent a challenge to the King of Israel. Jehoash replied by a parable:—"A thistle in Mount Lebanon demanded the daughter of the cedar in marriage; but a wild beast that was passing by trod on the thistle and crushed it: let not the King of Judah boast because he had smitten Edom, but stay quietly at home, lest he and Judah should perish together." Amaziah persisted, and the armies met at Beth-shemesh. Judah was utterly defeated, and Amaziah taken prisoner. Jehoash led him in triumph to Jerusalem, the north wall of which he broke down from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, a space of 400 cubits; and having taken all the treasures of the temple and the palace, besides hostages, he returned to Samaria, where he died not long after. Amaziah survived Jehoash fifteen years, seemingly of continued declension, till his government became so hateful that he had to fly for his life from a conspiracy formed against him at Jerusalem. He was overtaken and killed at Lachish. His body was borne back by horses to Jerusalem, and buried with the kings. He was succeeded by his son Uzziah (misnamed Azariah).

JEROBOAM II., the thirteenth king of Israel, and the **B. C. 825.** fourth of the house of Jehu, succeeded his father Jehoash in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, and reigned forty-one years at Samaria. His reign is by far the most prosperous in the annals of Israel. To him even more than to his father is the statement applied that, in Israel's decline, God gave them a saviour, in remembrance of his covenant with their fathers; though he also followed the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. He not only recovered from Syria the whole district east of the Jordan from Hamath to the Dead Sea, and reconquered Ammon and Moab, but he attacked Damascus itself; and if he did not actually take the city, he regained a large part of its territory for Israel. The apparent ease of these conquests may be explained by the sufferings of Syria from the constant attacks of the great Assyrian Empire, now at the height of its power. The same prophet who had predicted the recovery of the cities of Gilead and Bashan from Syria, **JONAH**, the son of Amittai, of Gath-hepher, was sent by God to the great city of Nineveh. There is no more striking proof of the moral grandeur of the religion of Jehovah than this mission of a solitary prophet from the petty kingdom of Israel to warn the great monarch of Western Asia that he and his city should perish unless they repented before God. The brevity of the narrative leaves us in doubt whether the repentance required had respect to the vices which corrupt a great and luxurious city, or to some specific

evil. We can hardly suppose that it was the idolatry, which had long been a part of their national customs, and which was certainly not abandoned in consequence of Jonah's preaching, that incurred the threat of immediate destruction of this particular time. Looking at the recent inroads of Assyria upon Syria, nothing seems more probable than that Israel would be next attacked; and having regard to the repeated statements of God's forbearance with Israel at this crisis, when "Jehovah said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven"—"He would not destroy them, neither cast he them from his presence as yet"—the mission of Jonah might well be to bid the King of Assyria desist from such an enterprise. In its moral aspect it would then be analogous to the mission of Moses to Pharaoh—"Touch not mine anointed, and do my people no harm;" and the repentance of the King of Assyria would be, not a religious reformation, of which history gives no evidence, but the abandonment of a purpose which displeased a divinity whom he had learned to reverence, whether as the supreme deity or as the God of Israel: in one word, he yielded on the very point on which Pharaoh hardened his heart, and said, "I know not Jehovah." This view strengthens, instead of weakening, the deeper meaning of the transaction, as pointed by our Saviour:—"The men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonas:"—though they were heathens, and only saw in him the messenger of an "unknown God," they believed his word, and yielded to his demands as God's:—"but a greater than Jonas is here:" you, as Jews, know me to be the Messiah spoken of by the prophets, and yet you resist God in resisting me!

As to the motive of Jonah's reluctance to undertake the mission, and his disappointment at its result, which some have ascribed to his jealousy of Nineveh as a future enemy to Israel, surely that would have spurred his zeal to denounce her destruction, so that the two parts of the explanation hardly cohere. The popular view seems truer that his feelings were personal in both cases: in the first, "the fear of man;" in the second, displeasure at his prediction having seemed to fail, as is clearly implied by himself. The story itself, as recorded in the short book which bears the prophet's name, is too familiar to need repeating. The narrative is simple and consistent: its truth is endorsed by the express testimony of our Saviour; and the objections simply resolve themselves into a disbelief in miracles at all. One needless difficulty has been raised by the use of the word "whale" in our version of the New Testament in place of the "great fish," as it is correctly given in the old; and then the climate of the

Mediterranean and the anatomy of the whale are triumphantly appealed to in disproof of the whole story. But idolatry itself bears witness in the worship of Dagon to the fact, which naturalists have proved, that there are sharks in the Mediterranean quite capable of swallowing a man whole. On the other hand, we find incidental allusions which no impostor would have dared to insert. The prophet's three days' journey through the city is not only now known to be consistent with the vast area covered by the scattered houses and gardens of the great cities of the East, but has been confirmed by the space over which the remains of Nineveh extend; and the vast population implied by its 600,000 persons of tender years has several parallels both in ancient and modern Asia. The prophetic character of the book, though its form is narrative, is seen in the use made of it by our Lord, as an example of repentance in a heathen nation, and a sign of his own three days' abode in the earth. Nay, "the sign of the prophet Jonas" must have been, even without an interpretation, a striking emblem of the resurrection, the doctrine of which is clearly implied in one passage of Jonah's "prayer to God out of the fish's belly:"—"The earth with her bars was about me forever: yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O Jehovah, my God."

Jeroboam II. died in B. C. 784, and was buried with the
 B. C.
 784-773. kings of Israel, and we are told, according to the usual formula, that "ZACHARIAH his son reigned in his stead"—the fourteenth king of Israel, and the fifth and last of the dynasty of Jehu. But a little further on it is said that Zachariah began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (Uzziah), and reigned six months in Samaria. Since the forty-one years of Jeroboam expire in the twenty-seventh year of Uzziah, there must either have been, as Ussher supposes, an interregnum of eleven years, or there must be some error in the numbers. An interregnum is scarcely credible during the lifetime of a king of whose exile and captivity we hear nothing; and the first text seems clearly to imply Zachariah's immediate succession to his father. The other explanation involves the correction of the numbers in the second text by reading twenty-eight for thirty-eight, and ten years and six months for six months; or else the prolongation of Jeroboam's reign for ten years and six months, in which case the forty-one years of his reign will not require alteration, for Zachariah may have been associated with him at the end of the forty-one years, in B. C. 784, while his separate reign of six months would fall in B. C. 773. This view is supported by, and tends to remove a difficulty from, the title of the prophecies of HOSEA, which

places the prophet "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, king of Israel." Now from the *last* year of Jeroboam (B. C. 784) to the *first* of Hezekiah (B. C. 726) is close upon sixty years, and if we add at each end a sufficient time to make the prophet flourish under each of these kings, the result is hardly credible; but the addition of ten or eleven years to Jeroboam's reign brings it within the compass of probability, and accounts for the omission of Zachariah's name.

Of Zachariah himself we are only told that he walked, like his fathers, in the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat. He died the victim to a conspiracy by Shallum, the son of Jabesh, who usurped the crown in the thirty-ninth year of Uzziah. Thus ended the dynasty of Jehu, having lasted 111 years; and the promise was fulfilled, that his descendants should reign to the fourth generation; and so also was the prophecy of Amos against Jeroboam. A civil war now ensued, as in the time of Omri.

SHALLUM, the fifteenth king of Israel, had enjoyed his B. C. 772. usurpation only a month when he was overthrown and killed, like Zimri, by another competitor, Menahem, the son of Gadi, who marched from Tirzah and took Samaria. It seems probable that, like Omri, Menahem was a general of the murdered king. Another incident of the civil war was the sack of Tiphseh, a city which refused to open its gates to Menahem, with the most horrid cruelties of war.

MENAHM, the sixteenth king of Israel, and his son B. C. 772. PEKAHIAH, the seventeenth king, compose the fifth dynasty, which lasted only twelve years. Of these, Menahem began to reign in the thirty-ninth year of Uzziah, and reigned ten years, with the character which now becomes a formula, "He departed not all his days from the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat." The great point of interest in his reign is the first direct attack upon Israel by the Assyrians—a presage of the catastrophe which was finished fifty years later. The steps of the process have often been repeated in history. The first danger is averted by a bribe, which only serves as a temptation to new aggression. Each new attack leaves the doomed state weaker and weaker, till it is reduced to tribute; and at last a despairing effort to shake off the yoke brings down destruction. The King of Assyria who began the attack on Israel under Menahem is named PUL, and is the first Assyrian king mentioned in Scripture. But there are indications that this was not the first contact between Assyria and the kingdoms of Palestine. We have seen that Jehu appears as a tributary on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser I., and it

would seem that Menahem had neglected to apply to the King of Assyria for the usual "confirmation of his kingdom." Menahem submitted, and paid Pul 1000 talents of silver, as the price of his confirmation, which he exacted by a forced contribution of fifty shekels apiece from the rich men of Israel. The name of the king, who is supposed to correspond to Pul, is read on the Assyrian monuments (though very doubtfully) as Vul-lush or Iva-lush. He reigned at Calah (*Nimrud*) from about B. C. 800 to B. C. 750; warred against Syria, and took Damascus; received tribute from the Medes, Armenians, Phœnicians, *Samaritans*, Damascenes, Philistines, and Edomites; and was the last of the older dynasty of Assyrian kings. His successor, Tiglath-pileser, was a usurper. Menahem's name appears on an obelisk of the latter, perhaps by mistake.

PEKAHIAH, the son of Menahem, was killed, after a B. C. 761. reign of only two years, by PEKAH, the son of Remaliah, and the eighteenth king of Israel, whose reign of twenty years is closely interwoven with the history of Judah. His league with Rezin, king of Syria, against Judah, and the consequent destruction of the kingdom of Damascus, and captivity of a large part of Israel, are related under the reign of Ahaz. He was put to death by Hoshea, who succeeded him as the last king of Israel.

To this period of Jeroboam II. and his successors belong the prophets AMOS and HOSEA, whose writings aid us in filling up the brief narrative of Kings by the light they throw on the internal condition of the state, the prevalence of idolatry, the maintenance of "the king's sanctuary" at Bethel under its priest Amaziah, who tried to silence Amos, and the almost universal drunkenness, licentiousness, and oppression.

AMOS prophesied the judgments of God upon the surrounding nations, and upon Israel itself; and, in particular, the destruction of the house of Jeroboam by the sword, and the captivity of the people. Amaziah accused him of conspiring against Jeroboam, and bade him to betake himself to Judah, his native country; but he did not shrink from predicting the full restoration of the house of David, while he promised the ultimate return of Israel from captivity, and their final establishment in their land. His probable date is about the middle of Jeroboam's reign.

The prophecies of HOSEA are addressed almost equally to Israel and Judah, whose dissensions are deeply deplored, their captivity foretold, and their final restoration promised. With respect to Israel, we are especially struck by the same tone of affectionate, nay, agoniz-

ing forbearance, which we have had occasion to notice repeatedly in the sacred narrative of the period. Like a father in the last struggle of nature against necessity, Jehovah dwells upon the good points in the character of Ephraim, the heir of Jacob's favorite son, before He will consent to cast him off as incorrigible, and the same spirit is shown to Judah.

UZZIAH, the tenth king of Judah, was set on the throne B. C. 810. by the people, after the murder of his father Amaziah, in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II. He was then sixteen years old, and reigned for the long period of fifty-two years. His mother was Jecholiah of Jerusalem. He was contemporary with nearly half the reign of Jeroboam II., with Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, and Pekahiah, and the last year of his reign was the first of Pekah's. He was one of the ablest of the kings of Judah, serving Jehovah and enjoying unbroken prosperity, till he profaned the Temple, though still the high places were not removed. Like his grandfather Joash in relation to Jehoiada, he was at first under the influence of Zechariah, a prophet "who had understanding in the visions of God." He began his reign by recovering and rebuilding Eloth (*Ælana: Akabah*), the old port of Solomon and Jehoshaphat, at the eastern head of the Red Sea. His successful wars restored Judah nearly to the power she had possessed under the latter king. He received tribute from Ammon, and subdued the Philistines, razing the fortifications of Gath and Ashdod, and building fortresses throughout their country. The Arabs of the southern desert, whom we have seen, with the Philistines, first as tributaries and then as enemies of Judah, were reduced to the former condition. Towers were built and wells were dug, both in the maritime plain (*Shefelah*) and the Idumæan desert (*Arabah*), for the king's numerous flocks: and he had husbandmen and vine-dressers in the plains about Carmel (in the south) and in the mountains. While thus improving the resources of his country, Uzziah made preparations for its defence, whether against Israel, Syria, or Assyria. He repaired the wall of Jerusalem, which had been broken down after his father's defeat by Jehoash, building towers at the corner gate, and the valley gate, and the angle of the wall. He armed the fortifications with newly-invented military engines, the first of which we read in Jewish history, like the balista and catapult, for shooting arrows and great stones. He kept on foot an army of 307,500 men "that made war with mighty power," under 2600 captains, "the chief of the fathers of the mighty men of valor," with Hananiah as commander-in-chief. They went forth to war by

bands, the roll of which was kept by the king's scribe, Jeiel, and the ruler of his house, Maaseiah. By the care of Uzziah, all the soldiers were armed with spears and shields, helmets and coats of mail, bows and slings. "And his name spread far abroad, for he was marvelously helped, till he was strong." But, deprived probably of the counsel of Zechariah, he could not bear his prosperity. In his arrogance, he claimed the functions of the priests; not those which we have seen always exercised by judges and kings, of offering burnt sacrifices, but those which belonged exclusively to the sons of Aaron. He entered into the Holy Place to burn incense on the golden altar. He was followed by the high-priest Azariah, with eighty of the most courageous of the priests, prepared to resist the profanation by force. The high-priest reproved the king with all the boldness of his office, and warned him to leave the sanctuary, predicting that dishonor would befall him. What reply or deed Uzziah meditated in his rage, we are not told; but as he stood, censer in hand, there rose with the flush of anger to his forehead the spot of leprosy, the sign of his exclusion even from the court of the house of God. When the priests saw it they thrust him out; nay, he himself was so struck with the judgment that he hastened from the sanctuary. He remained a leper to the day of his death, secluded in a separate house, according to the directions of the law, while the government was committed to his son, Jotham. When he died, he was not received into the sepulchre of the kings, but buried in a field attached to it. His life was written by the prophet Isaiah, as well as in the Chronicles of Judah.

JOTHAM, the eleventh king of Judah, was twenty-five B. C. 758. years old when he succeeded his father Uzziah, in the second year of Pekah, king of Israel, and he reigned sixteen years at Jerusalem, having been previously regent about seven years. His mother was Jerushah, the daughter of Zadok. He was one of the most pious and most prosperous of the kings; but the people grew more and more corrupt. He carried on his father's works, both in peace and war. He built the high gate of the Temple, and the tower called Ophel on the city wall, fortified cities in the mountains of Judah, and castles and towers in the forests. War was renewed with the Beni-ammi, who were compelled to pay him an annual tribute of 100 talents of silver, 10,000 measures of wheat, and 10,000 of barley. "So he became mighty, and established his ways before Jehovah his God." Toward the close of his reign, Rezin, king of Damascus, began, in alliance with Pekah, king of Israel, those attacks on

Judah, which proved so disastrous under the reign of Jotham's weak successor Ahaz.

B. C. 742. AHAZ, the twelfth king of Judah, succeeded his father in the seventeenth year of Pekah, king of Israel, and reigned sixteen years at Jerusalem. He departed entirely from the virtues of the last three kings, and plunged into all the idolatries of the surrounding nations, making molten images for Baal, and sacrificing his children to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, besides offering sacrifice in the high places, on every hill, and under every green tree. His punishment quickly followed. The war already begun by Pekah and Rezin was vigorously prosecuted, with a view to set on the throne of Judah a creature of their own, the son of Tabeal. The order of the events that followed is obscure. Ussher supposes two campaigns, in the first of which the invaders were repelled, while in the second they were more successful. But it is not likely that they could lay siege to Jerusalem before they had forced the strongholds built by Uzziah and Jotham, and the story of the war in Isaiah seems to refer to only one series of events. It was therefore most probably on the march to Jerusalem that the allies defeated Judah, with the slaughter of 120,000 men, in a great battle, in which a champion of Ephraim, named Zichri, slew Maaseiah, the king's son, and two of his chief officers; and on their retreat they carried off 200,000 women and children from the cities which were now left undefended.

Their attack upon Jerusalem was unsuccessful, chiefly in consequence of the spirit infused into the people by ISAIAH. To this epoch belongs the celebrated prophecy in which the birth of the child IMMANUEL, whose very name expressed the devout confidence, "*God is with us*," was a sign of the speedy overthrow of both the hostile kings by Assyria. A second sign was given by the birth of a child who received the significant name of Maher-shalal-hash-baz, "Make speed to the spoil! hasten to the prey!" And, in that exalted style of pregnant meaning, which has given Isaiah the name of "the evangelic prophet," these passing wars are dignified by the most glowing prophecies of the Messiah's kingdom.

It is a melancholy comment upon some of the grandest passages of Scripture that they seem to have made no lasting impression on the king to whom they were delivered. His persistence in sin insured the continuance of God's judgments. It would seem that Pekah and Rezin retired from Jerusalem by different routes. While the latter took from Judah the lately recovered part of Elath and gave it to the Edomites, the former returned toward Samaria with his miserable

captives. The dying glory of Israel burns up with an expiring flame in the deed of mercy that followed. The prophet ODED went out to meet the army, reproved them for their purpose of enslaving the children of their brethren, and commanded them to restore the captives. The appeal touched the heart of the princes of the people, and they refused to let the prisoners be brought within their borders. The soldiers left them in their hands, and arrangements were at once made for their relief. They were fed and anointed, clothed and shod from the booty, the feeble were placed on asses, and so they were conducted to Jericho and delivered to their brethren.

The retreat of Pekah and Rezin gave Ahaz no permanent relief. In the words of Isaiah, God had raised up against him the Syrians in front (the East), and the Philistines behind (the West). They overran the whole maritime plain (*Shefelah*) and the highlands that border it, taking Beth-shemesh, Ajalon, and other cities. The Edomites, set free by the Syrians, invaded Judah and carried off many captives, while the Syrians and Israelites threatened to return. Ahaz now applied for help to TIGLATH-PILESER, king of Assyria, against Syria and Israel; declaring himself his vassal, and sending him all the treasures that were left in the Temple, the royal palace, and the houses of the princes. The "Tiger Lord of Asshur" marched first against Damascus, which he took, killing Rezin, and transporting the inhabitants to Kir, as Amos had foretold. Thus ended the great Syrian kingdom of Damascus, after a duration of about 235 years. Israel was stripped of the whole country east of the Jordan, and the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh at length reaped the fruit of their hasty desire to have the first settlement in the land by being the first who were carried into captivity. Their fate was shared by their brethren in Galilee, but the captivity of these northern tribes was only partial. Ahaz gained little by the intervention of his too powerful ally, who, says the narrative, "helped him not." He went to meet the Assyrian king at Damascus: we know not what hard conditions were imposed upon him, but we are told that in the time of his distress he trespassed yet more against Jehovah; for he saw at Damascus an altar, which he impiously resolved to imitate at home. He sent its pattern to Jerusalem, where Urijah the high-priest prepared an altar of the same form against the king's return from Damascus, when, with a profanity on which Athaliah even had not ventured, Ahaz put it in the place of the brazen altar, and commanded Urijah to offer on it all the burnt-offerings and other sacrifices. Superstition led him, however, to preserve the brazen altar for oracular uses, and

he placed it on the north of his great altar. The great brass sea of Solomon was dismounted from its supporting oxen, and the lavers from their bases, which were sent to the King of Assyria, together with the coverings which had been built for the king's entry to the house and for the shelter of the worshippers on the Sabbath. The golden vessels of the house of God were cut in pieces and sent with the rest, and the sanctuary itself was shut up; while idol altars were erected in every corner of Jerusalem, and high places in every city of Judah. It was not for want of provocation to Jehovah that Judah did not at once share the captivity of Israel; but for the sake of "the sure mercies of David" another respite was given, and a new era of godliness throws its light over the reign of Hezekiah, amid all the pressure of invasion and the threats of approaching captivity.

HEZEKIAH, the thirteenth king of Judah, succeeded his B. C. 726. father Ahaz in the third year of Hoshea, the nineteenth and last king of Israel. He was twenty-five years old, and reigned twenty-nine years at Jerusalem. His mother was Abi (or Abijah), the daughter of Zechariah. His character is marked by the commendation which has not been repeated since Jehoshaphat, "*He did that which was right in the sight of Jehovah, according to all that David his father had done.*" The son of Sirach reckons him, with David and Josiah, as the only three kings who did not forsake the law of the Most High; and the historian gives him this panegyric, "He trusted in Jehovah, God of Israel; so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him."

In the very first month of his reign he began the reformation of religion by reopening and repairing the doors of the Temple, which had been closed by Ahaz, and cleansing the sacred edifice. The details of the work and of the sacrifices that followed, with the exhortations of the king to the priests and Levites, are related at length in the Chronicles. Then follows the account of the great Passover (the first recorded since the time of Joshua), which was kept in the second month, for the reason expressly allowed in the law, the ceremonial impurity both of priests and people in the first month. The king had sent posts through all Israel as well as Judah to invite the people to return to God, that he might return to the remnant who were escaped from the King of Assyria, and be merciful to those who had been carried captive. The message was treated with general contempt: still, many came, not only from Ephraim and Manasseh, but from the distant tribes of Issachar, Zebulun, and Asher, to unite

with their brethren of Judah, to whom God had given one heart to obey him. Several of these visitors being still unpurified, the paschal lambs were slain by the Levites for the people; and Hezekiah implored pardon for those who ate the Passover otherwise than according to the law, but whose *hearts* were prepared to seek the God of their fathers. The seven days of the feast were doubtless much interrupted through these causes, as well as by the occupation, to which the people zealously applied themselves, of destroying the idol altars throughout Jerusalem. By the spontaneous impulse of the worshippers, the feast was prolonged to fourteen days, amid such joy as had not been seen in Jerusalem since the time of Solomon, and God heard their prayers. Departing to their homes, they broke to pieces the idols, cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and altars through Ephraim and Manasseh, as well as through Judah and Benjamin, while the king arranged the service of the Temple. One instance of consummate wisdom, mingled with Hezekiah's zeal against idolatry, deserves to be especially mentioned. The brazen serpent, which Moses had lifted up in the wilderness, had long been an object of worship, not only as the memorial of a great deliverance, but probably in connection with the serpent-worship prevalent in the East. No regard for so curious a relic of their early history prevented Hezekiah from breaking it in pieces like any other idol and speaking of it as only "a piece of brass" (*Nehushtan*). We can well believe that this phrase was addressed to the "scornful men," certain rulers at Jerusalem, probably the old friends and counsellors of Ahaz, of whose opposition we learn from Isaiah, the king's great supporter and counsellor by the word of Jehovah. The head of this party was Shebna (probably a foreigner), who seems to have been degraded, at the instance of Isaiah, from the office of treasurer to that of scribe (or secretary), the former post being conferred on Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah.

The reunion of the people in the fear of God infused new life into their national policy. The Philistines, who had made such inroads during the last reign, were beaten back again as far as Gaza with great slaughter. Trusting in God's protection, Hezekiah even ventured to refuse the tribute which his father had paid to the King of Assyria. The momentous character of such a step at the existing crisis will be seen by turning to the history of the kingdom of Israel. If it was taken after the overthrow of Samaria, or even after the beginning of the siege, it might seem to have been the height of rashness. But it was more truly one of those acts of "considerate

courage" by which nations are rescued in their extremity; and, with prudence on the part of Hoshea, it might have proved the salvation of both kingdoms. The revolt may be safely placed about the third year of Hezekiah (B. C. 724).

HOSHEA, the son of Elah, the nineteenth and last king B. C. 730. of the separate kingdom of Israel, had conspired against Pekah and killed him "in the twentieth year of Jotham, the son of Uzziah," by which we must understand the twentieth year from Jotham's accession, which is the fourth of Ahaz. But he was not established in the kingdom till the twelfth year of Ahaz (B. C. 730); and there is no error in the numbers, since his seventh year was the fourth of Hezekiah (B. C. 723). The best chronologers (as Ussher) called the intervening nine years an *Interregnum*. Perhaps they should rather be regarded as a struggle of Hoshea, at the head of a reform party against the idolaters and enemies of Judah, the party to which the late king belonged. That such a reform party existed may be inferred from the noble scene related above of the restoration of the Jewish captives, and from the response made to Hezekiah's invitation to the Passover. Its rise may be accounted for by the earnest pleadings of the prophets, and especially of the new king's namesake, Hosea, whose affecting pleas for union cannot have been entirely unheeded. The character ascribed to Hoshea agrees with this hypothesis. Though, corrupted by the long prevalence of idolatry and wickedness, "he did evil in the sight of Jehovah," the record is qualified by the addition, "*but not as the kings of Israel that were before him.*" We have seen the freedom with which the posts of Hezekiah traversed his kingdom, and with which the worshippers from Israel went up to Jerusalem; nor do we read of any opposition to their zealous destruction of the idols and altars in Ephraim and Manasseh. In fine, Hoshea's revolt from Shalmaneser seems to have been no less an act of patriotism than Hezekiah's, though not prompted by such purely religious motives. Hoshea was, in fact, the best king in the whole line from Jeroboam.

Nor ought we to be surprised that the final catastrophe B. C. 726. came in his reign. Speaking humanly, the state was past redemption; the utter corruption and impenitence of the people are attested by the denunciations of Hosea, and confirmed by their scornful rejection of Hezekiah's call to repentance and union. Even the king was only some shades better than his predecessors, and it was no partial reform that could save and renew the state. Viewing the case from the higher ground taken throughout the Scripture history—

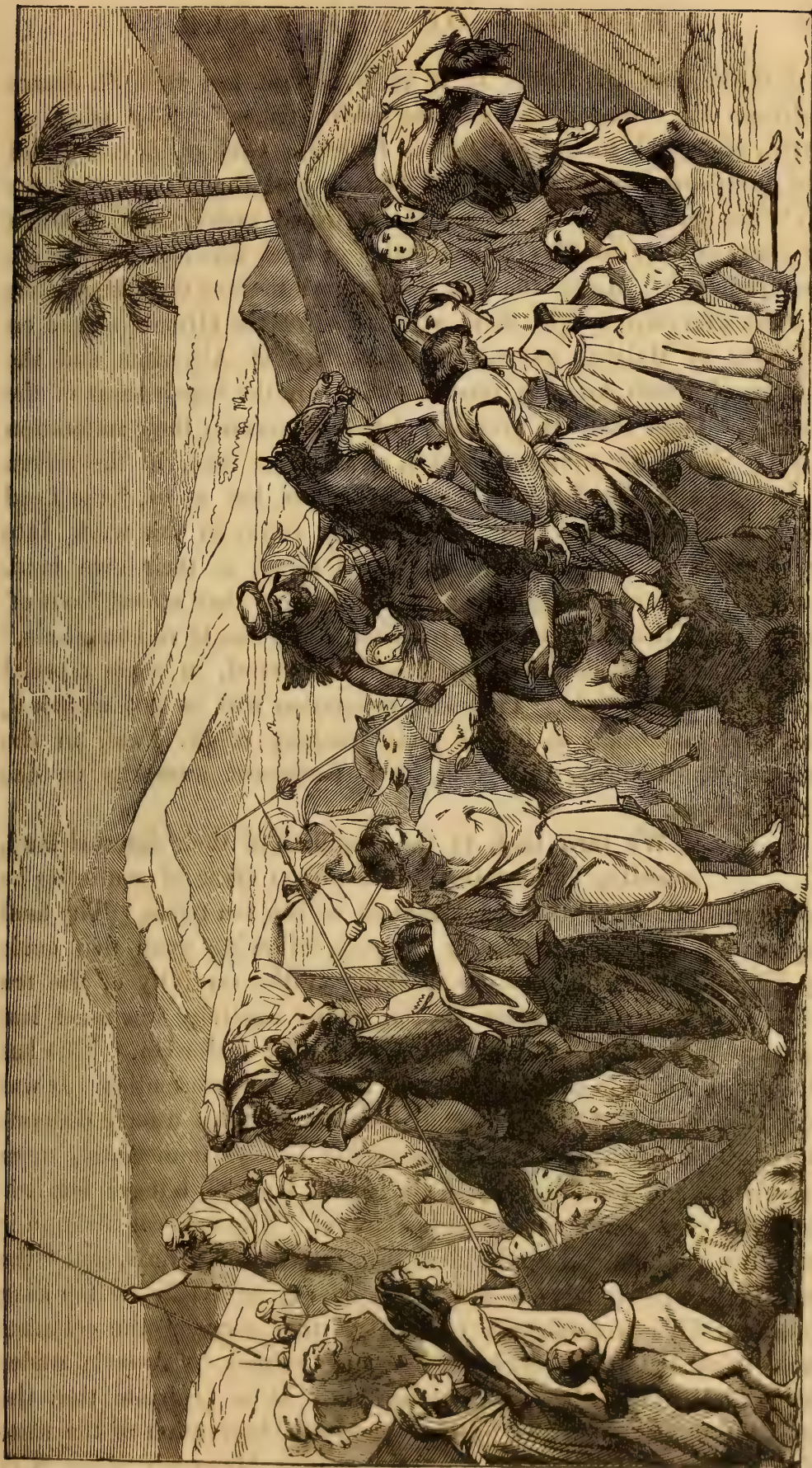
the inseparable connection between national prosperity or adversity and religious obedience or rebellion—we cannot say that it was too late for Israel to be saved; as Sodom would have been, if five righteous men had been found in her; as Nineveh was, when her people repented at the preaching of Jonah. They had only forty days of grace: Hoshea and his people had three years: let us now see how they used them. In the third year of Hoshea (B. C. 726) Shalmaneser, who had succeeded Tiglath-pileser, in B. C. 730 marched against Hoshea to enforce payment of the tribute, the refusal of which, in the very year of Hezekiah's accession, is perhaps another proof of a common feeling. The cruelties perpetrated at the storming of the fortress of Beth-arbel evidently belong to this campaign. Hoshea submitted, and became tributary to Assyria. His second revolt is morally justified by patriotism; and even politically, the favorite test of success might not have been wanting, as we see in the case of Hezekiah. But, in the religious point of view, it was an utter wrong and failure. Had Hoshea made common cause with Hezekiah, and thrown himself on the protection of Jehovah, we have a right to believe that the times of David might have returned. But Hoshea took the very course denounced by the law of Moses, reliance upon Egypt. The long contest had begun between the sovereigns of Egypt and Western Asia for the frontier province of Palestine, and both had their partisans at the court of Samaria. The King of Egypt, who is called So in the Scripture narrative, was either Shebek I., the Sabaco of Herodotus, or his son Shebek II., the Sevechus of Manetho. He belonged to the warlike xxvth (Ethiopian) dynasty, who opposed the progress of Assyria with all their force. Hoshea formed a secret league with him, and withheld the accustomed tribute from Shalmaneser; who, informed of the conspiracy, seized the King of Israel, and shut him up in prison, where he was bound with fetters and treated with cruel indignity. His sudden destruction is compared by the prophet Hosea to the disappearance of the foam upon the water. The imprisonment of Hoshea clearly preceded the siege of Samaria: it may be that he was seized on a visit to Nineveh for the purpose of excusing his conduct. Shalmaneser then marched against Israel; and after overrunning the country, laid siege to Samaria in the seventh year of Hoshea, the fourth of Hezekiah (B. C. 723). Then followed one of those memorable defences, the despairing efforts of dying nations. We have no details of the siege; but Isaiah gives a glowing description of the mighty instrument of Jehovah smiting like a hail-storm the glorious beauty of the city, which towered on its hill like a

crown of pride, the head of the fat valleys of the drunkards of Ephraim. Its strong position enabled the city to hold out for three years, during which we learn from the Assyrian monuments that Shalmaneser died and was succeeded by his son SARGON, a change not noticed in the Scripture narrative, which, after the first mention of Shalmaneser, only speaks of the "King of Assyria." The city was taken in the ninth year of Hoshea, the sixth of Hezekiah. Sargon himself records the capture of Samaria in the following terms:—"Samaria I looked at, I captured" (like Cæsar's *vidi, vici*); "27,280 men (or families) who dwelt in it I carried away." According to the Scripture narrative, he "carried *Israel* away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan and the cities of the Medes." This deportation of the people extended to Samaria and its dependent towns, a region small in comparison to the original kingdom of the ten tribes. The region east of Jordan had already been so treated by Tiglath-pileser, who had also carried away the northern tribes, but not to the same extent; for a remnant were left, who formed the nucleus of the mixed population of the later GALILEE. The cities in the south of Ephraim, which had been attached to Judah by conquest, or by the bond of religion under Hezekiah, probably shared the fortunes of the southern kingdom. The removal was of that complete character, which we have seen in the case of Damascus, and which was frequently practised by the conquerors of Western Asia. The process is compared to the act of "wiping out a dish and turning it upside down." Josephus states that the King of Assyria "transplanted all the people." These statements, which have the most important bearing on the national character of the later "Samaritans," are confirmed in various ways. Not a word is said of any remnant, as in the case of the captivity of Judah, when "the poor of the land were left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen;" nor, if such a remnant had been left, could the new population have been so ignorant of "the manner of the God of the land" as to need one of the captive priests to be sent from Assyria to teach them to fear Jehovah. The ten tribes never returned to their land as a distinct people: and the contrast between their fate and that of Judah in both these points marks the favor of God to the house of David, and to the people who never entirely cast off his worship.

Thus ended the kingdom of Israel, after a duration of
 B. C. 721. just 255 years, under nineteen kings and seven dynasties, not reckoning among the latter the ephemeral usurpations of Zimri and Shallum. The last two of these dynasties perished with their

founders, Pekah and Hoshea : three, those of Jeroboam, Baasha, and Menahem, had two kings each : the house of Omri numbered four kings in three generations : Jehu's, the longest of all, reigned for five generations from father to son, and all its kings died a natural death except the last, Zachariah. Of the other kings, only Jeroboam I., Baasha, Omri, Ahaziah, and Menahem had the same lot ; the rest were slain by traitors or in battle, or died in captivity. Their character was even worse than their fate. Not one in the whole list is commended either for morality or piety : all were idolaters, and traitors to Jehovah. Even the zeal of Jehu ended in idol-worship, and the patriotism of Hoshea was marred by disloyalty to God.

The end of the kingdom of Israel involves two questions of great interest—the fate of the captives who were carried away, and the condition of the country after their removal. Respecting the first point, we have had the statement of their transplantation to certain districts of Assyria and Media, where we almost lose sight of them. Nor is this surprising. The gradual contraction of the limits of the Samaritan kingdom suggests, what the inscription of Sargon confirms, that the numbers carried captive at last were far less considerable than is commonly supposed. Their absorption in the surrounding population would be aided by their long addiction to the practices of idolatry, and the loss of reverence for their religion involved the absence of care for the records of their national existence. As they furnished no confessors and martyrs, like Daniel and “the three children,” so neither did they preserve the genealogies on which Judah based the order of the restored commonwealth. But yet their traces are not utterly lost. The fact that a priest was found among them to teach the Samaritans to fear Jehovah, proves that they maintained some form of worship in His name. The book of Tobit preserves the record of domestic piety among captives of the tribe of Naphtali. The first Jewish exiles, who were carried away by Sennacherib, seem to have been settled in the same districts as their brethren of Israel, on whom their influence would be salutary ; and, after the great captivity of Judah, it is most interesting to see how continually Ezekiel addresses the captives by the name of *Israel*. The prophetic symbol of the rod of Judah and “the rod of the children of Israel, his *companions*” being joined into one, in order to their restoration as one nation, as Isaiah also had predicted, seems to imply that all that was worth preserving in Israel became amalgamated with Judah, and either shared in the restoration, or became a part of the “dispersion,” who were content to remain behind, and who spread the knowledge of the true



ISRAELITES CARRIED CAPTIVE.

God throughout the East. It is an important fact that St. James addresses the "dispersion" as "the *twelve* tribes." The edict of Cyrus, addressed to the servants of Jehovah, God of *Israel*, would find a response beyond the tribe of Judah; and though none of the ten tribes appear, *as such*, among the returned exiles, there is room for many of their families in the number of those who could not prove their pedigrees. As for the rest, the very wildness of the speculations of those who have sought them at the foot of the Himalayas and on the coast of Malabar, among the Nestorians of Abyssinia and the Indians of North America, proves sufficiently the hopelessness of the attempt. Have then the promises of God concerning their restoration failed? No! they were represented, as we have seen, in the return of Judah; and for the rest, though they are lost to us, "the Lord knoweth them that are His." We do not enter, in this work, into the controversy respecting the return of Israel to their own land. But of this there is no question, that when God shall reveal "out of every nation, those who have feared God, and wrought righteousness," all the tribes of believers in Israel will be owned, in some especial manner, as His people. That this restoration will be not temporal, but spiritual, seems to be the plain teaching of St. Paul, in the passage which forms the great New Testament authority on the whole subject.

We turn back to the condition of their deserted land, B. C. 678. guarding first against the common error of confusing its limits with those of the old kingdom of the ten tribes. The final deportation by Shalmaneser (or Sargon), following upon that made by Tiglath-pileser, justifies our speaking of the captivity of the ten tribes; but the depopulation in the earlier captivity was much less complete than in the latter, at least on the west of Jordan. This has already been seen in the description of Hezekiah's reformation. It was only the region immediately round Samaria that was utterly depopulated. The description of its repeopling follows immediately upon the narrative of the Captivity in the second book of Kings; but it is clear that there was a considerable interval. The new colonization is expressly ascribed to Esar-haddon, the grandson of Sargon, and "the great and noble Asnapper," either his officer, or a title of the king himself. This is confirmed by the fact that some of the colonists came from Babylon, which only became subject to Assyria under Sennacherib, the father of Esar-haddon. It is probable that the colonization was suggested by Esar-haddon's observation of the state of the country during his campaign against Manasseh, about B. C.

678. It was effected by the usual Assyrian method of removing the whole population of other conquered cities or districts in a distant part of the empire, "from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava (or Ival), Hamath, and Sepharvaim," the three last being places mentioned among the conquests of Sennacherib. The new inhabitants imported their idolatrous worship; and God showed his jealousy for His own land by plaguing them with lions, which had doubtless multiplied during nearly half a century of desolation. They inscribed the infliction to their ignorance of "the manner of the God of the land," and the King of Assyria sent back one of the captive priests, who established himself at Bethel, and "taught them how to fear Jehovah." His teaching was probably mixed with no little error, but it seems to have been free from the old idolatry of Jeroboam. The worship thus established was regarded by the people as merely local, and they none the less set up their own idols in the old high places of the Israelites: Succoth-benoth, the god of Babylon; Nergal, Ashima, Nibhaz, and Tartak, the gods of Cuth, Hamarth, and the Arvites, while the Sepharvites burnt their children to Adram-melech. Priests were appointed for the high places from the lowest of the people. The compromise between their new religion and their old idolatries is thus summed up: "They feared Jehovah and served their own gods." The writer lays the greatest stress on their entire departure from the law of Moses, and concludes by stating that these practices were followed by "their children and their children's children: as did their fathers, so do they unto this day."

These are evidently the words of a writer disowning all religious communion with the devotees of such degrading superstitions. The date to which they lead, their tone and spirit, and the part ascribed to Ezra in making up the Canon of the Old Testament, all point to their having been written by him at the time when these people were doing all they could to thwart the exertions of the restored Jews to build up the Temple and city of Jerusalem. They explain that long course of mutual hostility which the subsequent history develops, and which is summed up in the saying, "The Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans," not so much as to ask and receive a cup of cold water at a well-side in the noon-day heat of travel.

CHAPTER XXII.

FROM THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL TO THE END OF THE KINGDOM
OF JUDAH.

[B. c. 721-586.]

THERE is a gap in the Scripture narrative, from the taking of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah to the attack from Assyria in his fourteenth year (B. c. 721-713). But from an allusion in Isaiah as well as from the direct testimony of an ancient historian preserved by Josephus, we know how the King of Assyria employed the interval. It may seem strange that Sargon should not at once have marched to subdue Hezekiah.

B. c.
721-713. But he was evidently preparing for a more important campaign, of which the reduction of Judah would be merely an incident, against Egypt, the ally of Hoshea, and the probable supporter of Hezekiah. To conduct such a war to a successful issue, and to accomplish a cherished object of Assyrian policy, it was necessary to secure the great port of Western Asia on the Mediterranean. Sargon overran Phœnicia and laid siege to Tyre, then at the height of its power, under its king Elulæus. Having retired the first time without success, Sargon renewed the attempt, with the aid of sixty ships furnished by other Phœnician cities, as Sidon, Acé (Accho), and Palæ-tyrus (old Tyre on the main land), whether from compulsion, or from jealousy of the island queen. This navy was defeated by the Tyrians, who had only twenty ships; and, thus secured against a storm, they held out for five years (B. c. 720-715), with the same constancy that they afterward displayed against Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, and probably with better success. The issue of the blockade is not recorded; but, if it had been successful, "the gods of Tyre" would doubtless have been included in the boast of Rabshakeh. We cannot be wrong in referring to this occasion the prophecy of Isaiah against Tyre, warning "the merchant city" that though she had escaped this time, she was doomed to utter destruction.

Sargon sent an army against Judah and Egypt, under a "Tartan" (or general) in the tenth year of his reign, which was the fourteenth of Hezekiah (B. c. 713). How this expedition affected Judah we do

not know, for in our present text it is manifestly confused with the celebrated incursion of Sennacherib several years later; but it inflicted a great blow on Egypt. While the Assyrian army was detained near the frontier by the siege of Ashdod, which probably belonged then to Egypt, Isaiah uttered his remarkable prophecy of the defeat and captivity of the Egyptians, which appears from Nahum to have been soon fulfilled by the capture of Thebes (No-amon). We learn from Herodotus that Sebechus (the So who conspired with Hoshea) was succeeded by a priest of Vulcan (Phthah), whose neglect of the military caste reduced him to great danger in an invasion by the King of Assyria.

About this time must have occurred the mortal illness of Hezekiah: "In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death," and Isaiah was sent to warn him of his approaching end. The record of his feelings, written by his own hand when he recovered, is preserved for us by Isaiah in language highly poetical. In the same dismal tone as the patriarch Job, he deploras



AN ASSYRIAN KING.

the end of life but chiefly as the end of all opportunities for serving God:—"The grave cannot praise Thee; death cannot celebrate Thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for Thy truth." He thought doubtless of his unfinished work, of the danger still impending over Judah, but, above all, of the Temple which he had restored, and where he had hoped long to worship God. He turned

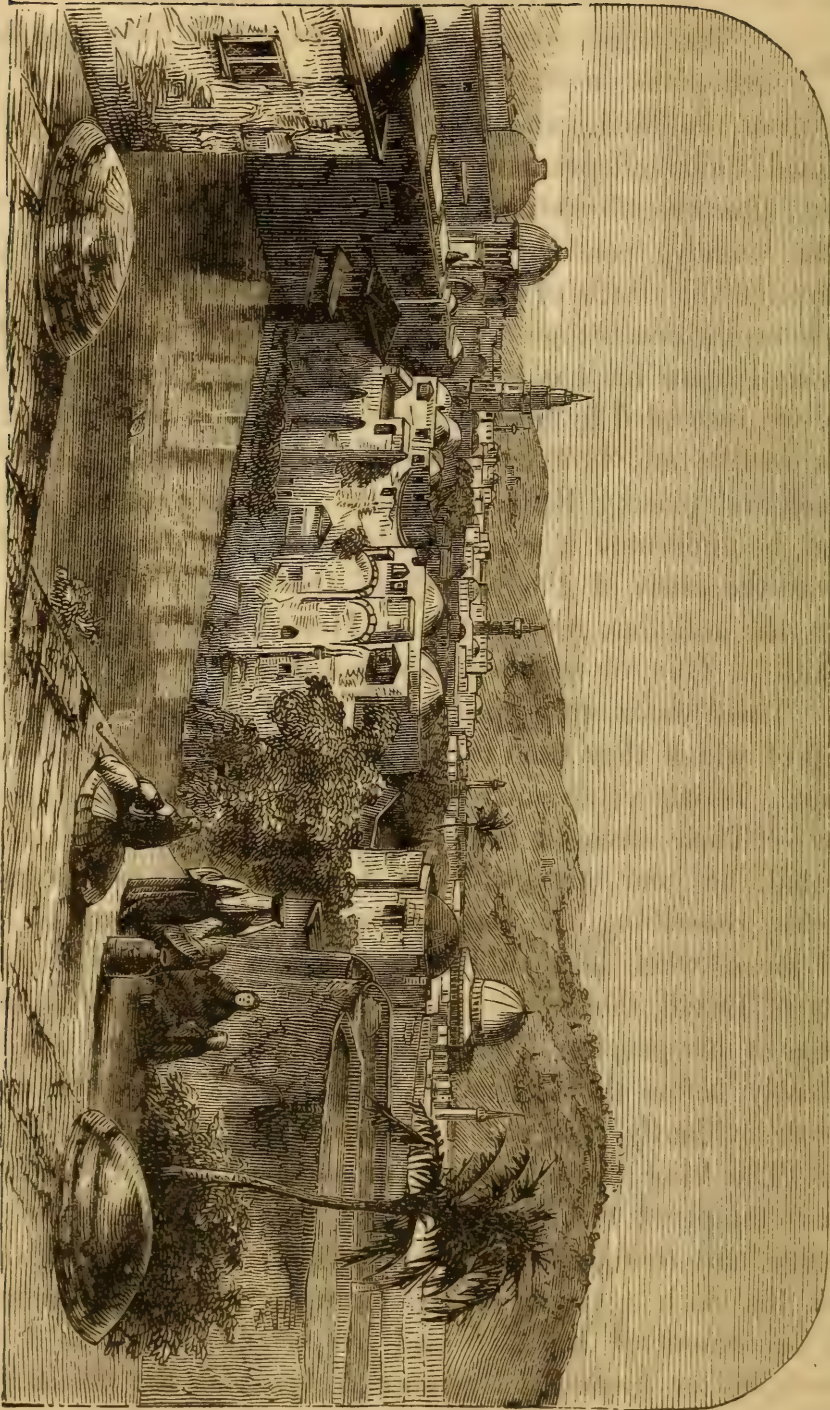
his face to the wall, and prayed and wept sore. The prophet, who had but just left him, was sent back to promise that he should recover and go up to the house of God on the third day: at the same time he directed a poultice of figs to be laid upon the boil or carbuncle, for such was the king's disease. As was so usual with the Jews, Hezekiah asked for a sign; and the shadow of the sun went back ten degrees upon the dial of Ahaz, signifying a proportionate addition to the days of his life. But alas! for the weakness of our nature, this deliverance engendered a rash confidence, which brought new judgments on Judah and Jerusalem. The news of Hezekiah's recovery brought an embassy of congratulation from Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, a power which now appears for the first time. The ostensible object was to make inquiries respecting the astronomical marvel. But its real purpose was probably to form a league against Assyria. The kings of the lower Assyrian dynasty held Babylon by an insecure grasp, and Merodach was at the head of the party of independence. From the records of Sargon and Sennacherib we learn that he was twice expelled from his kingdom; by the former in the twelfth year both of Sargon and of Merodach (B. C. 709), and by the latter in his first year (B. C. 702), when Merodach had only recovered his kingdom for six months. The embassy to Hezekiah falls during his first tenure of power; and if its object be rightly understood, the King of Judah's eagerness to show the ambassadors his treasures would have another motive besides mere ostentation to prove his ability to enter on a great and dangerous war. Whatever the motive, the display was made in a spirit of self-glorification, which called down a divine judgment; and it must have been doubly bitter for Hezekiah to hear from Isaiah's lips that his kingdom was to fall a prey, not to Assyria, but to the very power whose alliance he was courting. There had already been several predictions of the captivity of Judah; but this was the first distinct intimation of the quarter from which the judgment was to fall. Hezekiah humbled himself before God, and he was comforted by the assurance that the sentence should not be executed in his days.

Up to the time of his mortal illness, Hezekiah seems to have been childless—a circumstance which would embitter his distress at the prospect of death. He now married Hephzibah, the daughter of a citizen or prince of Jerusalem, in whose name, which signifies *delight-some*, Isaiah traces a figure of the future glories of Jerusalem. The son born of this union received the name of *Manasseh*, which never occurs elsewhere in the history of Judah. The adoption of the name

of a rival tribe may be taken as a sign of the policy pursued by Hezekiah, from the time of the destruction of Samaria, to rally the remnant of the ten tribes in a religious union with Judah.

The remainder of Sargon's reign was fully occupied by B. C. 702. rebellions in the heart of his empire. Herodotus places the revolt of the Medes and Babylonians in B. C. 711. The former maintained their independence, and founded the power by which Babylon, after overthrowing Assyria, was herself subdued. As to the latter, we have seen that Merodach was expelled in B. C. 709; but his return at the death of Sargon proves the unsettled state of the province in the mean time. From both quarters Sargon must have had enough upon his hands for the rest of his reign. In B. C. 702 Sargon was succeeded by his son SENNACHERIB (or Sanherib), a monarch as warlike and able as himself. After crushing the revolt of Merodach and placing Belib, a creature of his own, on the throne of Babylon, he undertook a great expedition against Judah and Egypt. This was the crisis of the history of the men of Judah to prove whether the religious revival under Hezekiah would inspire them with faith in God, or whether they would seek safety by forbidden means. There was a strong party in favor of an alliance with Egypt, the help of which they seem to have sought only to be repulsed with contempt. Isaiah vehemently denounces this party, and lays down the law—"Their strength is to sit still;" "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength"—in a series of his most magnificent prophecies, describing the destruction of the Assyrian by supernatural means when he should encamp against Ariel (*Lion of God*), the city of David, the establishment of Messiah's kingdom, and the privileges of his people. These chapters stand in the book of Isaiah immediately before the history of Sennacherib's invasion, for which they were evidently designed to prepare the minds of king and people. The king proved worthy of such a prophet. Though he may have tampered with Egypt, a point on which we have no certain knowledge, and though he was driven to one act of disgraceful submission, his faith revived in the supreme crisis. Encouraged by Isaiah, he committed his own and his people's safety to Jehovah, who wrought for them a deliverance as signal as the destruction of Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea.

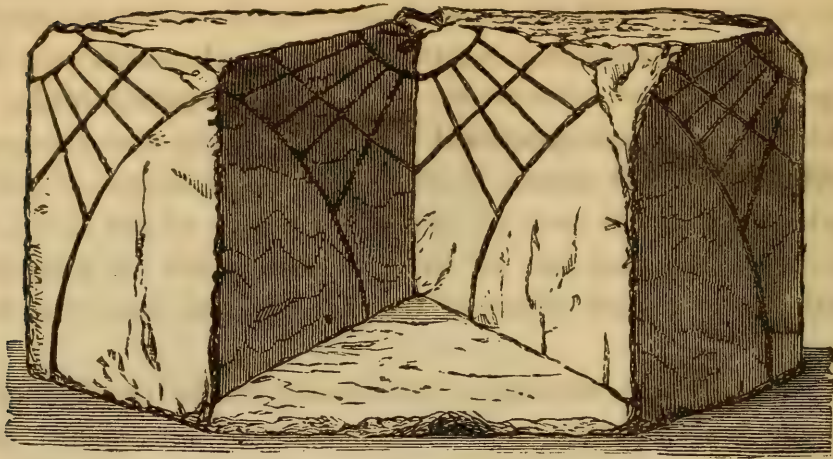
The campaign was opened by an attack on the fortresses of Judah, of which several were taken. Isaiah describes the progress of Sennacherib through Benjamin and the distress of the cities on his route. He was engaged in the siege of Lachish, a city in the southwest of



POOL OF HEZEKIAH.

Judah (apparently with the view of securing the whole country toward Egypt before attacking Jerusalem), when Hezekiah sent him a message of complete submission:—"I have offended; return from me; what thou putteth upon me I will bear." The Assyrian exacted a contribution of 300 talents of silver and thirty talents of gold; to meet which, Hezekiah took all the silver vessels of the Temple and of his own palace, and cut off the gold with which he himself had overlaid the doors and pillars of the Temple, and sent it to Sennacherib.

But this spoliation was only a preliminary to the intended extirpation of the Jewish people and the destruction of Jerusalem. Sennacherib sent an army against Jerusalem under a Tartan (or captain), Rabsaris (the chief eunuch), and Rabshakeh (the chief cup-bearer), expecting apparently the surrender of the disheartened city without a siege. We are informed of the exact spot where the envoys stood to deliver their message, "the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's field." Hezekiah sent to the conference the chief of his household, his secretary, and recorder. Rabshakeh, who acted as spokesman, asked on whom the King of Judah relied. Was it on Egypt, a broken reed, that would pierce the hand of him who leaned on it? Was it on Jehovah?—the God, said the orator, with a strange confusion of ideas, whose high places and altars Hezekiah had taken away. Nay, his master even claimed to have been sent up against Jerusalem by the word of Jehovah, referring probably to the prophecies of Isaiah. Thus far he had spoken in Hebrew; but now the officers of Hezekiah entreated him to speak in the Syrian language, so as not to be understood by the people on the wall. "They," rejoined Rabshakeh, "are the very persons to whom I am sent, to warn them of the consequences of resistance." Then, raising his voice, he cried to the men upon the wall to come forth to make their peace with him, promising that they should be unmolested till he came again to remove them to a land as good as their own. Let them not listen to Hezekiah, persuading them that Jehovah would deliver them, but look upon the nations subdued before Assyria, and see if the gods of Samaria and the rest had delivered them out of his master's hand. The people, as Hezekiah had bidden them, returned no answer, and the servants of Hezekiah reported to him the words of Rabshakeh. He sent them to Isaiah, while he betook himself to prayer. The prophet replied that God took the blasphemies of Rabshakeh as uttered against him, and predicted that, in consequence of a "blast" sent upon him by God, and a "rumor" which he should



ANCIENT SUNDIAL.

hear, the king would retreat to his own land, and there perish by the sword.

B. C. 700. Sennacherib had now left Lachish, probably having taken it, and his messengers found him besieging Libnah, a city in the same vicinity. The news of the approach of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, compelled him to postpone his revenge for the defiance of Hezekiah; but he gave vent to his rage in a letter in the same tone as Rabshakeh's speech. Hezekiah spread the letter before God, with a solemn prayer to him to prove the difference between Jehovah, the only God, and the "no gods" whom the Assyrian had justly reproached; and the answer was given by the mouth of Isaiah in a sublime prophecy of the destruction of the Assyrian and the future glory of the remnant of Judah. On that very night the well-known catastrophe followed, not, as is too often supposed by cursory readers, before Jerusalem, which Sennacherib had never approached, but only "shaken his fist at her" from the distance. His army still lay before Libnah, not having even moved to meet Tirhakah, when in one night "the angel of Jehovah went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men." When the watchmen looked forth in the early morning, the plain was covered with their corpses. There is no doubt that some secondary cause was employed in the accomplishment of this miracle. The Assyrians may have been suffocated by the hot wind of the desert, or they may have fallen by tens of thousands before "the pestilence that walketh in darkness." It is enough for us to remember that God, who at first "breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life," has the power, in a thousand ways, to "breathe" death on whom he pleases. Sennacherib himself returned into Assyria, and was there slain, as Isaiah had foretold. But

his death, which is mentioned at the end of the Scripture narrative, did not take place till some years later. He was murdered in the Temple of Nisroch by two of his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, who fled into Armenia, and was succeeded by another son, ESARHADDON, one of the most powerful of the Assyrian monarchs (B. C. 680).

The fame of Hezekiah's deliverance brought him congratulations and presents from all the surrounding nations; and the remainder of the days, which God's special grace had added to his life, were spent in prosperity and wealth. Like Uzziah, he possessed numerous flocks and herds, in addition to the treasures that he collected at Jerusalem. When he died, he was honored with the chief place in the sepulchres of the kings (B. C. 698). The glorious promise of his reign was terribly eclipsed under his successor.

MANASSEH, the fourteenth king of Judah, was only B. C. 698. twelve years old when he succeeded his father Hezekiah, and he reigned fifty-five years (B. C. 698-643). But of this, the longest reign in the annals of Judah, our accounts are extremely scanty. His reign was a period of fatal reaction in the religious policy of the State. We have seen indications that the idolatrous party, who had been triumphant under Ahaz, did not yield without a struggle to Hezekiah. Such a reform as that king wrought must have been in a great degree superficial among a people so corrupted as the testimony of the prophets proves that the Jews had now become. The princes of Judah, whose influence would naturally be great during the king's minority, have been seen more than once on the side of idolatry, especially in the apostasy of Joash. It has been suggested that the policy which drew Hezekiah toward Babylon in the latter part of his reign may have had an evil influence over his young son. Certain it is that Babylonian superstitions are conspicuous among the religious errors of Manasseh, and his punishment came from the same quarter.

Manasseh introduced every form of false religion and abominable vice that had ever been borrowed by Israel from heathen nations. He restored the high places, introduced the worship of Baal, and the obscene rites of Ashtoreth, and even went so far as to profane the Temple, by displacing the ark, and setting up an idol figure for worship in the sanctuary. He also set up altars in the two courts of the Temple for the worship of the heavenly bodies. He built a stately temple to Moloch in the valley of Hinnom, and made his son pass through the fire to that god. He dealt with wizards and necromancers,

and, in short, "seduced the people to do *more* wickedness than the nations whom Jehovah destroyed before them."

This great apostasy was not consummated without warnings from the prophets who had flourished under Hezekiah. As the king and people had repeated the sins of Ahab, the prophets denounced the doom of Samaria on Judah and Jerusalem in the most striking figurative language. The king attempted to silence them by the fiercest persecution recorded in the annals of Israel. We are only told in the sacred history that Manasseh "filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, which Jehovah would not pardon;" and that this was the crowning sin which doomed the nation to captivity. Fuller particulars of the persecution are preserved by Josephus, who tells us that executions

took place every day. Its effect is thus described by Jeremiah: "Your own sword hath devoured your prophets, like a destroying lion." After the death of Isaiah, whom tradition makes the first victim of this persecution, the prophetic voice was no more heard till the reign of Josiah.

These crimes were not long left unavenged. It is inferred from passages in the prophets of the next age that the Philistines, Moabites, and Ammonites, who



MOLOCH.

had been tributary to Hezekiah, revolted from his son. But the great blow came from Assyria. Sennacherib's successor, Esar-haddon, one of the most powerful of all the Assyrian kings, soon put down the revolt of Evil-merodach and abolished the vice-royalty of Babylon, fixing his own residence at that city for about thirteen years (B. C. 680-667). Esar-haddon is the only Assyrian monarch whom we find to have actually reigned at Babylon, where he built himself a palace, bricks from which have been recently recovered bearing his name. This fact accounts for Manasseh being taken to Babylon, and not to Nineveh. To that city he carried Manasseh captive on a charge of rebellion; and it would seem that Jerusalem

was taken at the same time. The date of this event is placed by a Jewish tradition at the twenty-second year of Manasseh (B. C. 677), which agrees very well with the account of the new colonization of the country of Samaria by settlers whom Esar-haddon (or Asnapper) sent from *Babylon* and other places.

And now it seemed as if the time had come for the Babylonish captivity which Isaiah had foretold ; but, by a new proof of Jehovah's long-suffering with the house of David, the end was postponed for another century. The severity of Manasseh's imprisonment brought him to repentance. God heard his prayer, and restored him to his kingdom at Jerusalem, where he again reigned long and prosperously. He removed the idols and their altars from the Temple and the city, repaired the altar and sacrificed upon it, and commanded the people to serve Jehovah. There was, however, no thorough reformation of religion ; the ark was not restored, and the people still sacrificed in the high places. At the same time Manasseh put Jerusalem in a state of defence. He protected his weak side by a new wall "on the west side of Gihon, in the valley to the entrance of the fish-gate." He heightened the tower of Ophel, which Jotham had begun, and he placed garrisons in the fortified cities of Judah. That these proceedings were permitted by Assyria can be easily understood from the unwarlike character of Esar-haddon's successor, Sardanapalus II., whose monuments confirm the character given to him by Greek writers. But they were doubtless also connected with the new position of Egypt, the history of which now emerges from its long obscurity.

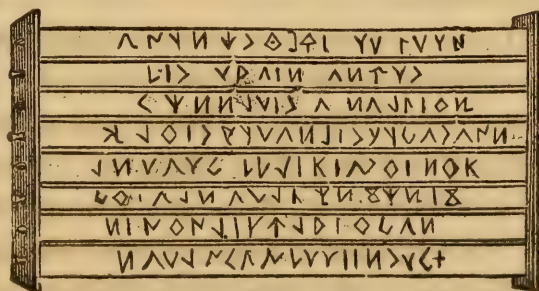
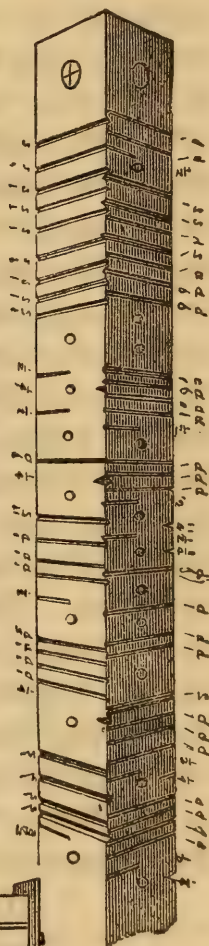
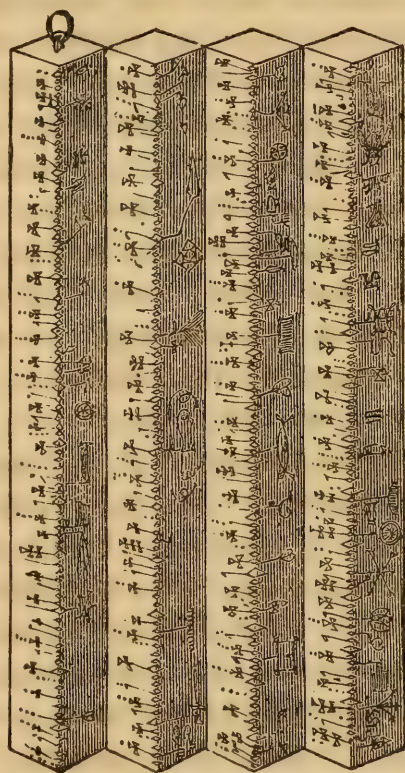
After the usurpation of the xxvth (Ethiopian) dynasty, and the anarchy of the "Twelve Kings," Psametek (Psammetichus I.) founded a native dynasty (the xxvith, Saite) in B. C. 664, the thirty-fifth year of Manasseh. He at once renewed the old contest with Assyria, and took Ashdod, after a siege of twenty-nine years. We have already seen that there was a powerful Egyptian party in Judah, and the denunciations of the prophets, who began to prophesy under Josiah prove that it had gained great strength. The name of Manasseh's son, Amon, who was born about the time of the accession of Psammetichus, though not incapable of explanation as a Hebrew word, points to a connection with Egypt. On these grounds it has been supposed that Manasseh sought the Egyptian alliance to strengthen him against Assyria. When he died, he was buried in the garden of Uzza, attached to his own house, and not in the sepulchres of the kings, and his memory is held in detestation by the Jews.

AMON, the fifteenth king of Judah, succeeded his father at the age of twenty-two; and after a reign of two years, during which he followed Manasseh's idolatries, without sharing his repentance, B. C. 642. he fell the victim of a court conspiracy. The conspirators were slain by the people, who raised Josiah, the infant son of Amon, to the throne. Amon was buried with his father in the garden of Uzza. His mother was Meshullemeth, the daughter of Haruz of the town of Jotbah.

JOSIAH, the sixteenth king of Judah, was eight years B. C. 639. old at his accession, and reigned thirty-one years at Jerusalem. His mother was Jedidah, the daughter of Adaiah of Boscath. Though he fell in battle before he had completed his fortieth year, he left the brightest name for piety and religious zeal among all the successors of David. He shares with Hezekiah the praise of walking perfectly in the way of his father David. His reign marks the last dying glory of the earthly kingdom of David. It may, indeed, seem mysterious that a doom, so often postponed by the repentance and faith of earlier kings, should have followed so close upon the reign of the best and most zealous of them all, and that he himself should have fallen by a premature and violent death. But we must look beyond the personal character of the king to the state of the people and their rulers. We have seen that the great reform of Hezekiah was probably superficial; the apostasy under Manasseh and Amon was the last and lowest stage in the long course of national degeneracy; and the deep corruption that prevailed during the minority of Josiah is drawn in the blackest colors by the prophets ZEPHANIAH and JEREMIAH. The very violence of Josiah's reformation indicates the absence of true and spontaneous sympathy among the people. In short, they were past purifying except by the fiercest fires of affliction.

Josiah must not be regarded as an example of the quiet growth of youthful piety under favorable culture. So evil were the influences about him that he only "began to seek after the God of David his father" in his sixteenth year. His religion was his own decided choice, as the first act of his opening manhood; a choice prompted by that loyalty to his high calling as the son of David, which marks every act of his reign. Doubtless he was aided and encouraged by some among the priests, and by prophets, such as Zephaniah and Jeremiah; but it is a striking feature of his history, that the king himself is the prime mover in every act of reformation. In the twelfth year of his reign, at the age of twenty, he made a progress not only through Judah, but through those parts of Israel which we have before seen

recognizing Hezekiah as their religious head—Simeon, Ephraim, Manasseh, and even as far as Naphtali—to put away all objects of idolatry. The altars, groves, and statues were thrown down and destroyed, the molten and chased images were ground to powder, and their dust sprinkled on the graves of their worshippers in the king's presence, and the bones of the idolatrous priests were disinterred and burned upon their own altars. These proceedings were continued for six years, during which the zeal of Josiah was quickened by a most important discovery. He had issued a commission to his chief officers to co-operate with the high-priest Hil- kiah in a thorough renovation of the Temple. Money had been collected by the priests from all the tribes that the king had visit- ed; and it was delivered without reckoning to the workmen, who proved faithful to the trust—a strik-



SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT WRITINGS ON STICKS.

ing contrast to the checks which were found necessary in the time of Joash. The ark, which appears to have been removed by Manasseh when he set up a carved image in the Holy of Holies, was restored to its place by Jo- siah. During these repairs, the high-priest Hilki- ah found the sacred copy of the book of the law, and delivered it to Shaphan the scribe,

who read it before the king. It is hard for us to realize the full force of this discovery. We can scarcely conceive of a state of things in which, during centuries of the nominal establishment of Christianity, the people should still observe solemn festivals at the old sites of Druidical worship; the altars of Thor, and Woden, and Freya should smoke with sacrifices in every city, town, and village, their statues be set up in cathedrals, and the heights round London should be crowned with the temples of Sivah and Juggernaut: all this lasting for centuries, with an occasional and partial return to the purer form of worship, while the BIBLE, never multiplied by printing, and only known in older and purer times through infrequent readings by the clergy, should have been utterly lost and forgotten! Add to this the supposition that the lost volume contained, not the dark symbols of the Apocalypse, but the clear warning of national destruction and captivity to occur because of these idolatries, and then let us imagine the state of feeling on its sudden discovery! No wonder that Josiah rent his clothes, and could not rest till he found a prophet to expound these terrible denunciations! For the first time since the days of Deborah, we meet with a prophetess, HULDAH, the wife of Shallum, keeper of the sacred vestments, who had her abode in the suburb of Jerusalem. Her reply to the high-priest and officers whom Josiah sent to consult her confirmed his worst fears for the fate of the city and the kingdom, but she added a message of comfort to the king. As he had shown a tender heart, and had humbled himself before God when he heard his words of threatening, he should be gathered to his fathers in peace, and not see the evil that was coming on Jerusalem and Judah.

B. C. 624. Josiah convened a solemn assembly at the Temple for the public reading of the law and the renewal of the nation's covenant with Jehovah. With new zeal the people set to the work of purging Jerusalem from idolatry. All the monuments of false worship were destroyed, from the temples built by Solomon on the Mount of Olives, and the horses and chariots which successive kings had dedicated to the sun at the Temple gates, to the altars set up by Ahaz and Manasseh. The images were brought out of the Temple and ground to powder, and their dust strewn on the brook Kishon. The houses devoted to the orgies of Ashtoreth and the worse abominations of Sodom were pulled down. Tophet, the seat of the worship of Moloch, in the valley of Hinnom, was defiled with the bones of the idol-priests, and the fire of the god was used for consuming the refuse of the city.

Jerusalem being thus purified, the king went to Bethel, being now, it would seem, better informed of the events that had occurred there under Jeroboam. He broke down and burned the high place, the altar, and the grove, and fulfilled the word of the disobedient prophet by taking the bones of the priests out of the sepulchres and burning them upon the altar, while he spared the remains of the prophet and of the other who was buried with him. The priests, who still dared to sacrifice in the high places, were put to death, according to the law against idolatry. The wizards and necromancers shared their fate.

Returning to Jerusalem in the eighteenth year of his reign (B. C. 622), Josiah kept the passover according to the directions of the newly-discovered Book of the Law. This passover was the greatest and the most exact that had been kept since the time of Moses. It is the last great united act of religion in the time preceding the Captivity.

The foreign relations of Judah were most favorable to B. C. 625. these great reforms. The friendship of Egypt had been secured by the preceding kings, though, as we shall soon see, Josiah had kept from the entanglement of a close alliance. The Assyrian Empire was tottering to its fall, which was consummated at the very time that Josiah had completed his reforms. It was about B. C. 625 that the allied forces of Media and Babylon finally laid siege to Nineveh, and after a long and obstinate resistance, SARACUS, the last Assyrian king, gathered his wives and treasures into his palace, and perished with them in the fire kindled by his own hand. He was the grandson of Esar-haddon, and the son of Sardanapalus II., with whom he is confounded by the classical historians. The fall of Assyria fulfilled the prophecies of Isaiah, and the more recent predictions of NAHUM and ZEPHANIAH.

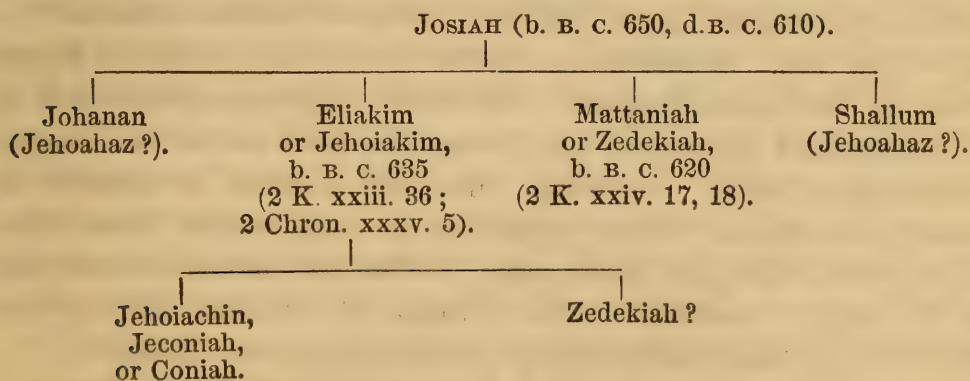
Upon its ruins rose two great empires, the one destined to overthrow and the other to restore the Jewish commonwealth. Speaking roughly, they were divided from each other by the highlands that bound the great valley of the Tigris and Euphrates on the east and north. While the MEDES sought the extension of their power beyond the mountains of Armenia, and disputed with the Lydians the supremacy of Asia Minor, the King of BABYLON laid claim to the provinces that had owned the sovereignty of Assyria west of the Euphrates. During most of the reign of NABOPOLASSAR, the first king (B. C. 625-604), Josiah probably paid the accustomed tribute. But the powerful dynasty that now ruled in Egypt resolved to dispute the supremacy with Babylon. PHARAOH-NECHO, the son of Psammetichus, having finished the conquest of the Philistines, ad-

vanced with a great army to attack Carchemish, which commanded a chief ford of the Euphrates. His line of march was through the great maritime plain and the valley of Esdraelon. Not only did he thus avoid Judah, but when Josiah showed signs of hostility, Necho sent him an emphatic but friendly warning to remain at peace. There has been much speculation on Josiah's motives for hostility. Some ascribe it to an honorable loyalty to Babylon as his sovereign ; but we incline to think that he was carrying into action the patriotic principles he had learned from the Book of the Law, though miscalculating his own strength and mistaking the Divine will. Marching down from the highlands of Manasseh into the plain of Esdraelon by the pass which issues near MEGIDDO, he encountered the whole force of the Egyptian army. He had so far deferred to the remonstrance of Necho as to try to conceal his being present in person, but his disguise did not serve him. The Egyptian archers, shooting in their serried ranks, as we still see them on the monuments, wounded Josiah mortally in his chariot. He was removed in his second chariot to Jerusalem, and was buried among the sepulchres of the kings. His fall caused a universal mourning. Jeremiah wrote a lamentation for him, the spirit of which may be gathered from a passage in his larger book of Lamentations :—"The breath of our nostrils, the Anointed of Jehovah, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, under his shadow shall we live among the heathen." His loss formed the burden of regular songs even after the Captivity, when "the mourning of Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddon" was still the type of the deepest national affliction.

The reign of Josiah was marked by the revival of *prophecy*, which had long been silent under Manasseh and Amon. To this period belong Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, and the greatest of all, Jeremiah. NAHUM's splendid prophecy of the destruction of Nineveh seems to have only preceded the event by a short time. The date of HABAKKUK, though far from certain, has been placed, upon strong internal evidence, about the twelfth or thirteenth year of Josiah (B. C. 630-629). The title of ZEPHANIAH's prophecy places him in the reign of Josiah ; and, though it has been inferred from one passage that he wrote after the restoration of Jehovah's worship, his vehement denunciations of the sins that prevailed in Judah seem rather applicable to an earlier period. JEREMIAH's long career began in the thirteenth year of Josiah (B. C. 629) with reproaches for sin and warnings of coming judgment, mingled with exhortations and encouragements to repentance, and promises of restoration.

Though he is only once mentioned in the history of Josiah's reign, the language of his own book assures us that, both as priest and prophet, he animated the king and people in the work of reformation, and most vigorously denounced the policy of the Egyptian party. His final lamentation for the fate of Josiah must have been doubly embittered by seeing Israel again prostrate beneath her old oppressor. In his prophecies we also trace that strange perplexity concerning the ultimate fate of the people, which even now weighs upon the student of their history, and which must have been terribly felt while the event was still unknown. Was it possible for a state that had sunk so low, not only politically but morally, to be restored even by repentance and reformation? His only refuge from the despair involved in the true answer is in contemplating the past proofs of Jehovah's goodness to the nation, and uttering his inspired predictions of future glory.

The death of Josiah, in B. C. 610, or rather 608, marks the virtual end of the kingdom of Judah. The four kings who followed him were the mere puppets of Egypt and Babylon, and the twenty-two years of their nominal reigns are occupied with successive conquests and deportations. These twenty-two years are divided into two equal parts by the captivity of Jehoiachin. To follow their events, we must first have a clear view of the family of Josiah, the stem of which is as follows:—



The place of Jehoahaz, the successor of Josiah, is purposely left doubtful in this pedigree. If the question were to be decided only by probability, we could scarcely hesitate to identify Jehoahaz with Johanah, as in the margin of our version. The name and the succession both favor this view; and it involves no necessary alteration of the dates, though it is at least suspicious to find that Jehoiakim was born when his father was only fifteen. But it seems to have been overlooked that Jehoiakim had a different mother from Jehoahaz and Zedekiah: his mother's name was Zebudah, the daughter of Pedaiah,

of Ruma; theirs was Hamutai, the daughter of Jeremiah, of Libnah. If Hamutai was the first wife of Josiah, her eldest son would take precedence of the eldest son of the second wife, even though younger, both in the statement of the pedigree and in the succession to the kingdom. We have, however, the express authority of a passage in Jeremiah, unless there be some corruption of the text, for identifying Jehoahaz with Shallum. In this case, we must transpose his place in the genealogy, and make him the third instead of the fourth son of Josiah; for Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old in B. C. 610, and was therefore born in B. C. 633, thirteen years before Zedekiah. The absence of any mention of Johanan is accounted for by the supposition that he died before his father, or fell with him at Megiddo; and the preference of Shallum to Eliakim may have been due to the superior rank of his mother.

JEHOAHAZ, the seventeenth king of Judah, was raised B. C. 608. to the throne by the people after Josiah's death, while Pharaoh-necho proceeded on his expedition against Carchemish. Having (it seems) taken that city, he summoned Jehoahaz to Riblah in Hamath (on the Orontes), and there kept him as a prisoner till his return to Egypt. Entering Jerusalem as a conqueror, he placed on the throne Eliakim (the brother of Jehoahaz), to whom he gave the name of Jehoiakim, and imposed a tribute of 100 talents of silver and a talent of gold (about £40,000), which Jehoiakim collected by a tax on the land. Jehoahaz was carried by Pharaoh-necho to Egypt, where he died soon afterward. His brief reign was characterized by wickedness and oppression, but he was lamented as the last king of the people's choice. Jeremiah, who had mourned so bitterly for Josiah, now says:—"Weep ye not for the dead, neither honor him: weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall return no more, nor see his native country." The fortunes of Jehoahaz and his two successors are described in highly poetical imagery by Ezekiel.

JEHOIAKIM, the eighteenth king of Judah, was twenty-B. C. 608. five years old when he was placed on the throne by Pharaoh-necho, instead of his brother Jehoahaz; and he reigned eleven years at Jerusalem, doing evil in the sight of Jehovah. Jeremiah sternly rebukes his injustice and oppression, his cruelty and avarice, and his reckless luxury in building himself a magnificent palace, and contrasts all this with his father's justice to the poor: and in the Chronicles his name is dismissed with an allusion to "all the abominations that he did." From the very commencement of his reign, the voice of Jeremiah is heard plainly predicting, and pre-

figuring by striking signs, the captivity at Babylon as a judgment rendered inevitable by the people's sins, but adding the promise of their future restoration. Attempts were made to silence him by the princes, priests, and false prophets of the Egyptian party, who represented him as a traitor. He often complains of these enemies, and he expressly predicts the captivity of Pashur, the priest and governor of the Temple, who had beaten him and put him in the stocks (or pillory). Still he faithfully delivered the messages which Jehovah now gave him to the King of Judah by name, as plainly as Nathan had been sent to David. This directness of language is a striking character of the prophecies of Jeremiah, and indeed of most of the historical prophecies. In one of these prophecies, after mourning the death of Josiah and the hopeless captivity of Jehoahaz, he predicts the fate of Jehoiakim to the very details of his dishonored end. On another occasion the prophet took his stand in the court of the Temple, amid an assemblage from all the cities of Judah, to proclaim that God would even yet repent him of the coming evil if they turned to him, but if not, that his house should be destroyed like the tabernacle at Shiloh, and the city made a curse to all nations. The priests and prophets now resolved on Jeremiah's death: and they had a precedent in the case of **URIJAH**, the son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim, who, having uttered prophecies like those of Jeremiah, had been pursued by the envoys of Jehoiakim into Egypt, and brought back to suffer an ignominious death. The princes of Judah, however, before whom Jeremiah was arraigned, appealed to the better precedent of the times of Hezekiah, who allowed **MICAH** to prophesy with impunity, and Jeremiah's life was saved by the influence of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, and other old counsellors of Josiah. These warnings were given in the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, and their fulfilment was soon begun by the overthrow of his Egyptian protector.

The fourth year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 605-4) is a marked epoch both in secular and sacred history, though the destruction of Nineveh, once assigned to it by chronologers, is now referred to an earlier date. In this year we first meet with **NEBUCHADNEZZAR**, the greatest of the Babylonian kings, and the destined destroyer of the Jewish monarchy. His father, Nabopolassar, appears to have been still alive when he led a great army against Carchemish, which was still held by the Egyptians, and inflicted a decisive defeat on Pharaoh-necho. This blow put an end to the hopes of the Egyptian party at Jerusalem, as well as to all fears of subjugation from that quarter, and left the city defenceless against Nebuchadnezzar. "The King of Egypt came not

again any more out of his land; for the King of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the King of Egypt." Meanwhile Jeremiah, having predicted the overthrow of the Egyptians, uttered that memorable prophecy, in which he fixes the duration of the coming Captivity at seventy years, and predicts the fall of Babylon and the other nations hostile to the Jews. It was from this prophecy that Daniel was enabled to calculate the time of the promised restoration, and it was fulfilled by the decree of Cyrus in B. C. 536.

The interesting episode of the flight of the RECHABITES to Jerusalem also belongs to the time of Nebuchadnezzar's advance from Carchemish to Jerusalem. Their fidelity to the patriarchal laws of their ancestor, Jonadab the son of Rechab, is used by Jeremiah as a powerful reproof of the faithlessness of the Jews toward Jehovah.

Nebuchadnezzar advanced to Jerusalem, which he took B. C. 605. after a brief siege, dethroned Jehoiakim, and put him in fetters, with a view to carry him to Babylon. For some reason this intention was abandoned, and Jehoiakim was restored to his throne as a vassal. His treasures were carried off to Babylon, where the vessels of the sanctuary were dedicated in the Temple of Belus. At the same time Nebuchadnezzar commissioned Ashpenaz, the chief of his eunuchs, to choose a number of royal and noble Hebrew youths, excelling alike in beauty and mental accomplishments, to be brought up at his court and trained in the learning of Chaldæa. Among those thus selected were DANIEL, with his three companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, to whose well-known history we shall soon return.

While the long train of Syrian, Jewish, and Egyptian captives were led by the usual route, Nebuchadnezzar hastened back across the Syrian desert, in consequence of his father's death, and ascended the vacant throne without opposition. His accession is fixed by the Canon of Ptolemy at January 21, B. C. 604, which corresponds to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the received chronology being two years too high. The state in which Jerusalem was left can be learned from Jeremiah, though there is great difficulty not only in determining the order of his prophecies, but in deciding, among those that belong to this period, which were delivered before, and which after, Nebuchadnezzar's first capture of the city. It seems to have been after his retreat that a great fast was appointed for the ninth month, in the fifth year of Jehoiakim. The occasion was seized by Jeremiah, at the command of God, to make a solemn appeal to the people to return

from their evil way, that they might even yet be forgiven. With the aid of his disciple and secretary, Baruch the son of Neriah, he had written in a volume the whole of the prophecies that he had uttered, from the days of Josiah downward, against Israel, Judah, and other nations. Being prevented, perhaps by the command of God, to insure his safety, from going up to the Temple himself, he commissioned Baruch to read the volume to the people assembled out of all the cities of Judah. Baruch took his station in a chamber above the new gate of the Temple, belonging to Michaiah the scribe, who was the grandson of Shaphan, and a friend to Jeremiah. When Baruch had read the book to the people in the court below, Michaiah reported the whole to the princes who were assembled in the scribe's chamber at the palace. Having sent for Baruch and heard him read the volume, they advised him and Jeremiah to hide themselves while they laid the matter before the king. Jehoiakim was sitting in his winter palace, with a fire burning in a brazier (for it was cold), and the prince Jehudi read the roll at his command. As fast as he read, the king cut off the leaves with a penknife and threw them into the fire till the whole volume was consumed, in spite of the intercession of Gemaliah and others. Jeremiah and Baruch only escaped arrest through having followed the advice of the princes. But this earliest example of Bible-burning was as unsuccessful in suppressing the word of God as later feats of the same kind. Jeremiah was bidden to take another roll, and to write in it the same words, with a further prophecy of the utter desolation of Judah, and of the king's disgraceful end. So Baruch wrote in the next volume, at the dictation of Jeremiah, all the words of the book which the king had burned, "and there were added besides unto them many like words." Both king and people, however, remained obdurate.

The failure of this last appeal can scarcely have surprised Jeremiah, but it had a deep effect on his more youthful and ardent disciple. Baruch seems to have hoped that, amid the solemnity of the fast, the people would have been stirred up by his words to a movement of new national and religious life, and Jeremiah addresses him in words fitted to chasten the despair of the too sanguine patriot. He reminds him of God's sovereign right to break down what he had built, and to pluck up what he had planted, and adds:—"Seekest thou great things for thyself? seek them not: for, behold, I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith Jehovah: but *thy life* will I give thee for *a prey*"—as if snatched from the net of the destroyer—"in all places whither thou goest." The promise was fulfilled by Baruch's sharing with

JEWISH CAPTIVES IN BABYLONIA.



Jeremiah the protection of Nebuchadnezzar when Jerusalem was taken, and by his afterward finding a refuge in Egypt with the remnant of the Jews.

The burning of Jeremiah's prophecies indicates that spirit of defiance which led Jehoiakim to rebel against Nebuchadnezzar, after reigning for three years as a vassal of Babylon. He relied, if we may believe Josephus, on the aid of Egypt. The Scripture narrative is here so brief that we have to follow other authorities, whose statements are conflicting and uncertain. It seems that Nebuchadnezzar was too much occupied with the great conflict between the Lydian and Median empires to march against Jerusalem; but his governors roused the surrounding nations, the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, who joined with such forces of the Chaldæans as could be spared to harass Judah. At length, in the seventh year of his reign (B. C. 598), he took the field in person, with Cyaxares, king of Media, as his ally, and marched first against Tyre, which had rebelled about the same time as Judah. Having invested the city, he marched with a part of his forces against Jerusalem, put Jehoiakim to death, as Jeremiah had prophesied, and placed his son Jehoiachin upon the throne.

JEHOIACHIN, JECONIAH, or CONIAH, the nineteenth B. C. 597. king of Judah, was eight years old when he was placed on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar, and reigned only three months and ten days. Considering his infancy, "the evil which he did in the sight of Jehovah" must be understood of the policy pursued by those who ruled in his name, the old idolatrous and Egyptian party. The fate which they brought upon the young king is vividly described by Jeremiah, who compares Jehovah's rejection of "Coniah" to the plucking off and throwing away a signet ring, and the king himself to a despised broken idol, foretells his captivity and his mother's, without hope of return, and solemnly invokes the whole earth to hear the sentence of Jehovah, pronouncing this man childless, and the last of his line who should sit upon the throne of David. But even this terrible burden is accompanied with the promise of Messiah's kingdom and of the people's restoration.

The machinations of the Egyptian party at Jerusalem were at once crushed by Nebuchadnezzar, who again turned from the siege of Tyre to Jerusalem, in the eighth year of his reign (B. C. 598, Clinton; 597, Rawlinson). The city was saved from a storm by the surrender of Jehoiachin, with his mother, Nehushta, and the royal harem, and all his princes and officers. They were all carried off to Babylon,

with all the mighty men of the country, and all the skilled artisans, none being left behind but the poorest sort of the people. The total number of the captives was 10,000, of whom 7000 were soldiers, and 1000 smiths and other craftsmen: it would seem that the royal family, the princes, and the priests, made up the other 2000. Among the captives were Ezekiel, who had not yet received his prophetic commission, and the grandfather of MORDECAI, Shimei, the son of Kish, a Benjamite. At the same time all the remaining treasures of the Temple and palace were carried off, and the golden vessels of the sanctuary were cut in pieces. Mattaniah, the youngest son of Josiah, and uncle of Jehoiachin, was made king over the wretched remnant of Judah, under the new name of Zedekiah.

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this event is that Nebuchadnezzar abstained from the utter destruction of the rebellious city. We shall see that, in all probability, the king had already received the first of those great revelations of Jehovah's power and majesty which were made to him through Daniel, and it seems impossible not to refer his moderation to this lesson. Ezekiel expressly states what was the policy of Nebuchadnezzar in thus continuing the existence of the state: "He hath taken away the mighty of the land, that the kingdom might be base, that it might not lift itself up, but that by keeping of his covenant it might stand." The *covenant* referred to is the oath which Nebuchadnezzar exacted of the new king, and which Zedekiah shamefully broke.

Jehoiachin survived for many years after the fall of Zedekiah. For a long time his imprisonment at Babylon was rigorous: he was closely confined and clad in a prison dress. The plots of the Egyptian party and the hopes of his return held out by the false prophet Hananiah (B. C. 595) explain this severity as well as Hananiah's cruel execution; but in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity (on the 25th or 27th day of the twelfth month, Adar=Feb. B. C. 561) he was released by Evil-merodach, who had just succeeded to the throne of Babylon (Jan. 11, B. C. 561). He was received with kind words, was placed in the royal presence on a throne above all the captive kings, received a robe of honor, and a portion for his daily diet, until his death. With him expired the royal line of Solomon. "This man was written childless," as Jeremiah had declared; and "no man of his seed prospered, sitting upon the throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah." The inheritance of David passed on to the line of his son Nathan, whose representative, Salathiel, is therefore inserted in the genealogies as the son of Jehoiachin, and the ancestor of Christ.

ZEDEKIAH, the twentieth and last king of Judah, and the youngest son of Josiah and Hamutai, was twenty years old at his accession, and reigned eleven years, till the final destruction of Jerusalem. His proper name, Mattaniah, was changed to Zedekiah at his accession. The only events of his reign, except the brief record of the fall of Jerusalem, are those connected with the history of Jeremiah, from whose book we learn the spirit of the times. Zedekiah accepted his royalty over the impoverished remnant of the Jews, as the vassal of Nebuchadnezzar, to whom he was bound by every principle of good faith. The fate of his brother and his nephew had proved the hopelessness of rebellion even before the whole strength of the nation had been carried into captivity. The miserable remnant might well envy the condition of their captive brethren, and the time had at length come for piety and patriotism to show themselves in a wise submission to what was proved to be the will of God. Of such a course Jeremiah was the assiduous adviser. His parable of the two baskets of figs showed the goodness that God had in store for the captivity, but the hopeless state of the remnant left behind. His letter to the elders, priests, and prophets at Babylon warned them, in opposition to the false prophets who promised their speedy restoration, to make all their arrangements for a prolonged residence there, and repeated the former statement that their captivity should last seventy years; adding that those left behind should, after suffering from the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, be dispersed over all the world, and become a by-word and reproach. From what follows we learn more of the false prophets whom Jeremiah denounced. Two among them, Ahab, the son of Kolaiah, and Zedekiah, the son of Maaseiah, whose lives were as profligate as their principles, were seized by Nebuchadnezzar, and "roasted in the fire," an example which must have been the more striking from its contrast with the deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Another of the same party, Shemaiah, the Nehelamite (or the dreamer), dared to write, as if by the word of Jehovah, to Zephaniah and the other priests at Jerusalem, complaining of Jeremiah's letter, and demanding his imprisonment. Constant in his opposition to these false prophets, whether at Babylon or at home, Jeremiah uttered his grand prophecies of the restoration of Israel in God's own time, but not till then, and of the judgments that awaited all her enemies. His great prophecy against Babylon, for the consolation of the exiles, was rendered the more impressive by the sign which followed it. Seraiah, the son of Neriah, who carried this prophecy to Babylon, was directed, after reading it, to tie a stone

to the volume and to sink it in the Euphrates, saying, "Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her." The occasion found for executing this commission was a visit which Zedekiah paid to Babylon in the fourth year of his reign (B. C. 594-3), probably to pay his tribute to Nebuchadnezzar, or perhaps to defend himself against the first suspicions of treasonable dealings with Egypt. For in the same year Pharaoh-necho, who seems never to have ventured to meet Nebuchadnezzar after the defeat of Carchemish, was succeeded by his son Psammetichus II. (the Psammis of Herodotus). From the book of EZEKIEL, who began in this year to enforce upon the exiles at Babylon the same lessons that Jeremiah was teaching at Jerusalem, we learn that Zedekiah entered into a treasonable correspondence with the new King of Egypt, which the prophet denounces as a gross violation of his plighted faith, destined to end in the king's being brought to Babylon for punishment, while his people should fall by the sword or be scattered to the winds. The terms of the agreement with Egypt are expressly stated by the prophet:—"He rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people;" and we are forbidden to give Zedekiah credit for a patriotic resistance by the declaration of the historian:—"He rebelled against King Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him swear by God; but he stiffened his neck and hardened his heart from turning unto Jehovah, God of Israel."

At Jerusalem the plot appeared so far ripe that the false prophet Hananiah promised the return of Jahoiahin within two years, and publicly broke off the neck of Jeremiah the yoke which he wore, as a sign of the hopeless subjection of Judah and the surrounding nations, who seemed to have joined the Egyptian league. Jeremiah replied that the yoke of wood (the present vassalage of Babylon) should be replaced by a yoke of iron (the final destruction of the nation), and predicted the death of Hananiah, which happened within the year. We find further evidence of the progress of the conspiracy in the book of Ezekiel. His vision of the Temple at Jerusalem, in the fifth day of the sixth month of the sixth year of the Captivity (B. C. 594-3), reveals the idol abominations which would soon be punished by the destruction of all but a small chosen remnant, and other visions and types follow to the like effect. The plainer language of Ezekiel, about a year later (on the tenth of the fifth month of the seventh year of Zedekiah), when the elders of Judah came to him to inquire of Jehovah concerning the state of Jerusalem, serves to show that the rebellion had broken out. The utter corruption of the people at this

time, their persecution of God's prophets and rejection of his word, so that his wrath came upon them "till *there was no remedy*;" the wickedness of Zedekiah in not humbling himself before the word of God by Jeremiah; his faithlessness to the oath he had sworn to Nebuchadnezzar, and that not from religious patriotism, for "he stiffened his neck and hardened his heart from turning unto Jehovah, God of Israel; and the result in the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of the people till the time of the Persian Empire, so that the land kept her sabbaths for seventy years as Jeremiah had foretold; these outlines of the catastrophe are drawn by the writer of the Chronicles.

It was still two years before Nebuchadnezzar laid siege B. C. 588. to Jerusalem, with the resolution to destroy it utterly for Zedekiah's treason. From this point the dates of Ezekiel's prophecies accompany the events at Jerusalem. The city was invested in the ninth year of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month; and on the same day Ezekiel was commissioned to foretell its utter destruction, by striking images, to the exiles at Babylon. The forces marshalled against Jerusalem comprised Nebuchadnezzar's whole army, all the vassal kings of his empire, and all the nations around, Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and others, who came up to avenge the quarrels of a thousand years. All the fortified cities of Judah had already been taken except Lachish and Azekah.

In this extremity Zedekiah proclaimed freedom to all Hebrew slaves, and sent Zephaniah the priest, with another messenger, to entreat the prayers of Jeremiah. In reply, he announced the coming destruction of the city and the fate of the king himself. The king now attempted to silence him by a mild confinement in the court of the prison in the palace, where he had the society of Baruch. While thus shut up, and that in a city environed by a mighty enemy, Jeremiah purchased, as the "Goël," a field at his native village of Anathoth in Benjamin, as a sign of that return which he went on to prophesy, together with the glories of Messiah's kingdom. This act of faith has been compared to that of the Roman who bought, at its full value, the ground on which Hannibal was encamped.

And now there broke forth a deceptive ray of hope. Pharaoh-hophra, who had just succeeded to the throne of Egypt, led the forces which his father had collected to the relief of Zedekiah. His capture of Gaza caused Nebuchadnezzar to suspend the siege of Jerusalem, and to march against him. And now Jerusalem exulted with the joy of a city delivered from a hopeless siege. But Jeremiah forbade them

to deceive themselves, while, on the distant banks of the Euphrates, Ezekiel also foretold the ruin of Egypt. The princes of Judah now broke their solemn covenant to release their Hebrew slaves; and Jeremiah, having denounced their conduct, left the city for his home in Benjamin. He was detained by one of his enemies, who happened to be captain of the gate. The princes accused him of deserting to the Chaldæans, a course which had now become common; and he was imprisoned in the house of Jonathan the scribe, where he remained for some time. Meanwhile his warnings were fulfilled by the return of the army of Nebuchadnezzar, who, according to Josephus, had defeated the Egyptians; though more probably the enemy retired without a battle.

Zedekiah now sent secretly for Jeremiah, and asked him, "Is there any word from Jehovah?" "There is," replied the prophet; "thou shalt be delivered into the hand of the King of Babylon." Hoping, it would seem, for a more favorable answer, the king sent him back to the court of the prison, and ordered him to be fed while any bread was left in the city. In reply to another request which the king sent to him by Pashur and Zephaniah to inquire of Jehovah, the prophet pointed out a surrender as the only hope of safety. Upon this the princes demanded his death as a traitor, and the king confessed himself too weak to withstand them. They threw Jeremiah to perish in a hideous pit of the prison, where he sank into the mire; but the better feelings of the king came to his rescue at the intercession of the Ethiopian eunuch Ebed-melech, to whom he promised his life "for a prey" in the destruction of the city. Once more adjured by Zedekiah, in private, to give him counsel from God, the prophet pressed him to surrender; but the king was afraid of falling into the hands of the Jews who had revolted to Nebuchadnezzar, and who had doubtless many a wrong to avenge. So he entreated Jeremiah to keep the interview a secret, and sent him back to the court of the prison, where he remained till Jerusalem was taken.

That catastrophe was now at hand; the ruin foreseen by Moses from the very birth of the nation, foretold by the prophets, and postponed for the sake of pious kings, as often as it was provoked by their degenerate successors; held in suspense in remembrance of God's oath to David, but brought down at last by the shameless, persistent, inveterate violation of his covenant of piety and purity by the chosen people. Jehovah had done all he could by his prophets, whose words they despised and misused their persons, "until the wrath of Jehovah arose against his people *till there was no remedy.*"

In the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, as the eleventh year of Zedekiah drew to a close, Jerusalem, which had been besieged for two years and a half, with no relief except the brief diversion

B. C. 586. made by Pharaoh-hophra, was reduced to the last extremities of famine. On the ninth day of the fourth month an entrance was effected at night through a breach in the city wall, probably on the northern side, and the great officers of Nebuchadnezzar entered the Temple and took their station in the middle court, as was the custom of the Assyrians at the conclusion of a siege. Zedekiah, with all his men of war, fled by the garden gate of the royal palace on the south side, near the present Bab-el-Mugharibeh, and took the road over the Mount of Olives to the valley of the Jordan. They were hotly pursued with the morning light. Zedekiah was overtaken in the plain of Jericho,

his army dispersed, and himself taken. He was carried to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, in Hamath, whither the king had gone to watch the siege of Tyre. Zedekiah spoke with his conqueror face to face, as Jeremiah had predicted.



BABYLONISH CONQUERORS PUTTING OUT THE EYES OF ZEDEKIAH.

Having seen the slaughter of all his

sons and the princes of Judah, his eyes were put out, and he was sent to Babylon, where he remained a close prisoner till his death. The pity, which might be felt for the sad fate of the last king who wore the crown of David at Jerusalem, must be withheld from the forsworn vassal, who accepted his nephew's throne at the hand of a conqueror, only to prove a traitor alike to his earthly master and to his king, Jehovah.

Other victims were selected for the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar. The high-priest Seraiah, the second priest Zephaniah, and three doorkeepers of the Temple, the commander-in-chief, who was an eunuch, and five (or seven) of the principal courtiers, the scribe or mustering officer of the army—and sixty representatives of the people, were carried by Nebuzar-adan, the captain of the guard, to Riblah, where

Nebuchadnezzar sentenced them to death, probably by impalement and even by worse tortures, if we may judge by the customs that still shock our eyes on the monuments of Assyria and Babylon. Amid all these horrors, there is something in the deliberate justice of the Eastern conqueror which bears a favorable contrast with the general massacre that attended the second great capture of Jerusalem by the virtuous Titus. Our involuntary respect for the grand King of Babylon is confirmed by the treatment which Jeremiah met with in obedience to his orders. As soon as the city was taken, Nebuzar-adan, with the other chief officers, sent for the prophet out of the prison, and committed him to the care of GEDALIAH, the son of Ahikam, son of Shaphan, who plays a most important part in the subsequent transactions.

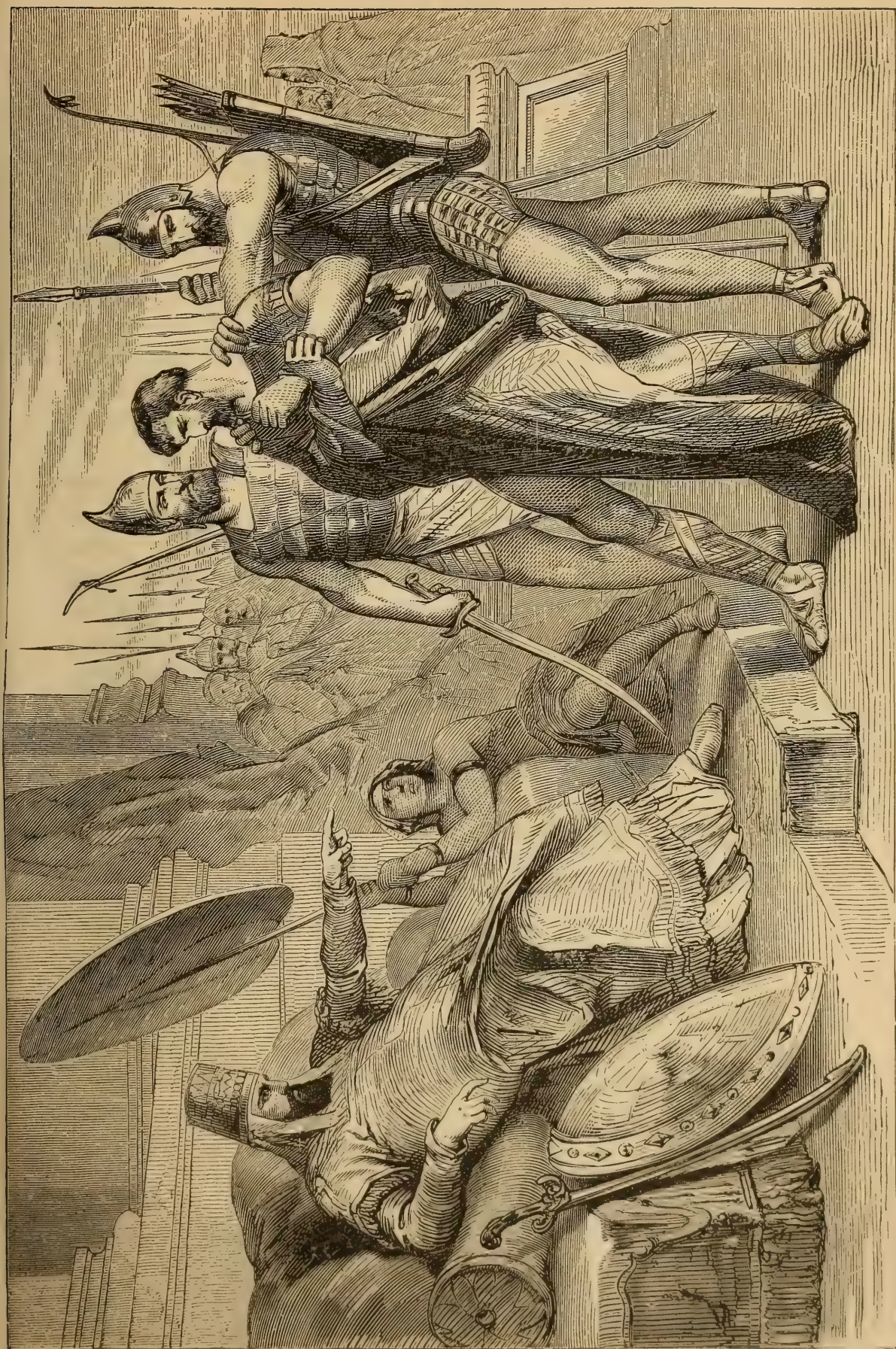


JEREMIAH MOURNING OVER JERUSALEM.

Meanwhile the King of Babylon decided on the fate of the rebellious city, which he had twice spared. On the seventh day of the following month (Ab, the fifth month) Nebuzar-adan returned to Jerusalem, charged to carry out the instructions of his master. Two clear days were occupied in collecting the booty that was still to be found in the Temple and the city after their former spoliations, including the ornaments of the Temple which had been considered too bulky for removal, and the vessels which appear to have

been left, out of religious respect, for the necessary service of the sanctuary. Among the former were the two great pillars of the Temple-porch, Jachin and Boaz, and the brazen sea, with the twelve bulls on which it rested, all of which were broken to pieces, and their brass transported to Babylon. On the third day the Temple and city were committed to the flames, with the palaces of the king and princes, and all the chief houses of Jerusalem, and the walls were levelled with the ground. The day of the catastrophe was the tenth day of the fifth month (Ab), in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, just after the completion of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. It is still observed by the Jews as a fast only second to the great Day of Atonement.

While the work of destruction was carried on by the Chaldæan



ZEDEKIAH BEFORE THE KING OF BABYLON.

army, it was viewed with malignant exultation by the nations which had so long chafed beneath the yoke of their kinsman Israel. The Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Edomites were loud in their revengeful rejoicings over the destruction of the holy city, and their conduct was deeply felt and keenly resented by the conquered people. All these nations soon fell victims to the like fate, which the prophets again and again denounce upon them; and the punishment of Edom, in particular, forms the whole burden of the prophecy of OBADIAH, which may be placed, by internal evidence, between the destruction of Jerusalem in B. C. 586, and the conquest of Edom by Nebuchadnezzar in B. C. 583. This brief prophecy of only twenty-one verses is chiefly remarkable for the closing prediction of the coming "day of Jehovah," in which the restoration and enlargement of Judah and the final destruction of Edom are clearly but figures of the great consummation that still remains to be fulfilled, when, "Saviours shall come upon Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be Jehovah's."

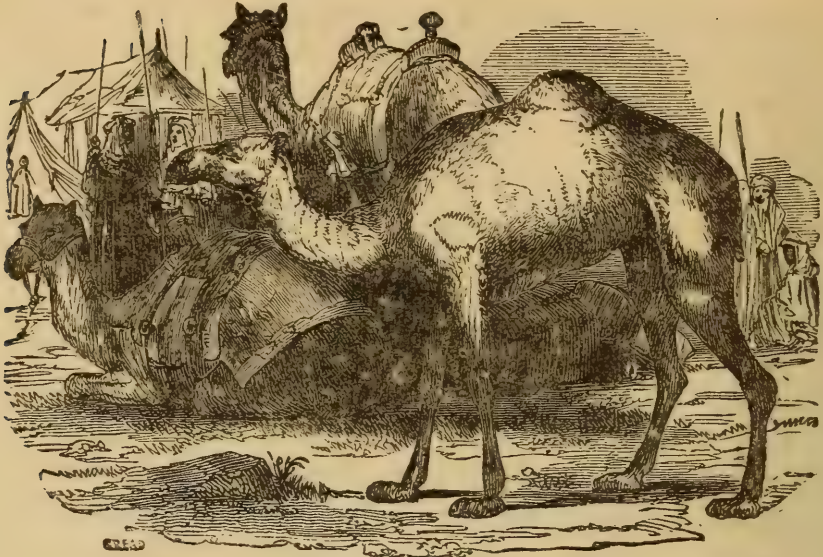
The captives who were carried away on this occasion were but the gleanings of those who had been led off with Jehoiachin. After the escape of the warriors, the people left in the city and those who had deserted to the Chaldæans numbered only 832 persons fit to bear the march. A remnant of the very poorest class were left to till the ground and dress the vineyards; and to these must be added a few objects of the royal favor, as Jeremiah, and those of the fugitive soldiers and other roving bands, who had escaped pursuit in the fastnesses of Judæa and the desert. At the end of the book of Jeremiah we have the following summary of the captivities under Nebuchadnezzar:

- | | | | |
|---|-----------------|------|-------|
| 1. In the <i>seventh</i> (eighth) year of his reign | (B. C. 597) | 3023 | Jews. |
| 2. " " <i>eighteenth</i> (nineteenth) | " " (B. C. 586) | 832 | " |
| 3. " " <i>twenty-third</i> | " " (B. C. 582) | 745 | " |

Total.....4600 Jews.

Those last mentioned were carried away by Nebuzar-adan at the time of the war with Egypt.

It deserves especial notice that the land which we may henceforth call JUDÆA, to distinguish it from the other parts of Palestine, was not subjected, like that of Samaria had been, to a new colonization by heathen settlers. It lay ready to be occupied by those to whom God had given it, after it had rested for the sabbatic years of which it had been deprived, and when they themselves had been chastened by affliction. This hope sustained those of the captives who, like Daniel, had still the faith to pray with their faces turned toward Jerusalem.



CAMELS.

Before pursuing the story of the Jews at Babylon to the end of the Captivity, we may conclude the history of Judæa itself during the last twenty-five years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (B. C. 586-561), comprising the fate of the people left behind, and the fortunes of Jeremiah. The desolated land was not abandoned to anarchy. Nebuzar-adan appointed GEDALIAH, the son of Ahakim, as governor at Mizpah, and Jeremiah joined him, having been left at liberty by Nebuzar-adan to go to Babylon or wherever he pleased. The dispersed soldiers and people soon gathered about the new governor, who prudently exhorted them to live quietly as the subjects of the King of Babylon. Many Jews appeared from the countries of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, and the people were soon peacefully engaged in gathering the vintage and summer fruits throughout their cities. But the brief rest from trouble was cut short by the envy of the King of Ammon and the ambition of a Jewish prince of the royal blood, Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah. They had the incredible audacity to attempt a new insurrection. Ishmael and ten Jewish princes came to Mizpah as friendly guests; and Gedaliah, who had refused to credit a warning of his treachery, was murdered with the Jews and Chaldæans who were with him at Mizpah, only two months after the departure of Nebuzar-adan. Two days later a band of eighty mourners appeared on the frontier, from Shechem, and Shiloh, and Samaria, bringing offerings for the desolated house of God, a touching proof of the religious patriotism which was still to be found even in the most heathenized part of Israel. By a treacherous artifice, Ishmael slew them all but ten, and cast their bodies, with those

of his former victims, into a pit which Asa had dug at Mizpah for a hiding-place during his war with Baasha, and which may rank in history with the Glacière of Avignon and the well of Cawnpore. He then collected the people who were at Mizpah, including the daughters of Zedekiah, who had been intrusted to Gedaliah's care, and carried them off as captives toward Ammon. He was pursued by the Jewish captains, headed by Johanan, the son of Kareah, the same who had ineffectually warned Gedaliah. They overtook him by the great waters at Gibeon, and rescued the captives, while Ishmael, with eight comrades, fled to Ammon. Then, instead of returning to Mizpah, they marched southward to Bethlehem, intending to take refuge in Egypt from Nebuchadnezzar's vengeance for the murder of his governor. First, however, they asked Jeremiah for counsel from Jehovah. In ten days the answer came, forbidding them to go to Egypt, promising them the protection of God if they remained, and assuring them that, if they persisted in departing, the famine, and sword, and pestilence, from which they fled, would overtake them in their new refuge. So faithful was the prophet to the long-standing command that the people should never, under any pressure, seek to return by the way of Egypt. His warning only brought upon him a charge of conspiring with Baruch to speak falsely in God's name; and both he and Baruch were carried to Egypt against their will, with all the remnant who had been left under Gedaliah. Many of the Jews had already taken refuge there during the whole time that Egypt was regarded as their help against Assyria. They now formed a large community, living at Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph, and Pathros—a community which had afterward an important history of its own. Meanwhile they fell into idolatry, and Jeremiah denounced both on them and on Egypt itself the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar—a prophecy echoed from the banks of the Euphrates by Ezekiel, whose warnings, promises, and exhortations to the exiles at Babylon still kept pace with the current of events in Judæa.

The threatened blow soon fell. In B. C. 585 Tyre surrendered, after a siege of thirteen years. After a brief repose Nebuchadnezzar led his victorious army into Egypt, probably on some new provocation by Apries. In the absence of his own annals or other direct testimony, we can only infer from the statements of Josephus, and from the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, that the chastisement he inflicted on Egypt reached the Jews who had taken refuge there. It was at this time, as we have already seen, that his general Nebuzar-adan carried off another remnant from

Judæa, thereby probably almost completing the depopulation of the land. There is some evidence, though far from certain, that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt a second time, ten years later (B. C. 571), deposing Apries and setting up Amasis; and this may be the occasion of Ezekiel's last prophecy against that power. At some time during the interval it is almost certain that the King of Babylon subdued the nations bordering upon Judah, and for whose exultation in her destruction the prophets had denounced on them the heaviest woes, such as the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites. There is a very remarkable passage in which Jeremiah comforts the Jews amid all these judgments by contrasting his destruction of the other nations and of their present oppressors with his correction of themselves:—
“Fear thou not, O Jacob my servant, saith Jehovah: for I am with thee; for I will *make a full end* of all the nations whither I have driven thee: *but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee in measure*; yet will I not leave thee wholly unpunished.” No words could express more fully the principle of Jehovah's dealings with the Jews, as the type of his dealings with his own people in every age.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH TO THE CLOSE OF THE
CAPTIVITY AT BABYLON.

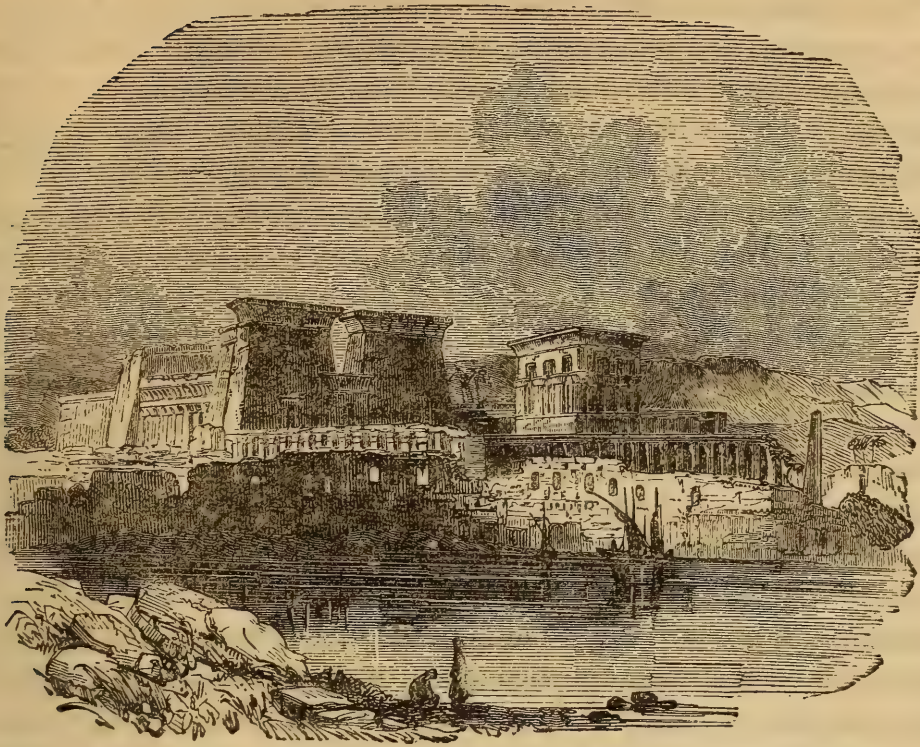
[B. C. 586-536.]

IF all historic figures, Nebuchadnezzar most strikingly represents the powers of destruction. Like his own image on the plain of Dura, he towers over the ground he has cleared of every opponent from the Nile to the Euphrates. Above all, he had been the instrument in the hand of God to root out his people for their sins from the good land given to their fathers, but he had yet to learn that he himself was subject to their God. This lesson was taught him while he enjoyed the fruit of his victories B. C. 605. in the city of Babylon, which he had made the wonder of the world by his "hanging gardens" and other splendid works; and the appointed teacher was a young Hebrew of the first captivity, whose career at Babylon was almost a repetition of that of Joseph at the court of Pharaoh.

We have seen that when Nebuchadnezzar first took Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 605), he commissioned Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, to select the most comely youths of royal and noble birth, possessed of natural grace and acquired learning, to be educated in the language and wisdom of the Chaldeans. They were to receive their food and wine from the king's table, and after three years' training they were to be brought before him. Among them were four belonging to the tribe of Judah, whose names were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, which according to Oriental custom (as in the case of Joseph), were changed by the prince of the eunuchs into Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. In sacred history, however, Daniel has retained his own name, while the other three, being only mentioned on one important occasion, are known by their Babylonish appellations. Daniel resolved that he would not defile himself with the king's food and wine, things that had been offered to idols: and, through the tender regard with which he had inspired the prince of the eunuchs, he obtained the favor of an experiment on himself and his three friends. After being fed for ten days with pulse and water, they were found in better condition than

their comrades who had been nourished on the king's dainties; so this diet was continued to the end. Meanwhile God endowed them with all knowledge and wisdom, and to Daniel in particular he granted the same insight into dreams and visions that had distinguished Joseph. When the time came for them to appear before the king, he found them the fairest of all their fellow-captives, and ten times better in wisdom and discernment than all the magicians and astrologers of Chaldæa. So they stood before him among the courtiers. We must not fail to notice that law of God's providence, by which at every crisis of his people's history, he raised up for them a leader skilled in all the accomplishments of their adversaries; Abraham, the stately prince, among the Arab sheiks; Joseph, the diviner and statesman; Moses, the warrior, and learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; Daniel, the most learned sage and faultless governor in Chaldæa. Well might South reply to the flippant objection that God has no need of our learning—"Much less has he need of your ignorance."

The great opportunity for the use of Daniel's power as an interpreter of dreams for the glory of God occurred in a manner very similar to the case of Joseph. The date assigned to this event is the second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. Lightfoot and others take this to mean the second year after the full settlement of his empire, or about B. C. 570. But as the captivity of Daniel commenced, as we have seen, a year before the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, the three years of his probation would expire in the second year, and the date may be taken literally. This result throws a flood of light on the career of Nebuchadnezzar, and especially on his repeated forbearance toward Jerusalem, and his kindness to Jeremiah. It is needless to recount in detail those pictures which are so vividly impressed on our earliest recollections, the king's troubled sleep and dreams, which he forgot when he awoke in the morning; his despotic demand of the Chaldæan soothsayers, scarcely too severe a test of their extravagant pretensions, to tell him the dream itself, as well as the interpretation; the simplicity with which, for once in their lives, they confess their impotence to discover what was not first told them, instead of boldly avowing, like Daniel, that God would not conceal from the man divinely inspired to reveal his counsels the far less knowledge of the signs chosen to exhibit them. When their failure had all but involved in their sentence of death the Hebrew men of learning too, Daniel obtained from the king a respite, which he and his companions spent in prayer; and he received the revelation with one of those grand utterances of praise and prayer that form the great charm of his book. The vision, which



ANCIENT BABYLON.

he was inspired to expound to Nebuchadnezzar, is one of several by which, at this epoch, when the great monarchies of Asia were about to come into collision with the powers of the West, God revealed the steps by which the successive empires were to give way before his kingdom. The symbol of a colossal statue was perhaps connected with the image which Nebuchadnezzar soon afterward set up on the plain of Dura. As he was meditating the erection of that monument of his victories, God showed him a statue whose composition and end revealed the fate, not only of his own empire, but of all the other attempts at universal dominion to the end of time. The lesson was the same as that which was taught to the first Babel-builders on that very spot—that all such attempts are futile, for the kingdoms of the world are reserved to be the kingdoms of our God and of his Christ.

The confession which Daniel's exposition of his dream
B. C. 570. drew from Nebuchadnezzar is scarcely the language of a convert to the true religion, but rather of a heathen yielding to the God of the Jews an exalted place among the gods. According to his promise, he loaded Daniel with rewards, made him ruler over the province of Babylon, and master of the Chaldean sages, and appointed his three companions, at his request, to high offices in the province of Babylon.

Their fidelity to Jehovah soon underwent a terrible trial, but came out as unscathed as their persons from the fiery furnace. That Nebuchadnezzar should have condemned them for such a reason so soon after the lesson he had learned, is a more striking than surprising example of a despot's impatience of opposition and readiness to take the bait of flattery. Daniel would seem to have been too firmly established in the royal favor for his enemies to venture to attack him till they had first made an example of his companions. There has been much discussion respecting the vision of the "Son of God" with the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace. His walking with them there seems to imply that they were conscious of His presence and sustained by His comfort, like Stephen in the agony of his martyrdom, and they would doubtless recognize in him the "Angel Jehovah," who had so often shown himself to their fathers, and who had promised, "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." But we must not ascribe such divine knowledge to Nebuchadnezzar. To him the vision was that of some unknown deity, "a Son of the Gods"—but it was enough first to petrify him with astonishment, and then to extort from him a warmer acknowledgment of the God of the Hebrews. Their enemies were silenced by a terrible decree, and they themselves were promoted to higher stations in the province of Babylon.

A third lesson, by which the King of Babylon was finally bowed in submission to Jehovah, is recorded in his own rescript to all the provinces of his empire. Another dream, which Daniel again interpreted when the Chaldæan soothsayers had failed, warned the king that his reason should depart, and he should be driven from among men to herd with the beast of the field, till "seven times" had passed over his head. The judgment came upon him at the expiration of a year. His enemies had been subdued on every side, his great works of art and power had been completed, and, as he surveyed them from the roof of his palace, he forgot God, of whose might he had had such proofs, and exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty?" The words had scarcely mounted toward the vault of heaven, when a voice replied, "O King Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; THE KINGDOM IS DEPARTED FROM THEE;" adding the details of his exile from among men, all which were fulfilled for a space of seven years. Assuredly Nebuchadnezzar is the grandest of all despots; but the climax of his grandeur is seen in his publishing the history of his own humiliation, in order to give glory to the most high God.

The seven years of Nebuchadnezzar's madness may safely be placed in the last decade of his reign, B. C. 571-561 ; and, as he was again

“established in his kingdom and excellent majesty was added to him,” a few years must be allowed after his recovery. The date of Ussher (B. C. 569-563) is therefore quite late enough. After a reign of forty-three years, he was succeeded, in B. C. 561, by his son EVIL-MERODACH (the Illoarudamus of the Greek writers), whose release of Johoiachin from prison is the last event mentioned in the books of Kings.

For the twenty-three years between the accession of Evil-merodach and the fall of Babylon (B. C. 561-538) there is a gap in the Scripture history. The book of Daniel passes on at once to the capture of the city and the death of Belshazzar, who is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar ; but this word need not signify more than a direct successor. Jeremiah, whose prophecies of this period are almost as definite as histories, predicts that all nations should serve Nebuchadnezzar, and *his son* and *his son's son*, until the very time of the land came ; and the Chronicles state that the Jews were servants to him *and his sons*, until the reign of the kingdom of Persia. Our chief secular authorities for the period, Berossus, Herodotus, Ctesias, the Canon, and Josephus, amid many discrepancies of detail, yet agree sufficiently to guide us to probable conclusions, with the aid (here unfortunately very scanty) of the inscriptions on the monuments. The succession of kings seems to have been as follows :—

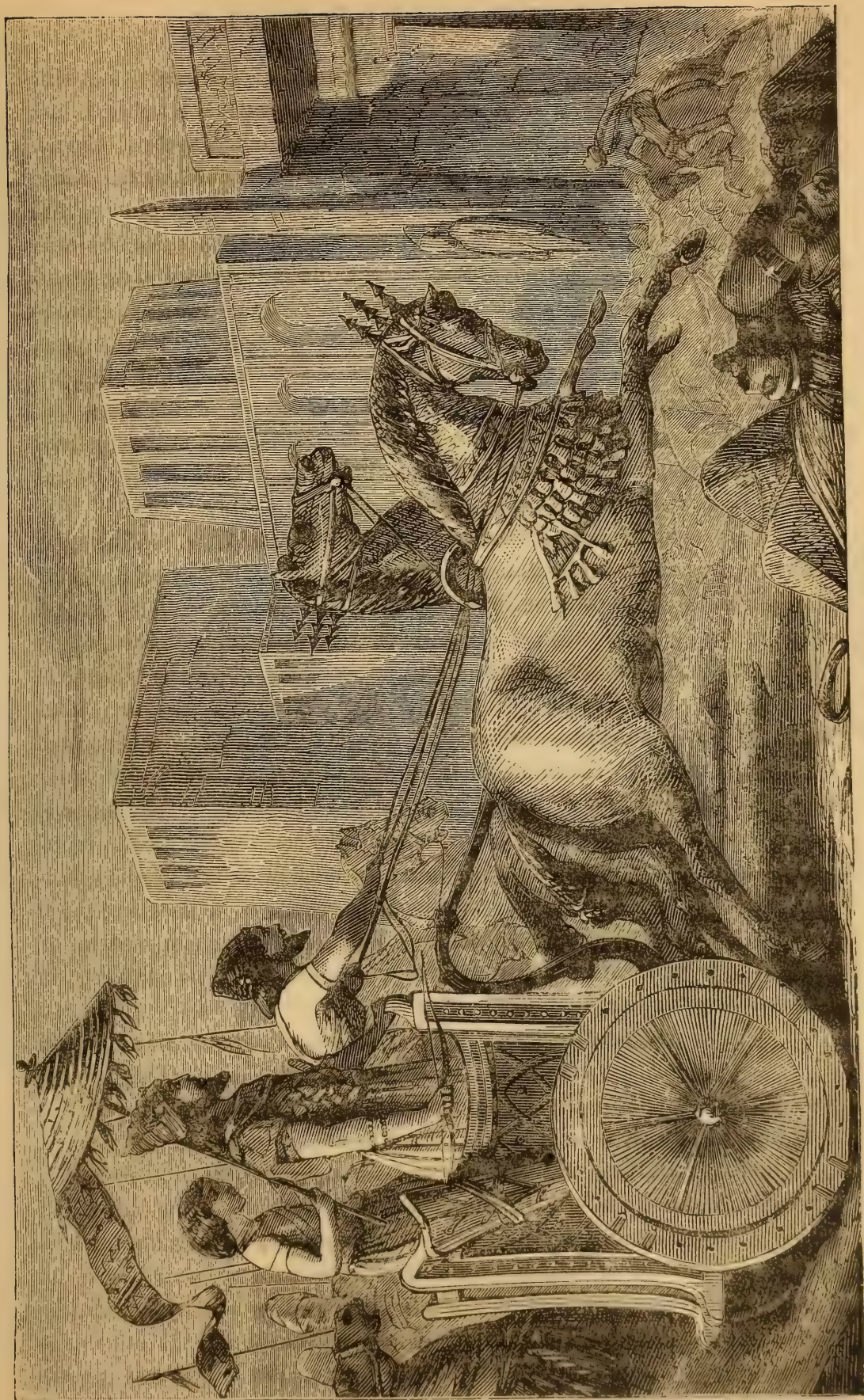
B. C.	Years of Reign.
561. EVIL-MERODACH, the son of Nebuchadnezzar.....	2
559. NERIGLISSAR, sister's husband to Evil-merodach, a usurper ; perhaps the same as Nergal-sharezer, the Rab-mag (<i>Chief of the Magi?</i> Jer. xxxix. 3, 13).....	3½
556. LABOROSARCHOD, his son, killed by a conspiracy, and the family of Nebuchadnezzar restored.....	0½
555. NABONADIUS or Nabonedus (<i>Nabu-nit</i>), the LABYNETUS II. of Herodotus, probably the son or grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, and the last king of Babylon.....	17
539. (about). BELSHAZZAR (<i>Bil-shar-uzur</i>), son of Nabonadius, becomes his associate in the kingdom, and governor of Babylon..	2
538. Babylon taken by CYRUS, and governed by his grandfather (?) Astyages, DARIUS THE MEDE.....	2
536. Death of Darius—Cyrus reigns alone—Restoration of the Jews...	
529. Death of Cyrus, after a reign of nine years from the taking of Babylon.....	9

It was during the reign of Neriglissar that the great revolution occurred which was destined to change the fate of Western Asia and to act powerfully on Europe, the overthrow of the old dynasty in Media and the foundation of the Persian Empire by CYRUS THE GREAT. Taking the length assigned to the reign of Cyrus by Herodotus, twenty-nine years, his accession falls in B. C. 558.

As the restorer of the Jews, and as "called by his name" by the prophet Isaiah, no heathen monarch fills a more important place in sacred history. But we must not confound his high destiny with his personal character. Even when God, by the mouth of Isaiah, says of Cyrus "he is my shepherd, to perform all my pleasure," "my anointed, whose right hand I have holden to subdue nations before him," he adds, "I have surnamed thee, *though thou hast not known me.*" The prejudice raised in his favor by his appearance in the Scriptures has been confirmed by the choice made of him by Xenophon, in his romance of the "Cyropædia," for the ideal model of a king trained up and governing on Socratic principles. But the Cyrus of history is an Asiatic conqueror in an age of despotic force, though a favorable specimen of his class. His history proves that he had many of the virtues of a hero and a king; but if we seek further for his likeness, we must look rather at Zengis Khan or Timour, than at the Cyrus of the "Cyropædia."

Of the many conflicting versions of his history which were derived from the romantic stories of the Persian poets, that of Herodotus is the most probable and consistent. Passing over the fables of his exposure and preservation, we come to the fact in which all his historians concur, that he dethroned Astyages, the last king of Media (and according to some authorities, as Herodotus, his mother's father), and transferred the rule over the Medo-Persian Empire to the royal family of Persia. This revolution transferred the Medo-Persian Empire from an effete dynasty to a family of hardy mountaineers, both being of that Aryan race which had not yet occupied a leading place in history. The capital was fixed at Agbatana (Ecbatana).

The change was naturally alarming to the three great monarchies of Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt. The first was the ancient rival of the Medes in Asia Minor, where the river Halys had been fixed as the boundary of the two empires, after the great battle between Alyattes, king of Lydia, and Cyaxares, king of Media, which was broken off by the same solar eclipse that was predicted by Thales of Miletus. While Astyages, or Aspadas, the successor of Cyaxares in Media, reigned quietly and, as it seems, weakly, CRÆSUS (B. C. 568), the son of Alyattes, subdued all the independent nations of Asia Minor west of the river Halys (except the Lycians and Cilicians, who were protected by the chain of Taurus), and obtained that power and wealth which make him so conspicuous a figure in the history of Herodotus. The news of the revolution effected by Cyrus decided him on an attempt to check the growth of the Medo-Persian power.



CYRUS ENTERING BABYLON.

While seeking encouragement from the oracles of Greece, he sent envoys to Amasis, king of Egypt, and to Nabonedus, who had just obtained the throne of Babylon, to form an alliance against Cyrus. It seems to have been at this time that Nabonedus constructed those great works for the defence of Babylon and for the inundation of the surrounding country, which Herodotus ascribes to an otherwise unknown Queen Nitocris. Meanwhile the rapid advance of Cyrus and the impetuosity of Crœsus, who crossed the Halys, deceived, according to the well-known story of Herodotus, by an ambiguous oracle, brought the conflict to an issue. Crœsus was defeated and shut up within the walls of Sardis. His pressing messages to his allies had scarcely arrived, when they were followed by the tidings that Sardis had been surprised and Crœsus taken prisoner, and that Cyrus was master of his kingdom to the Ægean Sea.

The interval of nearly fifteen years before the final conflict with Babylon was probably occupied by Cyrus in finishing the conquest of the tribes of Asia Minor, strengthening his power in Media, and subduing the more distant portion of the Babylonian Empire in Upper Assyria. Nabonedus seems to have remained on the defensive, completing the great works around Babylon. At length Cyrus marched from Ecbatana, and crossed the river Gyndes by a diversion of its channel, which must have prepared his engineers for their greater operation of the same kind on the Euphrates. Nabonedus tried the fate of one battle, and, on his defeat, retired to Borsippa (*Birs Nimrûd*), "the Chaldæan Benares, the city in which the Chaldæans had their most revered objects of religion, and where they cultivated their science." Here he surrendered after the capture of Babylon. Cyrus spared his life, and gave him a principality in Carmania, where he died.

B. C. 539. Meanwhile the people of Babylon remained in fancied security behind their immense fortifications. The city formed a vast square, divided diagonally, and almost equally, by the Euphrates. Each side of the square was about fourteen miles long. The double walls are said to have been about three hundred feet high and eighty-five feet broad; dimensions which cease to be incredible when we remember that they were vast mounds of earth and brickwork, the remains of which, and others like them, are still traced by travellers. These walls were strengthened by two hundred and fifty towers, and pierced with a hundred gateways, the lintels and side-posts, as well as the gates themselves, being of brass. The river was enclosed on both banks by the quays, which were likewise protected

by walls and brass gates. These walls and gates are particularly referred to in that striking prophecy of Jeremiah, which is almost a history of the siege. The vast area of two hundred square miles, interspersed, as is usual in Eastern cities, with large open spaces, gave opportunities for growing corn, in addition to the immense supplies of food which had been laid up for a siege of many years. The two banks of the river were connected by a stone bridge, about a thousand yards in length, at each end of which stood a royal palace. The chief was that on the east, a fortress in itself, surrounded by triple walls, of which the outer had a circuit of seven miles, the middle of four and a half, and the latter of two and a half miles: the middle wall was three hundred feet high, and its towers four hundred and twenty feet, and the inner one was higher still. Such statements may diminish our surprise at the security in which the inhabitants of the city and palace lived under their reckless young prince, Belshazzar.

Cyrus wasted no efforts on the impregnable defences, but resolved to divert the stream of the Euphrates, and to enter the city by its bed. When the work was complete, Belshazzar gave him the opportunity for a surprise by that great feast, of which we have so graphic an account in the book of Daniel. A thousand of his lords were assembled at the banquet; and the prince, inflamed with wine and flattery, ordered the gold and silver vessels of the Temple to be brought, that he and his wives and concubines and courtiers might drink in them to the praise of their gods. At that moment a hand was seen writing upon the wall in the full light of the candelabra. Belshazzar, his joints unnerved by fear, cried out for the Chaldæan astrologers and soothsayers to be brought before him, and proclaimed that the man who could read the writing should be invested with the insignia of royalty, and made third ruler in the kingdom. While the hand moved slowly on from letter to letter, they confessed their inability to read the unknown characters. The king was beside himself with terror, when a new personage appeared upon the scene. The "queen," who addresses Belshazzar in the tone of authority, was probably his mother or his grandmother, and may perhaps be the Nitocris of Herodotus. She alone of all the court remembered the wonders that had been revealed to Nebuchadnezzar by Daniel, who seems to have been deposed from his post as master of the soothsayers. By her advice the king sent for him, and repeated his offers of reward. Rejecting them with disdain, Daniel reproached Belshazzar for not learning from the example of Nebuchadnezzar, and for the crowning insult of

that night against God. By this time the hand, which had been slowly moving over the wall, had completed its awful inscription:—

MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN:

Numbered! Numbered! Weight! and Division (or the Persians).

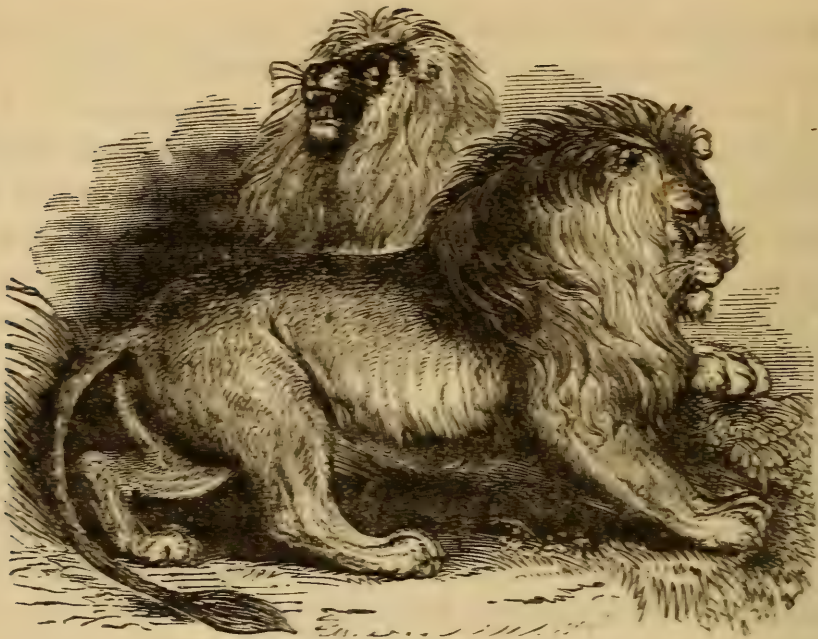
“The days of thy kingdom are *numbered* and *finished*,
Thou art *weighed* in the balances, and found wanting.
Thy kingdom is *divided*, and given to the Medes and *Persians*.”

Belshazzar's last act of sovereignty was to confer the promised reward on Daniel. All that is added in the Scripture narrative is this:—
“In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldæans slain.”
We learn from other sources that, while the city was sunk in revelry, Cyrus led his army along the empty bed of the Euphrates and entered by the water-gates, which it had not been thought worth while to secure. The soldiers fled. The more distant regions of the vast city were taken and set on fire long before the news reached the palace, perhaps before Daniel had done expounding the writing on the wall. “One post ran to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the King of Babylon that the city was taken at one end, and that the passages were stopped, and the reeds they had burnt with fire, and the men of war were affrighted.” At last the enemy reached the citadel, in the storm of which Belshazzar seems to have met the fate which so nearly befell Cræsus at Sardis, being slain by some soldiers who did not know him for the king. Nabonadius, his father, was taken, as we have seen, at Borsippa; and thus fell the empire of Babylon, little more than twenty years after the height of its splendor under Nebuchadnezzar. Its fate furnished not only a great example of the fulfilment of ancient and recent prophecies, especially those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, but also a type of the worldly splendor and power, the unbridled insolence, and the conspicuous ruin of the future oppressors of the Church of God, and especially of that one—whatever it be—which is called in the Apocalypse “Babylon the Great, Mystery of Iniquity, Mother of Harlots.”

Instead of following the progress of Cyrus, the sacred history remains with the Jews at Babylon, where we read, simultaneously with the death of Belshazzar, that DARIUS THE MEDIAN took (or received) the kingdom, being about sixty-two years old. This personage is one of the enigmas of sacred history. Till lately it was the fashion to identify him with the Cyaxares, whom Xenophon introduces, in the “Cyropædia,” as the son of Astyages; and great was the triumph in this confirmation of Scripture by so philosophic a writer, against the

united testimony of Herodotus and all the other profane historians. But not only does the consent of all these historians overbear the romance of Xenophon, who evidently imagined the character of Cyaxares as a foil to the virtues of Cyrus; but their testimony is confirmed by Scripture. In the great prophecy of Isaiah it is *Cyrus* that takes Babylon; and even in Daniel the *Persians* are the conquerors. Darius is too old to be identified with Xenophon's Cyaxares, and his father's name is *Ahasuerus*, which has no affinity with Astyages, but which is the very name of *Cyaxares*, the father of Astyages. This is but one of the many arguments in favor of identifying Darius the Mede with Astyages himself. We know that Cyrus treated his de-throned predecessor with the greatest honor, which he may have carried so far as to yield him the outward rank of supreme king during his lifetime; for the Darius of Daniel certainly appears to exercise an authority over the whole kingdom more extensive than could have belonged to a mere governor of Babylon. The testimony of Herodotus, and indeed of his own fate, to the weak character of Astyages, agrees entirely with the impulsive and vacillating conduct of Darius toward Daniel and his enemies. Some chronological difficulties still remain; but on the whole, it seems most probable that Cyrus committed the civil government, with the whole royal authority, to Astyages (Darius), while he himself was completing his new conquest, for a period of two years (B. C. 538-536), and that on the death of Darius he assumed the sole sovereignty (B. C. 536). The two years of Darius are included in the nine years which are assigned to Cyrus in the Babylonian annals (B. C. 538-529), as his real position was known to the scribes; while the close relations of Darius with the captive Jews account for their speaking of him as the king, and dating the year of his death as the *first year* of Cyrus. This was the glorious year of their own restoration to their land. But before opening that new page of their history, we must glance at the last days of Daniel and the final fate of Babylon.

We read that Daniel continued "even unto the first year B. C. 538. of King Cyrus;" that is, as the margin of our Bible well puts it, "he lived to see that glorious time of the return of his people from the Babylonian captivity, though he did not die then." Again we read, "This Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian." After the death of Nebuchadnezzar, or in the dynastic contests which followed the reign of Evil-merodach, he seems to have retired into obscurity till he was called forth to interpret the handwriting on the wall. That proof of prophetic power



LIONS OF SYRIA.

would insure him respect from the conquerors, who seem also to have recognized the rank conferred on him by Belshazzar. Shortly after the capture of Babylon we find him employed by the king in some commission to Susa (Shushan), one of the Median capitals. When Darius made a settlement of the provinces, in which we trace the germ of the satrapies of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, Daniel was made the first of the three "presidents" who were placed over the 120 "princes" of the provinces. The Medo-Persian princes were doubly offended at being placed under a Jew by birth and a servant of the late dynasty. His administration was too faultless to give an opening to their envy; so they set one of those ingenious traps in which religious persecution is concealed under the guise of loyalty. Two of the grandest pictures in the Bible are, the faithful servant of Jehovah continuing his prayers thrice a day, neither diminishing their number nor withdrawing from his open window which looked toward Jerusalem, and the confessor calmly sitting in the den of lions, whose mouths God had shut, while the king, who had consented to his death, remains restless and fasting. It is superfluous to relate his deliverance from the lions, the punishment of his enemies, and the proclamation of Darius in honor of Daniel's God.

After this Daniel enjoyed unbroken prosperity under Darius and Cyrus, and doubtless had a share in advising the restoration of the Jews. His last vision is dated in the *third year* of Cyrus, B. C. 534. The following is a summary of his visions, dreams, and prophecies:

I. In the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, B. C. 603. The interpretation of the king's dream of the image representing the four great empires, namely—

- (1.) The *Golden Head*:—the Assyrio-Babylonian monarchy.
- (2.) The *Silver Breast and Arms*:—the Medo-Persian Empire.
- (3.) The *Brazen Belly and Thighs*:—the Greco-Macedonian kingdoms, especially, after Alexander, those of Egypt and Syria.
- (4.) The *Legs of Iron*, the power of Rome, bestriding the East and West, but broken up into a number of states, the *ten toes*, which retained some of its warlike strength (the *iron*), mingled with elements of weakness (the soft potter's clay), which rendered the whole imperial structure unstable.

(5.) The *Stone* cut without hands out of the *Living Rock*, dashing down the image, becoming a mountain and filling all the earth:—the Spiritual Kingdom of Christ.

II. In *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign, about B. C. 570. The interpretation of the king's second dream concerning his madness.

III. In the first year of *Belshazzar*, B. C. 540. Daniel's dream of the *Four Beasts*, another symbol of the *Four Empires*, the ten horns of the fourth corresponding to the ten toes of the image; ending with the judgment of the fourth beast by the "Ancient of days," and the establishment of the kingdom of the Son of Man. Throughout this vision, and especially in the "little horn" which rose up among the ten horns as the symbol of some blaspheming enemy of God, we meet with those images, common to Daniel and the Apocalypse, which are still involved in the obscurity of unfulfilled prophecy.

IV. In the third year of *Belshazzar*, probably soon after the fall of Babylon, B. C. 538.

The vision which Daniel saw at Shushan of a conflict between a ram and he-goat, the symbols of the Medo-Persian and Macedonian powers. The peculiar character of the former is represented by its two horns, of which *the higher came up last*. Alexander is plainly represented by the "notable horn" of the he-goat, and his successors by the four horns which replaced it. The "little horn" springing out of one of the others, and representing "a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences," prospering, persecuting, and opposing the Prince of princes, till he is broken without hand, seems to correspond to the "little horn" of the preceding dream, and to involve similar difficulties.

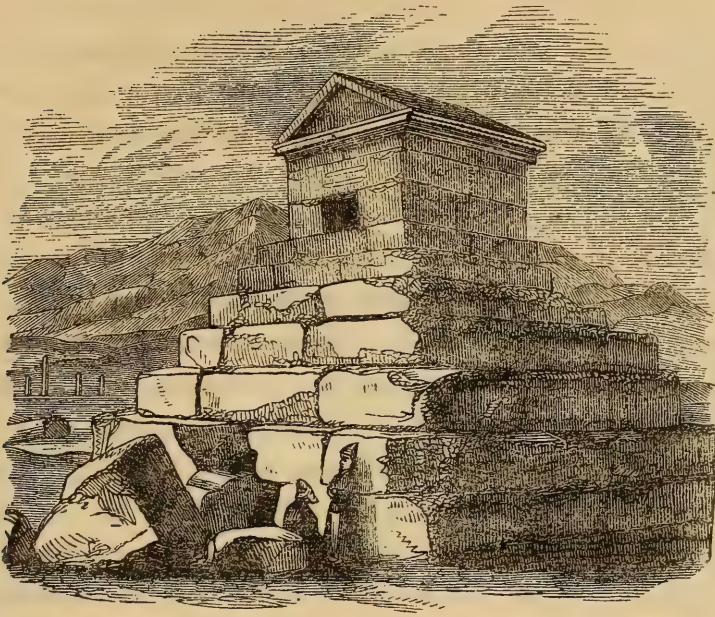
V. In the first year of *Darius*, B. C. 538. Daniel, having read in the prophecies of *Jeremiah* that God would accomplish seventy years

in the desolations of Jerusalem, set himself to seek God with fasting and the garb of mourning. His prayer and confession on this occasion forms a model of all such supplications. It was answered by the mission of the angel Gabriel, who now appears for the first time as the special herald of God's purposes. He comes to Daniel to announce the beginning of the period, the close of which he proclaimed to Zacharias. His message constitutes the celebrated *Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks*, the leading idea of which, regarded as an answer to Daniel's prayer, seems to be that God would mercifully recompense his people for their captivity at Babylon by a new possession of their land for seven times that period, until the whole history of the nation should be crowned, and its religious institutions finished, by the advent and sacrifice of Messiah the prince.

We cannot here enter into the minute details of the exposition. It is enough to point out that, from the *final* and *effectual* edict of Artaxerxes Longimanus for the rebuilding of Jerusalem (B. C. 457) to the death of Christ (A. D. 33) was just four hundred and ninety years.

VI. *In the third year of Cyrus*, B. C. 534. The vision of the Son of God to Daniel on the banks of the Hiddekel (Tigris), in the same glorious form in which he appeared to St. John in Patmos, and the prophecy that followed. Throughout this prophecy both the imagery and the substance bear a close analogy to the Apocalypse. There can be little doubt that the earlier part relates to the contests between the two Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which disputed the mastery of Judæa; but it is clear that at some point a transition is made to the final mysteries of God's government and judgment. How the study of those mysteries ought to be approached, we learn from the prophecy itself. Daniel is bidden to "*shut up* the words and *seal* the book, even to the time of the end." When that time is so near that God reveals his purposes to his people, as he did to Daniel from the books of Jeremiah, the Lamb in the midst of the throne will open the volume, seal by seal, and page by page, while his servants "run to and fro on the earth, and knowledge shall be increased." Then all conflicting guesses will cease respecting the "time and times and dividing of a time," the 1290 and the 1335 days. "None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." Meanwhile, "Blessed is he that *waiteth*," and blessed especially the man who is distinguished above all others by the assurance in God's own word of his personal salvation:—

"He only of the sons of men
Named to be heir of glory then."



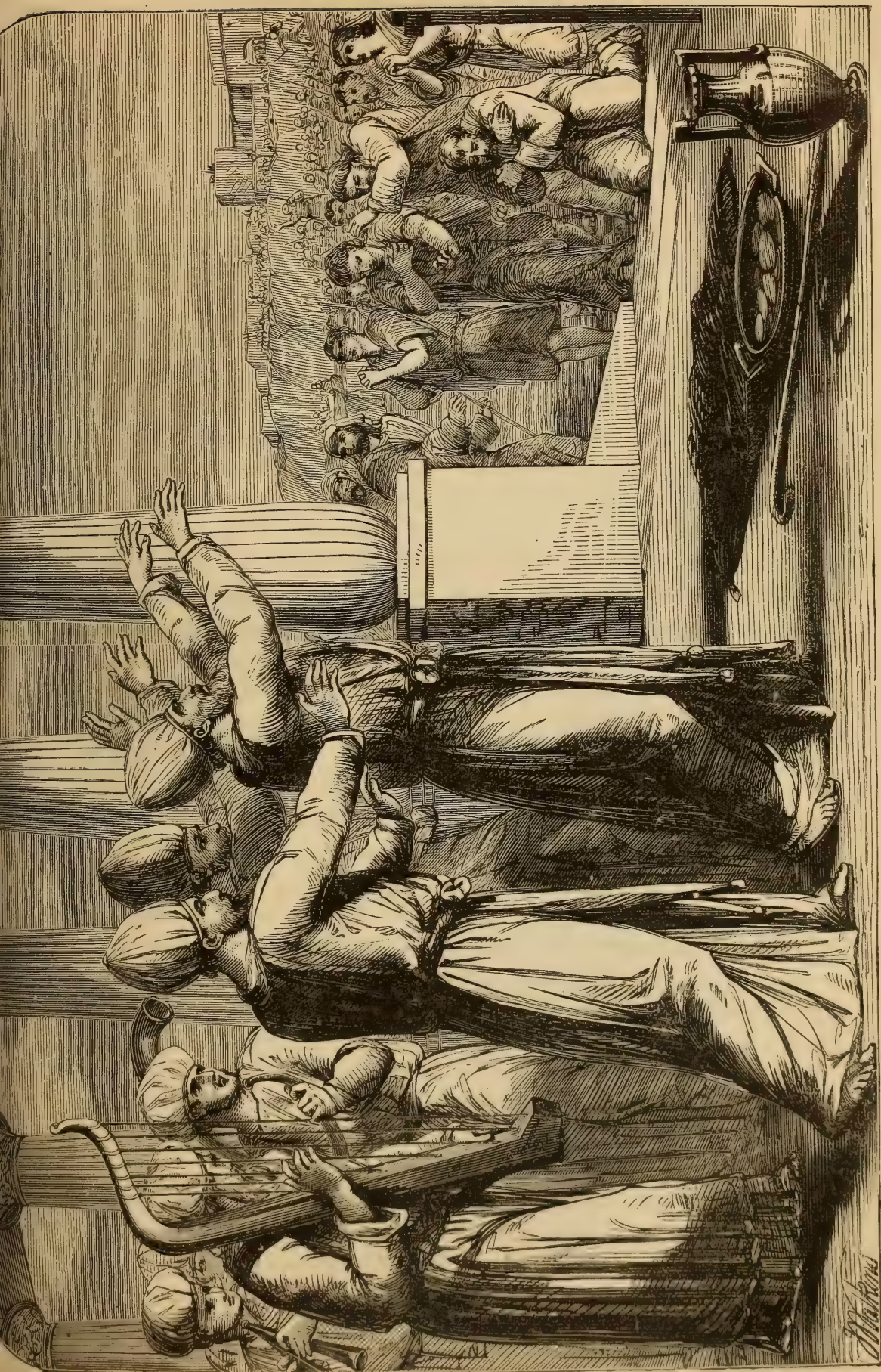
TOMB OF CYRUS.

But, though he alone is *named*, all who share his faith and follow his piety may take the comfort of the words with which this most perfect of all Scripture characters is dismissed from the scene:—"But thou, go thy way to the end: for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days."

How different the end of the great city in which he delivered his testimony for God! Its fall was delayed for many years. It must have suffered greatly in its capture by Cyrus, and again in the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, when it was the seat of a rebellion under a person who called himself "Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonadius." But it remained the second city of the Persian Empire, and the residence of the king during the greater part of the year. Alexander ended his career in the city, which he had designed to renovate for his capital. The Seleucid kings of Syria transferred the capital to Antioch, while they chose a more eligible site on the Tigris for the frontier city of Seleucia, to which most of the inhabitants of Babylon removed. The houses were deserted, and the walls became quarries for building-materials. The site of the city was gradually swept over by the neglected river, while the mounds around it crumbled into the moat from which they were dug. "Babylon became heaps, a dwelling-place for 'dragons,' an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant;" fulfilling to the very letter the prophetic visions of its utter desolation, and presenting a lively image of the fate reserved for the mystic Babylon of later days. Only in

our own days have those "heaps" given up the monuments of the city's grandeur, and the records from which we may hope to gain confirmations and illustrations of Scripture history as signal as the witness borne by the ruins themselves to the truth of Scripture prophecy.

Not only the site of Babylon herself, but the whole plain of Babylonia, covered with the shapeless heaps under which the great Chaldaean cities lie hidden, bears a perpetual witness to the truth of the prophecy every word of which is a historic description:—"Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby." "Besides the great mound," says the most distinguished investigator of the site, "other shapeless heaps of rubbish cover for many an acre the face of the land. The lofty banks of ancient canals fret the country, like natural ridges of hills. Some have been long choked with sand; others still carry the waters of the river to distant villages and palm-groves. On all sides fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed brick are mingled with that peculiar nitrous and blanched soil which, bred from the remains of ancient habitations, checks or destroys vegetation, and renders the site of Babylon a naked and hideous waste. Owls start from the scanty thickets, and the foul jackal skulks through the furrows."



PRIESTS BLESSING THE PEOPLE AFTER THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE SERVICES.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE RESTORED JEWISH NATION AND CHURCH—FROM THE DECREE OF CYRUS
TO THE CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON.

[B. C. 536-400 ?]

IN the first year of his sole reign at Babylon (B. c. 536), Cyrus issued a decree for the rebuilding of the Temple, in the language of which we trace the advice of Daniel. We are not only assured that the king's spirit was stirred up to this measure by God, that the word spoken by Jeremiah might be fulfilled, but the proclamation itself acknowledged the God of Israel as **THE GOD**, and that **HE**, who had given Cyrus all the kingdoms of the earth, had charged him to build Him a house at Jerusalem, B. C. 536. in Judah. He therefore invited the people of God throughout his empire to go up to the work, and charged those among whom they dwelt to help them with gold and goods and cattle.

The response to this act of noble generosity—for such is its true character, whatever secondary motives may have been mixed up with it—was the more easy, as the captive Jews had preserved their genealogies, and their patriarchal constitution under their princes. It is even said that they had a kind of ruler, called the “Head of the Captivity,” or “Captain of the people;” but this is very doubtful. So the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, with the priests and Levites, whose families are enumerated by Ezra, rose up to the work. Their neighbors made them liberal presents, beside freewill offerings for the Temple; and Cyrus caused his treasurer Mithredath to deliver the vessels of the Temple which Nebuchadnezzar had carried away, 5400 in number, to Sheshbazzar, or **ZERUBBABEL**, the prince of Judah, who was the leader of the migration. Thus, as the Israelites had gone forth from the first captivity laden with the spoils of Egypt, so now they returned from the second enriched with the free-will offerings of Assyria, to be consecrated to the service of Jehovah.

But they carried back greater riches than all the treasures of Persia, in the moral gains of their captivity. Throughout the history of the monarchy we have never lost sight of the fact that that form of government was itself a departure from the will of God. The attempt to consolidate the nation violated the constitution of the Church.

Though, on the great principle of condescension and forbearance, God made this defection the occasion of his new covenant with David, the inherent vices of the monarchy broke out into that long course of idolatry and worldly pride, which was cut short by the captivities of both branches of the nation. After the captivity we hear no more of these forms of evil. Too soon, indeed, we find the commencement of other corruptions natural to fallen man, the spiritual pride and moral iniquity, which had utterly corrupted the people before the coming of Christ. But the seeds of those vices were as yet hidden in individual hearts. The people again presented, as in the wilderness, the outward aspect of the Church of the living God. Owing their revived political existence to the will of Persia, they could not at first establish a new monarchy; nor was the attempt ever made, till the usurpation of an alien—Herod the Idumæan—seemed to challenge their true King, the CHRIST, to assert His rights. The people seem to have learned to wait for His kingdom, and their political dependence gave freer scope to their religious organization. Religion had shared the evils of the kingdom. Our admiration for the magnificence of Solomon's Temple is not unmingled with a misgiving of some loss of spirituality, and its destruction broke through a tradition which leaned toward an undue reliance upon ceremonies. The second Temple, so strikingly inferior in outward splendor, nay, wanting even the visible sign of Jehovah's presence in the Shekinah, became a centre of more spiritual worship. While the great festivals, like the other Mosaic institutions, were for the first time punctually observed, the experience of the captivity, and the examples of such men as Daniel, had taught the people that God might be worshipped not at Jerusalem only; and their local meetings in the SYNAGOGUES, which some suppose to have begun during the captivity, became a regular institution. The Scriptures, collected into a "Canon" soon after the return, superseded the prophetic office; their regular reading in the synagogues prevented that ignorance which had been so fatal under the monarchy; and the "scribes," who devoted themselves to their exposition, shared the respect paid to the priests and Levites. *Prayer*, private as well as public, regained that supreme place in God's worship, which had been usurped by rites and ceremonies. The *Sabbath*, which the prophets never cease to represent as the keystone both of religion and of the charities of social life, was firmly established, after a sharp contest with worldly selfishness. Idolatry was henceforth unknown; and the attempt of the Syrian kings to impose its practice adorned the Jewish Church with a cloud of martyrs, whose constancy confirms the many other proofs that the

people had attained to a more spiritual faith. The shades of this fair picture were as yet in the background, and the current of the history brings them into prominence soon enough. They are the vices which our corrupt nature distils from these virtues; spiritual pride, perverting the uses of God's worship; oppression and immorality, excused by the privileges of God's people.

The number of the people forming the first caravan, B. C. 536. whom Ezra reckons, not only by their families, but by the cities of Judah and Benjamin, and other tribes, to which they belonged, with the priests and Levites, amounted in all to 42,360, besides 7367 men-servants and maid-servants. They had 736 horses, 245 mules, 435 camels, and 6720 asses. These numbers may seem small, in contrast to the former population of Judæa; but they are large, as compared with the enumeration given above of the several captivities. They no doubt included many of the Ten Tribes, for Cyrus addressed his proclamation to all the servants of God throughout the empire; and it was responded to, not only by the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, but "by all whose spirit God had raised." In fact, though the new nation are called *Jews*, the distinction of the tribes disappears (except in their pedigrees), and subsequent jealousies are religious and local, as those against Samaria and Nazareth. Those, however, who undertook the journey were doubtless a considerable minority of the captives, who, as directed by Jeremiah, had settled down quietly in the land of their captivity, built houses, and planted vineyards. Some followed at a later period. Others remained behind, forming what was called the "Dispersion:" and how numerous these were in all the provinces of the empire we see in the book of Esther.

The little band of 50,000, so few and weak in comparison of the host that crossed the Jordan under Joshua, were led by ZERUBBABEL, prince of Judah, and grandson of Jehoiachin, who was appointed *Tirshatha*, or governor of Judæa. With him were associated the high-priest JESHUA, and ten of the chief elders. We have no record of the journey; but the lxxxivth Psalm describes the triumph of their pious zeal to behold the house of God over all the hardships of the way. After visiting their desolate cities, they assembled in the seventh month (Tisri=Sept.-Oct.) at Jerusalem, to rebuild the altar and offer their first sacrifices at the Feast of Tabernacles. Though dreading the hostility of the surrounding nations, they prepared to build the Temple, hiring masons and carpenters with the money they had brought, and preparing provisions for the Tyrians

and Sidonians, who had been commanded by Cyrus to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon by sea to Joppa, as Hiram had done for Solomon.

In the second month of the following year (Jyar=Apr.-May, B. C. 535), the foundation of the Temple was laid with great solemnities, amid the sound of trumpets and the chorus of the sons of Asaph, "praising and giving thanks unto Jehovah, because he is good, for his mercy endureth forever toward Israel." But the shouts of the people were mingled with the weeping of the priests and elders who had seen the glory of the first house, so that the cries of joy could hardly be distinguished from those of sorrow.

The work was not long permitted to proceed in quiet. The descendants of the Cuthæan colonists whom Esar-haddon had settled in Samaria, and whose strange mixture of idolatry with the worship of Jehovah has already been related, were not slow to claim affinity with a people so favored by Cyrus. Their request to join in building the Temple was indignantly rejected by the Jews, who regarded them as idolaters and "adversaries;" and they used all their efforts to earn the latter title. By hired influence at the court, as well as by their opposition on the spot, the building of the Temple was hindered till the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. The narrative of these transactions is somewhat perplexed by the different opinions held respecting the Persian kings, whose names are mentioned in the books of Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah. The following table exhibits the succession of these kings by their ordinary Greek names, with the names which most probably correspond to them in Scripture.

	Beginning of each reign, B. C.
1. CYAXARES, king of Media.....	634
<i>Ahasuerus</i> : Dan. ix. 1.	
2. ASTYAGES, his son, last king of Media.....	594
<i>Darius the Mede</i> .	
3. CYRUS, son of his daughter and Cambyzes, a Persian noble, founder of the Persian Empire.....	559
<i>Cyrus</i> begins to reign at Babylon.....	Jan. 5, 538
4. CAMBYSES, his son.....	Jan. 3, 529
<i>Ahasuerus</i> : Ezra iv. 6.	
5. GOMATES, a Magian usurper (about Jan. 1), who personated Smerdis, the younger son of Cyrus. (Reigns seven months)...	522
<i>Artaxerxes</i> : Ezra iv. 7, etc.	
6. DARIUS, the son of Hystaspes. A Persian noble, raised to the throne on the overthrow of Gomates.....	Jan. 1, 521
<i>Darius</i> : Ezra iv. 5, 24, v., vi.	
7. XERXES, his son.....	Dec. 23, 486
<i>Ahasuerus</i> : Esther.	
8. ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, his son.....	Dec. 7, 465
<i>Artaxerxes</i> , Ezra vii., Nehemiah.....	End of his reign, Dec. 17, 423

The subsequent kings, Xerxes II. (Sogdianus), Darius II. (Nothus), Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), Artaxerxes III. (Ochus), and Darius III. (Codomannus), are not named in Scripture.

Cyrus does not seem to have wavered in his Jewish policy, but his wars in Asia will account for the impediments permitted to delay the building of the Temple during the remainder of his reign.

His son, Cambyses, was too much occupied with his one great enterprise against Egypt to take any notice of the letter of accusation against the Jews which the "adversaries" sent to him at the beginning of his reign, B. C. 529.

They were more successful with the usurper Gomates, to whom they artfully suggested a search in the records of the kingdom, to prove that Jerusalem had been destroyed for its continual rebellions. The answer was a rescript bidding the work to cease, armed with which, the officers of Samaria, Rehum, Shimshai, and their companions went up to Jerusalem, and put an end for the time to the building of the Temple, B. C. 522.

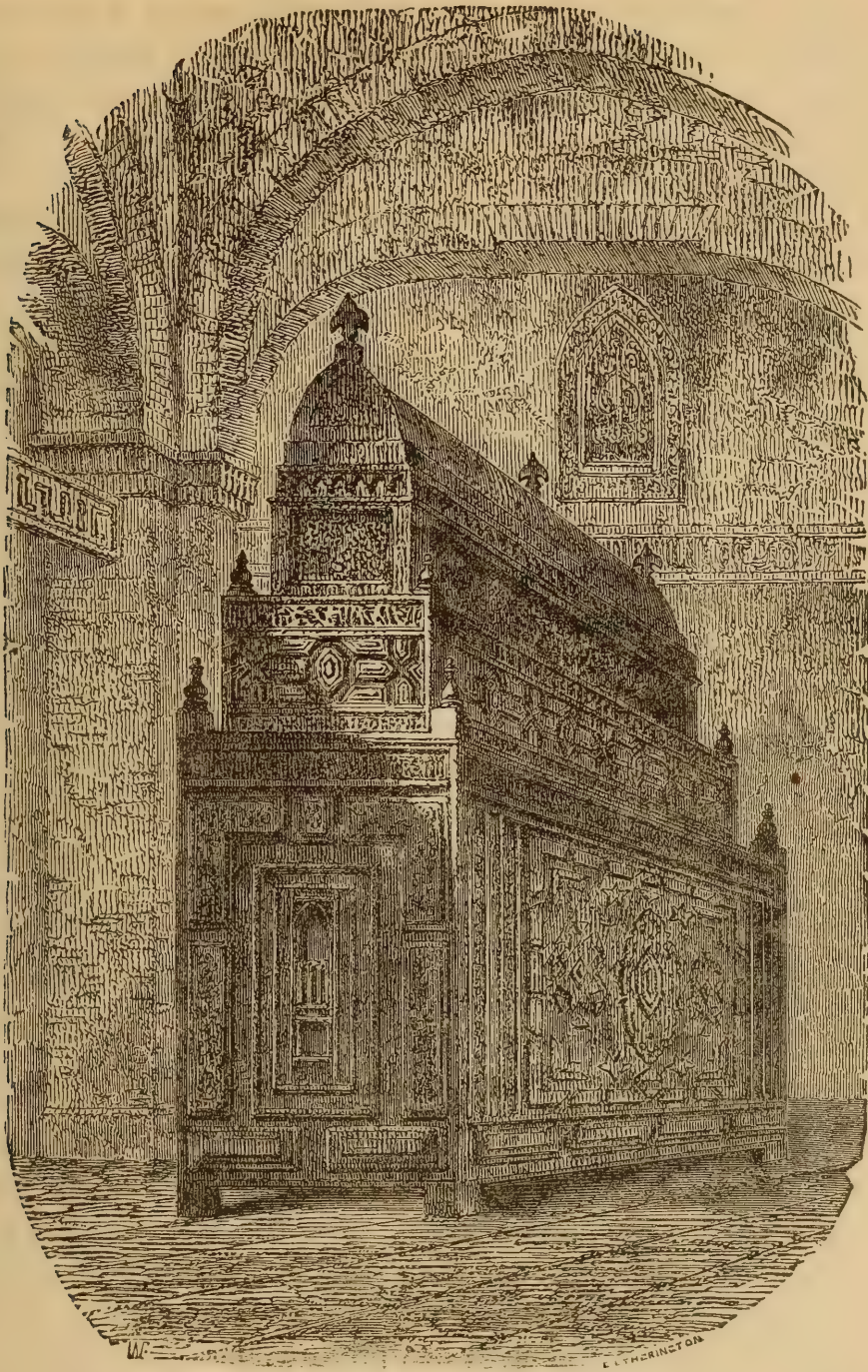
The restoration of order under Darius, the son of B. C. 520. Hystaspes, was the signal for new hopes and efforts. In the second year of his reign (B. C. 520), the prophets HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH, the son of Iddo, commenced the exhortations and promises, mingled with reproofs and warnings, which we read in their books. The rebuilding of the Temple was resumed by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who appear in the prophecies of Zechariah as types of the great Prince and Priest of the approaching reign of holiness. They had to deal, not with malignant adversaries, but with the just authorities of a settled government. Being called to account for their conduct by Tatnai, the Persian governor west of the Euphrates, they appealed to the edict of Cyrus, which was found among the records at Ecbatana, and the discovery brought a new edict from Darius, not only permitting the work, but bidding his officers to aid them with supplies, and threatening all who hindered them with the severest penalties. So the work went on and prospered, under the constant encouragement of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah; and the house was finished on the third of the twelfth month (Adar=Feb.-March), in the sixth year of Darius (B. C. 515), twenty-one years after its commencement.

The Feast of Dedication was kept with great joy. B. C. 515. Besides the 700 victims offered for a burnt-offering, twelve goats were offered for a sin-offering "*for all Israel*," one for each tribe—a decisive proof that the returned "children of the captivity" regarded themselves as the representatives of all Israel. The courses of the priests and Levites were set in order, according to the law of Moses and the institutions of David. It was found that only four of

the original courses of priests were represented ; but, by the division of each into six, the number of twenty-four was restored, and the old names were adopted. The solemnities were concluded by the keeping of the Passover on the fourteenth day of the first month and of the seven days of the unleavened bread.

In B. C. 486 Darius was succeeded by XERXES, whose repulse from Greece fills so memorable a page in the history of Europe, but whose place in the annals of the Jews depends on his identification with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther. The story of the offence given to the king by the haughty Queen Vashti, which led to her divorce, and to the choice of the Jewess, Hadassah, or Esther, as his consort, four years afterward ; the spite of Haman the Agagite, because Mordecai, the guardian of Esther, refused to do him reverence, and his plot to destroy all the Jews throughout the 127 provinces of the empire on one day ; the self-devotion of Esther for her people ; the rewards heaped on Mordecai for his ancient services to the kingdom, and the hanging of Haman on the gallows he had built for the hated Jews ; the permission to the Jews to defend themselves, and the consequent slaughter of 75,000 of their enemies on the thirteenth of Adar (Feb.—March), besides 800 slain at the palace of Shushan (Susa) on that and the following day ; and the appointment of the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar, on which they rested from slaying their enemies, for the great *Feast of Purim* : all these incidents are familiar to us in the beautiful narrative of the book of Esther ; and no scene of Scripture history is more often applied to a spiritual use, than her bold venture into the presence of the “king of kings,” and his reaching out to her the golden sceptre as the sign of grace (B. C. 474).

A natural reluctance to identify this noble woman with B. C. 474. Xerxes's cruel wife Amestris, whose name bears some resemblance to Esther, is the chief objection to the identification of Ahasuerus with Xerxes. But the former hypothesis is quite unfounded, as will presently appear. The description of the Persian Empire as containing 127 provinces, and reaching from India to Ethiopia, can apply to no reign before that of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who is therefore taken by Ussher and others for Ahasuerus. But *Darius* is a genuine royal name, as distinct from *Ahasuerus* as his character is from the capricious tyrant of the book of Esther, and his two wives were the daughters of Cyrus and Otanes. Others fix on Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose name is, like Xerxes, the equivalent of Ahasuerus. But this hypothesis is negatived by the relations of Artaxerxes to the Jews, to whom he issues a favorable decree in the



TOMB OF ESTHER AND MORDECAI.

seventh year of his reign, while Ahasuerus, in his twelfth year, is so ignorant of the character of the nation as to be imposed upon by the calumnies of Haman; nor does the character of the latter agree with that of Ataxerxes. Any later king is out of the question. Being thus brought back to Xerxes, whose name is the Greek form of Ahasuerus, it only remains to compare the dates of the book of

Esther with the history of his reign, the leading events of which are, his accession in B. C. 486 (Dec. 23), his expedition to Greece in his sixth year, B. C. 480, and his death at the end of his twenty-first year, B. C. 465 (Dec. 17). Now the great feast of Ahasuerus, at which Vashti refused to appear, was in the third year of his reign, B. C. 483, the very year in which Xerxes held a great assembly to arrange the Grecian war, and his marriage with Esther was in his seventh year, B. C. 479, the year after the expedition to Greece, when Xerxes might naturally seek in his harem some consolation for his repulse. But Amestris, who was the daughter of Otanes, the uncle of Xerxes, had been his wife long before the expedition to Greece, in which her sons were old enough to accompany him, and the eldest of them, Darius, married at the very time of his father's marriage to Esther. For all these reasons Esther cannot be Amestris; and, considering the polygamy of the Persian kings, it is not surprising that Herodotus should mention only two of the wives of Xerxes, and the book of Esther two others. The affairs of Xerxes after his flight from Greece are only noticed by the Greek historians as they affect the Hellenic race.

B. C. 458. These events at the court, and the elevation of Mordecai to the post of prime minister, must have had a favorable influence on the affairs of the restored Jews; but we have no further details of their history till Ezra appears upon the scene, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus), B. C. 458. EZRA occupies a place toward the end of the history of the Old Covenant, resembling in many respects that of Moses at the beginning. He was a priest descended from the line of the later high-priests. His father Seraiah was the grandson of Hilkiyah, high-priest in the reign of Josiah. Ezra was especially distinguished for his knowledge of the Scriptures, "a ready scribe in the law of Moses." Living at Babylon, he gained the favor of Artaxerxes, and obtained from him a commission to go up to Jerusalem. The restored Jews had already fallen into great declension, and Ezra's study in God's law had stirred him up to a work of reformation; "For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of Jehovah, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments." Every step he takes is marked by some devout acknowledgment of the help of God "according to the good hand of his God upon him."

The king's commission invited all the Israelites and priests and Levites in the whole empire who so wished to go with Ezra, who was sent by the king and his seven councillors to inquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem; bearing offerings from the king and his coun-

cillors and freewill-offerings from the people, to buy sacrifices and to decorate the Temple, besides vessels for its service. All the treasurers beyond the Euphrates were commanded to supply his wants, and the priests and ministers of the temple were exempted from taxation. Ezra was commanded to appoint and instruct magistrates and judges over the people beyond the river, with authority to punish, even to death, all who broke the law of God and the king.

Ezra set out from Babylon with his companions, to the number of six thousand, including many children, on the first day of the first month (end of March, B. C. 458). The journey occupied exactly four months, including a halt for three days at Ahava, where he collected his caravan, and obtained an accession of two hundred and twenty Nethinim from Iddo, the chief of the Levites at Casiphia. Ashamed to ask a guard from the king, whom he had assured of God's power to protect them, Ezra kept a fast at Ahava to pray for a prosperous journey; and this second caravan arrived safe at Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month (end of July, B. C. 458). After resting three days the treasure and vessels were delivered to the priests, burnt sacrifices were offered by the returned exiles, and the king's commissions were delivered to all the satraps west of the Euphrates.

On applying himself to the work of reformation, Ezra found the people already infected with the evil that had proved the root of all former mischief, intermarriage with the idolatrous nations around them. His first care was to impress them with the enormity of the sin. The example of his public mourning and prayer led some of the chief persons to come forward, and at their suggestion the whole people were summoned to Jerusalem on penalty of forfeiture and expulsion from the congregation. They assembled on the twentieth day of the ninth month (December, B. C. 458) amid a storm of rain, and, having confessed their sin, they proceeded to the remedy with order and deliberation. All the strange wives were put away, including even those who had borne children, by the beginning of the new year (end of March, B. C. 457). At this point the account of Ezra's proceedings ends abruptly with the book that bears his name, and he does not appear again till thirteen years later, as the associate of Nehemiah. To the period of Ezra's reform should probably be referred the later prophecies of Zechariah, which relate to the declension, rejection, and ultimate restoration of the Jews, and to the glories of the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

B. C. 445. In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (B. C. 445) grievous tidings from Jerusalem reached the royal winter residence

at Shushan. Whether Ezra had returned after executing his commission, or whether the instability of the Jews and the malice of their enemies had been too much for him, things were in a worse state than at any time since the Captivity. The people of Judæa were in affliction and reproach, the wall of Jerusalem was still broken down and the gates burned, as they had been left by Nebuchadnezzar. This news was brought by Hanani and other Jews of Judæa to NEHEMIAH, the son of Hachaliah, who appears to have belonged to the tribe of Judah, and who held the office of cup-bearer to Artaxerxes. Overwhelmed with the tidings, he fasted, and prayed God to incline the king's heart to grant his desire to help his brethren. At the end of four months (Chisleu to Nisan, November to March, B. C. 444) an



WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

opportunity offered itself, on the king's observing his cup-bearer's sadness. Nehemiah explained its cause, and obtained leave of absence for a fixed time, with letters to the governors west of the Euphrates to aid his journey, and to Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest, to supply him with timber. Already, before his arrival at Jerusalem, he became aware of the hostility of Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the

Ammonite, but he only resolved to do his work with the greater speed. After the usual three days of rest or purification he took a private view of the city by night, and then summoned the rulers to the work. Led on by the high-priest Eliashib, all of them, except the nobles of the Tekoites, labored heart and hand at their regularly appointed stations. The wall soon rose, and the gateways were rebuilt.

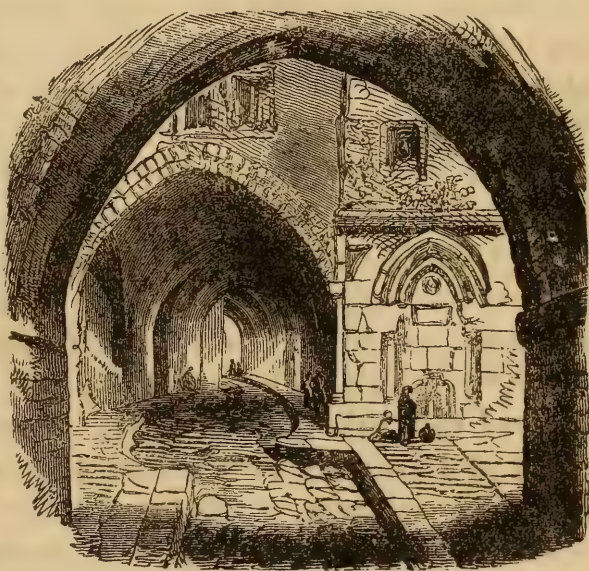
But now Sanballat and Tobiah, who had at first scorned the idea of the feeble Jews fortifying their city, and had mocked at their wall as too weak for a fence against jackals, became seriously alarmed. A conspiracy was formed of the Arabians and Ammonites and the Philistines of Ashdod, for an attack upon Jerusalem before the forti-

fication was complete. Warned by the Jews who dwelt among them, Nehemiah called the people to arms behind the half-finished bulwarks. This attitude of resistance disconcerted the plot; but henceforth half of the people remained under arms, while the other half labored at the work, girded with their swords. Nehemiah kept a trumpeter always by his side to sound the alarm, and neither he nor his guard put off their clothes except for washing.

Amid all this anxiety, he found time for internal reform.

B. C. 444-433. The unsettled state of the nation, and the pressure of the

king's tribute, had reduced the poorer citizens to destitution. They had mortgaged their lands and vineyards to their brethren, who, moreover, exacted usury from them contrary to the law, and many of them were sinking, with their families, into slavery through their debts. In a solemn assembly Nehemiah rebuked the unmerciful creditors and usurers, and bound them by an oath to release the persons and lands of their debtors. He himself set the example of disinterestedness; keeping a table for one hundred and fifty Jews, besides any who returned from exile from time to time, and yet declining to draw the allowance which had been paid to previous governors, during



STREET IN JERUSALEM.

the whole twelve years of his rule (B. C. 445-433).

When Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem saw that the walls were finished, the breaches repaired, and that only the gates remained to be hung, they began new plots. Unhappily they were aided by a party of the nobles of Judah, turbulent and rebellious as ever, with whom Tobiah and his son Johanan were connected by family alliances. Their scheme was to frighten Nehemiah with a charge of suspected treason. Having failed to entrap him by the proposal of a conference, they wrote to him four times, and the fifth time they sent an open letter, that the charge might be made public, declaring that it was reported among the heathen nations round about that the Jews intended to rebel, and that Nehemiah was fortifying the city with the

intention of making himself king. They charged him with appointing prophets to preach the news, "There is a king in Judah," and threatened to report the whole matter to the king unless Nehemiah would grant them a conference. The prophet Shemaiah was hired to frighten Nehemiah into a step for his own protection, which would have amounted to an act of treason. He contented himself with an indignant denial of the charge made in the letters, and with appealing to the judgment of God against Shemaiah, the prophetess Noadiah, and the others who tried to frighten him.

B. C. 444. The walls being finished and the gates hung, and the porters and singers and Levites appointed to their stations, Nehemiah committed the charge of the city to his brother Hanani and to Hananiah, the ruler of the palace. The gates were kept barred till the sun was hot, and the people were arranged in watches. Such care was the more needful, as the city was still much too large for its inhabitants, and few houses were yet built. By the seventh month (Tisri=September-October, B. C. 444), that is, the beginning of the civil new year, the people were settled in their city, and Nehemiah had completed the register of their genealogies.

The ensuing month, the one especially allotted by Moses to joyful religious celebrations, was celebrated as an inauguration of the people into their new life. If not according to the calendar "the year of release," in which the law was to be read before all the people, it well deserved that title in their annals. Now, for the first time since the decree of Cyrus for their return, they could meet to worship God under the protection of their ramparts, with their new liberties, nay, their very existence as a nation, no longer at the mercy of their inveterate enemies. On the first day of the month the people were gathered as one man in the street before the water-gate, and Ezra again appears among them. At their desire he produced the *Book of the Law*, and having opened it amid marks of the deepest reverence from all the people, he read it to an audience wrapped in attention from morning to midday. The manner of reading was this: Ezra stood on a pulpit, with six Scribes or Levites on his right hand and seven on his left, who seem to have relieved him in the reading; for it is said, "*they* read in the book in the law of God *distinctly*."

The people stood in their ranks in front of the pulpit; and among them were thirteen other ministers, who, with the assistance of the Levites, "caused the people to understand the law." There can be little doubt that this phrase refers to a translation of what Ezra read in Hebrew into the mixed Chaldee dialect, which had become the

vernacular tongue during the Captivity. The book which was thus read was probably not merely the Pentateuch, but the whole body of sacred writings, which had been collected into one volume by the care of Ezra, the first great Scribe, and which formed in substance what we call the BOOK OF THE OLD COVENANT.

The reading produced an impression like that made on Josiah. All the people wept at what they heard; not only, we may well believe, with regret at the past glories of their nation, but at the recital of the sins for which that glory had departed, not unmixed with a penitent consciousness of their own guilt. But Nehemiah (who is now first mentioned in the transaction), supported by Ezra and the Levites, bade them cease their sorrow, and go home to "eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions to those for whom nothing was prepared, for the day was holy to Jehovah." The people went away to make great mirth, because they understood the words that were declared unto them. When the reading was resumed on the following day, they came to the institution of the Feast of Tabernacles in this very month of Tisri. Their excited minds caught the signal for fresh rejoicing in Jehovah. They went forth into the mount to fetch branches of olive, and pine, and myrtle, and palm, and thick trees, and made booths on the roofs and in the courts of their houses, in the Temple court and along the streets to the city gates. Such a Feast of Tabernacles had not been kept since the days of Joshua. The reading of the law was continued for all the seven days of the feast, and the eighth was a solemn assembly, as Moses had commanded.

After the burst of joy for God's mercy in restoring them, they turned to the solemn duty of humiliation and repentance for their sins. The Day of Atonement ought to have been kept on the tenth of this month. It had probably been passed over, as requiring more solemn preparation and a more orderly arrangement of the Temple-service than was yet possible. In its place a fast was held two days after the Feast of Tabernacles, on the 24th day of Tisri. All who were of the seed of Israel, carefully separating themselves from the strangers, appeared in the deepest mourning, clad in sackcloth, and with earth upon their heads. The day seems to have been divided into four equal parts, only broken by the intervals necessary for refreshment. The first three hours were devoted to the reading of the law. The morning sacrifice fitly introduced the second quarter, which was spent in silent confession and prayer. When the hour of noon was past, the Levites, arranged on the steps of the Temple porch,

or on a scaffold erected for the purpose, called upon the people to stand up and bless Jehovah. Then in a solemn hymn, the epitome of which is a fit model for all such services, they recited God's mercies from the first call of Abram; they confessed the sins of their forefathers, and God's forbearance in punishing without utterly consuming them: and they acknowledged his justice in their present state of humiliation and great distress, as servants to the kings set over them for their sins, to whom their land yielded its increase, and who had dominion over their bodies and cattle at their pleasure. Submissive to God's will, they ended by making a new covenant with him; and before the sun set, it was recorded in writing, and sealed by the princes, priests, and Levites, whose names are recorded by Nehemiah, while the rest of the people bound themselves by a curse and an oath to walk in the law which God had given by Moses. The chief points of this covenant were: To make no intermarriages with the heathen; to abstain from traffic on the Sabbath, and to keep the sabbatic year, with its release of all debts; to pay a yearly tax of a third of a shekel for the services of the sanctuary, which are carefully enumerated; to offer the first-fruits and first-born, and the tithes due to the Levites and the priests; and in one final word, "We will not forsake the house of our God." To most points of this covenant they remained faithful in the *letter*. The sins of the Jewish nation took henceforth a direction altogether different from the open-rebellion and apostasy of their fathers. The more scrupulous their observance of the law, the more did they make it void by their traditions and pervert it to serve their selfishness.

Before the people departed to their homes, it was necessary to decide who of them should fix their abode at Jerusalem, which would have been left almost without inhabitants, had all taken up their residence on their old family allotments about the several cities and villages. It is a striking proof of the attachment of the Jews to their patrimonial possessions, that the safer residence behind the walls of Jerusalem should not have been the object of competition. But it was regarded as a sacrifice to live there; "And the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem. The rulers took up their abode in the capital: and for the rest every tenth man was chosen by lot to live there." The language of Nehemiah would almost seem to imply that those of the people who belonged to *Israel* (the Ten Tribes) had their possessions assigned in the cities of Judah, and that the inhabitants of Jerusalem were taken from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. The priests and

Levites were divided in due proportions between the city and the country.

On the completion of all these arrangements a great festival was held for the *Dedication of the Wall* of Jerusalem. The priests and Levites, called together from all the cities of Judah, purified the walls and the people. The rulers were divided into two parts, which went round the walls in procession to the right and to the left, the one headed by Ezra and the other by Nehemiah, each with his train of priests and Levites, blowing the trumpets and singing thanks to God. The day was crowned with great sacrifices, and their shouts of joy sounded from the rock of Zion far and wide over the hills of Judah. The only remaining records of Nehemiah's twelve years' government relate to the provision made for the priests and Levites and singers, and the separation of the Ammonites and Moabites from the congregation, according to the sentence pronounced on them by Moses—another indication of the reconstitution of the Church of Jehovah.

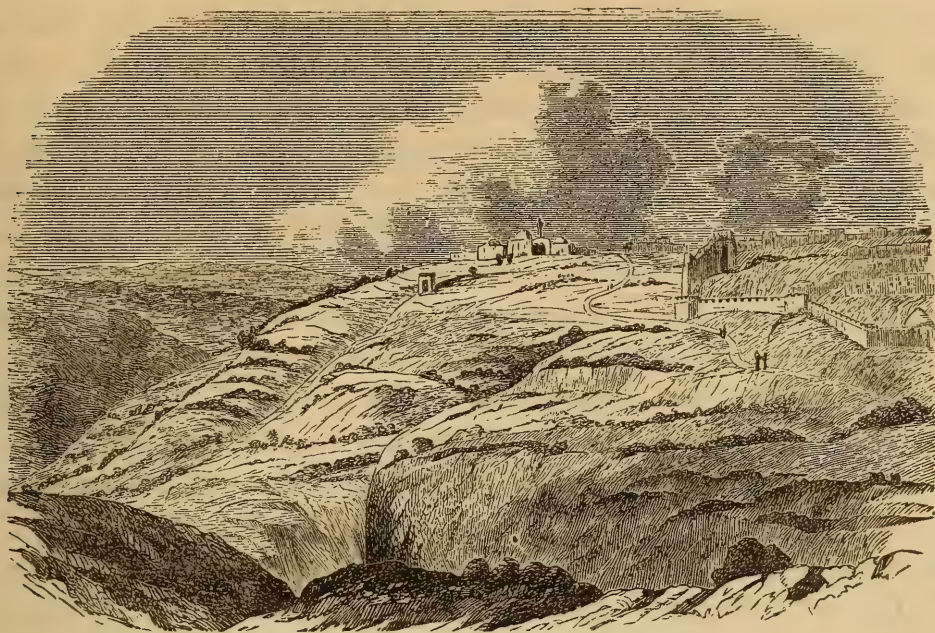
In the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B. C. 433.

B. C. 433, Nehemiah returned to the Persian court. After an interval, of what length we know not, he obtained the king's permission to go and visit Jerusalem again, in order to reform serious abuses which had grown up through the weakness of the high-priest Eliashib and the rapacity of the princes. The former had not only yielded the claims of Tobiah, which Nehemiah had so firmly resisted, while his grandson had married a daughter of the other adversary, Sanballat, but Eliashib had also prepared for Tobiah a large chamber in the court of the Temple, which had been used as a store-house for the sacred vessels, the meat-offerings, and frankincense, and the tithes of corn, wine, and oil for the Levites, all of which had been removed to make room for the furniture of Tobiah. Nehemiah cleared out the furniture, and caused the chambers of the Temple to be purified, and restored to their uses. The Levites, defrauded of their tithes, had betaken themselves to the Levitical cities, so that the Temple was deserted. Nehemiah gathered them together again, compelled the rulers to do them justice, and the people to bring the tithes, and appointed faithful treasurers. He most indignantly reproved the nobles for the profanation of the Sabbath, as the sin which had brought the wrath of God upon their fathers. In the cities of Judah wine-presses were trodden on the holy day, and the gates of Jerusalem were crowded with Tyrian and other merchants, who carried in the supplies of luxury for a great city. Nehemiah had the city gates shut from dusk till the end of the Sabbath, and guarded by his servants. At

first the merchants pitched their tents round the wall ; but Nehemiah called the Levites to guard the gates, and the Sabbath trading was abolished. His last reform dealt with the old evil of the mixed marriages, which had again been contracted with women of Ammon, Moab, and Ashdod, to such an extent that children were heard talking in a dialect half Jewish and half in the language of Ashdod. By the most energetic measures, Nehemiah exacted an oath of the offenders to abstain from all such alliances ; and he expelled from the priesthood a son of Joiada, the son of the high-priest Eliashib, for his marriage with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite.

Nehemiah's narrative of these reforms is interspersed with the frequent appeal, "Remember me, O my God, for good, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy ; wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the observances thereof." His prayer has been answered ever since in the preservation of his book as a part of Holy Scripture :—the record of pure religious zeal, tempered with that prudence which is one of the highest duties of a governor, of unbending fidelity and self-denying liberality, all for the glory and in the fear of God.

We have no further information of Nehemiah's life ; and, before returning to the important but uncertain questions relating to Ezra, a few words must be said of the Prophet, whose book ends the Scriptures of the Old Covenant, and who is thence called by the Jews "the seal of the prophets." MALACHI (the *angel* or *messenger of Jehovah*), closes the canon of the Jewish Scriptures with words rendered doubly impressive by our entire ignorance of his personal history. Like the first prophet of the New Covenant, whose preaching is an echo of his warnings, he is simply "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," and preaching repentance from flagrant sin as the one indispensable preliminary to the reception of the expected Messiah. In this view his prophecy links the Old Covenant with the New ; and the connection is made closer by his prediction of the coming of John the Baptist, as the Elijah of the new dispensation, and the forerunner of the Angel-Jehovah, the messenger of the Covenant. Already was the Jewish Church groaning under the dissolution of the first and most sacred bonds of social life ; and the new Elijah was needed to "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers," lest the expected Messiah should come only "to smite the earth with a curse." We have only to read the prophet's denunciation of rulers, priests, and people, to see that he is describing present evils, and not merely predicting some future declension.



MOUNT ZION.

These descriptions serve to fix the date of the prophecy. They agree so exactly with the state of things which Nehemiah found on the occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem, that the prophecy may be safely referred either to that period, or to a second declension, which soon followed the reforms of Nehemiah. The latter is the more probable; for had Malachi labored, as some have suggested, in conjunction with Nehemiah, in the same way in which Isaiah supported the reforms of Hezekiah, Nehemiah would surely have referred to him, as he does to the snares of the false prophets and to the support of Ezra, and as Ezra himself mentions Haggai and Zechariah. In any case, the date of Malachi falls before the end of this century (B. C. 400); and it is not at all impossible that Ezra, if he was really the author of the Scripture Canon, may have lived long enough to include in it the book of Malachi as well as that of Nehemiah.

It is disappointing to confess that the question just started must be left without a satisfactory solution. Certain it is that we cannot implicitly follow the Jewish traditions, either about Ezra's personal history or about his Biblical labors. Josephus, whose positive statements are too often adopted without inquiry, would have been generally believed when he says that Ezra died an old man, and was buried magnificently at Jerusalem, had he not placed his death before the government of Nehemiah! Another very prevalent tradition places his death in Persia, some even going so far as to name the place where he died on his return from Jerusalem to the court of Artaxerxes, and where his sepulchre might be seen.

The works ascribed to him by Jewish tradition were: The foundation of the "Great Synagogue"* of 120 members, the very mention of whose names proves the more than doubtful authenticity of the institution; the establishment of Synagogues; the authorship of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; and the collection, editing, and arrangement of the whole Jewish Scriptures in one "Canon," under the threefold division of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. In performing this work, he is assumed to have added those passages which cannot have been written by the authors whose names the books bear; such as the allusion to kings of Israel in Gen. xxxvi. 31; the account of the death and burial of Moses in the last chapter of Deuteronomy; and the many references to the state of things "at this day." He is also said to have introduced the Chaldee character (in which Hebrew is still written) in place of the old Hebrew character which is retained in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and to have added the vowel points (handed down by tradition from Moses), the divisions of the *Pesukim*, or verses, and the emendations

* According to the traditions of Rabbinic writers, a great council was appointed on the return of the Jews from Babylon to reorganize the religious life of the people. It consisted of 120 members, who were known as the men of the Great Synagogue, the successors of the prophets—themselves, in their turn, succeeded by scribes prominent individually as teachers. Ezra was recognized as president. Among the other members, in part together, in part successively, were Joshua the high-priest, Zerubbabel, and their companions, Daniel and the three "children," the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, the rulers Nehemiah and Mordecai. Their aim was to restore again the *crown*, or *glory* of Israel, *i. e.*, to reinstate in its majesty the name of God as Great, Mighty, Terrible (Deut. vii. 21, x. 17; Neh. i. 5, ix. 32; Jer. xxxii. 18; Dan. ix. 4). To this end they collected all the sacred writings of former ages and their own, and so completed the Canon of the Old Testament. Their work included the revision of the text, and this was settled by the introduction of the vowel points, which have been handed down to us by the Masoretic editors. They instituted the Feast of Purim. They organized the ritual of the synagogue. Their decrees were quoted afterward as those of the elders (the *πρεσβύτεροι* of Mark vii. 3, the *ἀρχαῖοι* of Matt. v. 21, 27, 33), the *Dibrê Sôphêrîm* (= words of the scribes), which were of more authority than the law itself.

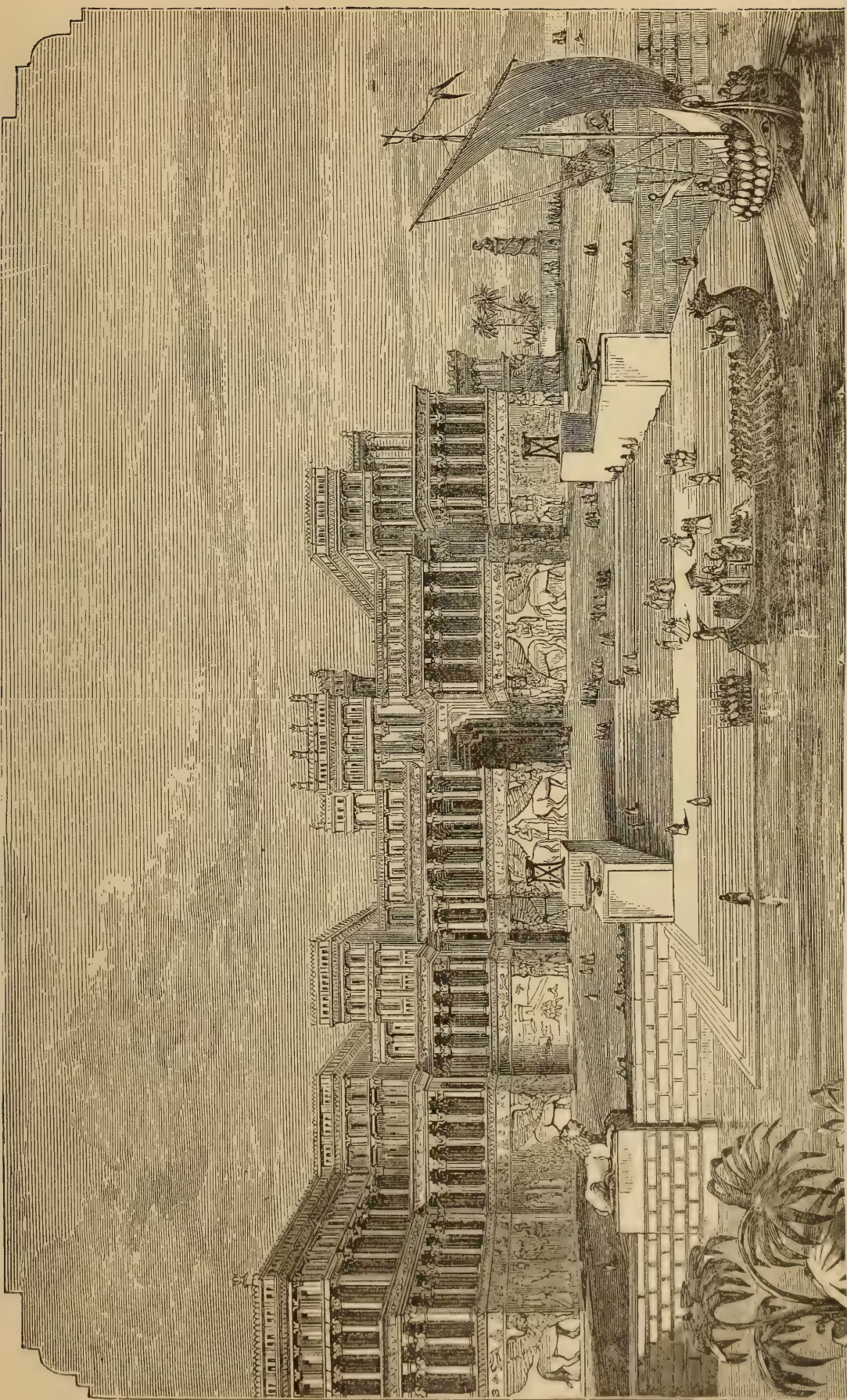
Much of this is evidently uncertain. The absence of any historical mention of such a body, not only in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, but in Josephus and Philo, has led some critics to reject the whole statement as a Rabbinic invention, resting on no other foundation than the existence, after the exile, of a Sanhedrim of seventy-one or seventy-two members, charged with supreme executive functions. The narrative of Neh. viii. 13, clearly implies the existence of a body of men acting as councillors under the presidency of Ezra, and these may have been an assembly of delegates from all provincial synagogues—a synod (to use the terminology of a later time) of the National Church.

of the *Keri*. Many of these details are the mere expressions of a desire, natural in those who seek for the authority of Scripture rather in the structure of the whole book than in the vitality of its every member, to place under the sanction of one great name the changes which must have been made on many different occasions. But the main question is, whether the present Canon of the Old Testament was, in substance, the work of Ezra. It must be remembered that such a work involved much more than the collection into one volume of books already existing in a separate form; it included the selection from the whole number of those which bore, and were to bear forever, the stamp of divine authority: for no one imagines that the Scriptures of the Old Testament form a complete collection of the ancient Hebrew literature. That such a work, having such authority, had been completed before the Christian era, is clear from the allusions to the Holy Scriptures in the New Testament; and it was most probably accomplished during the Persian domination, which ended B. C. 323. There is every reason for its having been performed at as early a period as possible. Ezra's care to make the people well acquainted with the word of God is as conspicuous as his own knowledge of it. No man could be more qualified, as no time could be more fit, for a work which was most needful to establish the people in their faith. That the work must have been performed by an inspired man, is an axiom lying at the foundation of the whole question, unless we believe, on the one hand, that the Church is endowed in every age with power to decide what Scriptures are canonical, or unless, on the other hand, we give up a *canon*, in the proper sense of the word, and reduce the authority of Scripture to that which literary criticism can establish for its separate books. On this ground, none but Ezra can be the author of the Canon; for no one has ever thought of ascribing the work to Nehemiah, the civil governor and man of action; and the only claim made for Malachi is the addition of his own prophecy to the Canon already framed by Ezra, and even this supposition we have seen to be unnecessary, as Ezra may have been the survivor. The attempt to ascribe the work to some unknown inspired person later than Malachi is an example of the *argumentum ab ignorantia*, which has no weight against the evidence of what is known.

It is generally supposed that, in connection with the B. C. 400? work of completing the Canon, Ezra composed or collected that wonderful series of meditations on the worth and power of the Word of God which are contained in the cxixth Psalm. The whole tenor of that Psalm is a powerful argument for the existence of a

Canon of Scripture at the time of its composition. Some also ascribe the first Psalm to Ezra.

While the restored Jews were thus completing the fabric of their religion, the irregular worship of the Samaritans assumed the form of an organized schism by the erection of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim. The circumstances under which this happened are so obscured by Josephus with fabulous details and chronological inconsistencies, that we can depend on him for little more than the existence of such a temple, a fact of which we have ample confirmatory evidence. He transposes to the reign of Darius Codomannus, the last king of Persia, transactions which seem to have arisen out of those recorded in the book of Nehemiah. We have seen that the ruler's last act of reform was the expulsion of one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, who had married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite; and here our information from the Scripture narrative ceases. Now Josephus is altogether silent about Sanballat, the great adversary of Nehemiah, but he gives a long account of another Sanballat, a governor of Samaria under Darius Codomannus, who had a daughter married to Manasseh, the brother of the high-priest Jaddua (grandson of Joiada). This Manasseh, he says, being expelled from the priesthood for his marriage, fled to his father-in-law, Sanballat, and, after negotiations with Darius and Alexander, they erected a temple on Mount Gerizim. Manasseh, who became the first high-priest, was joined by numerous priests and Levites, who had refused to put away their heathen wives, and a system of worship was organized on Mount Gerizim resembling that of the Jewish Temple. The silence of Josephus about the Sanballat of Nehemiah's time, and the resemblance between the banishment of his Manasseh and that of the son of Joiada, added to the very improbable details with which he has embellished his story, make the conclusion almost irresistible that his Manasseh was the son of Joiada, and his Sanballat the contemporary of Nehemiah; but the time of the erection of the temple on Gerizim may still be an open question. This much is certain, that such a temple was built as an assertion of the religious independence of the Samaritans, and that this act of schism formed the climax to the hostility between them and the Jews. The temple was destroyed by John Hyrcanus (about B. C. 109). It was to this sanctuary, as well as to the ancient sacrifices of the patriarchs at Shechem, that the Samaritan woman referred in the words—"Our fathers worshipped in this mountain."



ROYAL PALACE AT NINEVEH.

PART II.
THE APOCRYPHAL HISTORY.

FROM THE RETURN OF THE JEWS FROM BABYLON,
TO THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT.

BOOK VII.

CONNECTION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT HISTORIES; AND
SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS TO THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN
OF HEROD.

[B. C. 400—4.]

CHAPTER XXV.

FROM NEHEMIAH TO THE PERSECUTION OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES

[B. C. 400—168.]

THE interval of four centuries, from the close of the records of the Old Covenant to the events which heralded the birth of Jesus Christ, may be divided into four periods:—the continuance of the Persian dominion, till B. C. 331; the Greek empire in Asia, B. C. 331–167; the independence of Judæa under the Asmonæan princes, B. C. 167–63; and the rule of the house of Herod, commencing in B. C. 40, and extending beyond the Christian era to the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70.

B. C.
400–382. The last two periods also include the relations of Judæa to Rome. There is little that possesses any great intrinsic interest, except the struggle of the Maccabees for religion and liberty against Antiochus Epiphanes; but the whole period demands our notice as a preparation for understanding the state in which we find the Jews at the opening of the New Testament, their moral and political condition, their views and opinions, their sects and parties.

The first two of these periods—a space just equal to that from the death of Elizabeth to the accession of Victoria in England—form almost

a blank in the history of the Jews. They seem to have been content to develop their internal resources and their religious institutions under the mild government of Persia. We cannot decide how far the princes of Judah retained any remnant of their patriarchal authority, but from the time of Nehemiah the HIGH-PRIEST became the most important person in the state; and the internal government grew more and more of a hierarchy. In the genealogies of the period, the Levites were recorded as the chief of the fathers. The high-priests from the time of Nehemiah to the end of the empire under Darius

Codomannus were Eliashib, Joiada, Jonathan (or Johanan), and Jaddua.



THE HIGH-PRIEST IN FULL DRESS.

Eliashib, the high-priest in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, was succeeded by his son JOIADA, and he by his son JONATHAN or JOHANAN (John), down to whose time the heads of the tribe of Levi were entered in the Chronicles of Judah, which seem therefore to have ended with his priesthood.

The high-priesthood
 B. C. 382-367. of Jonathan, which lasted thirty-two years, chiefly in the long reign of Artaxerxes II., Mnemon (B. C. 405-359), was stained by the first of those acts of murderous rivalry, which afterward brought the state to anarchy. His brother, Joshua (Jesus), who was suspected of aiming at the high-priesthood by the favor of Bagoses the Persian satrap, was slain by

Jonathan in the Temple. The satrap punished the murder by a tax of fifty shekels on every lamb offered in sacrifice, and polluted the Temple by his presence. But even in so doing, the Persian taught the Jews the much-needed lesson afterward enforced by a far higher authority: "Am not I purer," he said, "than the dead body of him whom ye have slain in the Temple?"

This crime forms the only memorable event in the annals of Judæa, from the government of Nehemiah to the Macedonian conquest, if we

except a doubtful account that the country was chastised, and a number of Jews carried captive to Babylon, for their alleged participation in the revolt of the Sidonians under Artaxerxes Ochus (B. C. 351).

JADDUA, the son and successor of Jonathan, is the last B. C. 350. of the high-priests mentioned in the Old Testament; and his is the latest name on the Old Testament, with the doubtful exception of a few in the genealogies prefixed to the Chronicles. Its insertion in the book of Nehemiah is a guide to the time when the Canon of the Old Testament was finally closed.

Eusebius assigns twenty years to the pontificate of Jaddua, who was high-priest both under Darius Codomannus (B. C. 336–331) and after the fall of the Persian empire. Josephus tells a romantic story of an interview between Juddua and Alexander the Great. While Alexander was besieging Tyre, he sent to demand the submission of the Jews, who answered that they were the faithful vassals of Darius (B. C. 332). After taking Gaza, Alexander marched against Jerusalem. Jaddua, by the command of God in a vision, hung the city with garlands, and went forth in solemn procession to meet the con-



THE BREASTPLATE OF THE HIGH-PRIEST.

queror at Sapha (the *watch*), an eminence in full sight of the city and the Temple. On seeing the high-priest in his state robes, the priests in their sacred dresses, and the people clothed in white, Alexander fell prostrate in adoration, and rising, embraced the high-priest. To the remonstrances of Parmenio he replied that he worshipped, not the priest, but the NAME engraved upon his frontlet, and that he recognised in him a figure that had appeared to him in a vision in Mace-

donia, and bidden him to conquer Persia. Entering Jerusalem, he offered sacrifice, and was shown the prophecies of Daniel relating to himself. He granted the Jews, not only in Judæa, but also in Media and Babylonia, the free enjoyment of their own laws, and exemption from tribute during the Sabbatic year. The story is discredited by the best critics on account of its internal improbabilities, approaching to contradictions, and the silence of the historians of Alexander. The statement of Justin, that on Alexander's advance into Syria he was met by many Eastern princes with their diadems, affords some confirmation to the story of the high-priest's coming out to meet him in person. It is certain that Jerusalem and Judæa submitted to the conqueror, and there are traces subsequently of the privileges he is said to have granted to the Jews. Alexander's homage to Jehovah, and his pleasure at being named as the instrument of destiny, are points thoroughly consistent with his character. There is nothing improbable in his having received the submission of Judæa from the high-priest and princes about the time of the siege of Gaza. At all events, Jerusalem was too important to have been passed over by Alexander himself, as it is by the historians. He enlisted Jewish soldiers, and removed a large number of Jews to Egypt, to aid in peopling his new city of Alexandria.

The Samaritans are said to have claimed the same privileges as the Jews, which Alexander refused to grant. Hence probably arose the rebellion in which they murdered the Macedonian governor, Andromachus, and which Alexander punished by the destruction of Samaria. Palestine thenceforth remained quiet under Alexander, who died in B. C. 323.

The Macedonian conqueror must not, however, be dismissed without some further notice of his real place in Jewish history, and in the sacred history of the world—a place not dependent on any incidental circumstances, such as his visit to Jerusalem.

In the prophetic visions of Daniel the influence of Alexander is necessarily combined with that of his successors. They represented the several phases of his character; and to the Jews nationally, the policy of the Syrian kings was of greater importance than the original conquest of Asia. But some traits of "the first mighty king" are given with vigorous distinctness. The emblem by which he is typified suggests the notions of strength and speed; and the universal extent and marvellous rapidity of his conquests are brought forward as the characteristics of his power, which was directed by the strongest personal impetuosity. He "ruled with great dominion, and did

according to his will ; and there was none that could deliver . . . out of his hand."

The tradition of his visit to Jerusalem, whether true or false to fact, presents an aspect of Alexander's character which has been frequently lost sight of by his recent biographers. He was not simply a Greek, nor must he be judged by a Greek standard. The Orientalism, which was a scandal to his followers, was a necessary deduction from his principles, and not the result of caprice or vanity. He approached the idea of a universal monarchy from the side of Greece, but his final object was to establish something higher than the paramount supremacy of one people. His purpose was to combine and equalize—not to annihilate: to wed the East and West in a just union—not to enslave Asia to Greece. The time, indeed, was not yet come when this was possible ; but if he could not accomplish the great issue, he prepared the way for its accomplishment.

The first and most direct consequence of the policy of Alexander was the weakening of nationalities, the first condition necessary for the dissolution of the old religions. The swift course of his victories, the constant incorporation of foreign elements in his armies, the fierce wars and changing fortunes of his successors, broke down the barriers by which kingdom had been separated from kingdom, and opened the road for larger conceptions of life and faith than had hitherto been possible. The contact of the East and West brought out into practical forms thoughts and feelings which had been confined to the schools. Paganism was deprived of life as soon as it was transplanted beyond the narrow limits in which it took its shape. The spread of commerce followed the progress of arms ; and the Greek language and literature vindicated their claim to be considered the most perfect expression of human thought by becoming practically universal.

The Jews were at once most exposed to the powerful influences thus brought to bear upon the East, and most able to support them. In the arrangement of the Greek conquests, which followed the battle of Ipsus, B. C. 301, Judæa was made the frontier land of the rival empires of Syria and Egypt ; and though it was necessarily subjected to the constant vicissitudes of war, it was able to make advantageous terms with the state to which it owed allegiance, from the important advantages which it offered for attack or defence. Internally also the people were prepared to withstand the effects of the revolution which the Greek dominion effected. The constitution of Ezra had obtained its full development. A powerful hierarchy had succeeded in substituting the idea of a church for that of a state, and the Jew was now able to

wander over the world and yet remain faithful to the God of his fathers. The same constitutional change had strengthened the intellectual and religious position of the people. A rigid fence of ritualism protected the course of common life from the license of Greek manners; and the great doctrine of the unity of God, which was now seen to be the divine centre of their system, counteracted the attractions of a philosophic pantheism. Through a long course of discipline, in which they had been left unguided by prophetic teaching, the Jews had realized the nature of their mission to the world, and were waiting for the means of fulfilling it. The conquest of Alexander furnished them with the occasion and the power. But at the same time the example of Greece fostered personal as well as popular independence. Judaism was speedily divided into sects, analogous to the typical forms of Greek philosophy. But even the rude analysis of the old faith was productive of good. The freedom of Greece was no less instrumental in forming the Jews for their final work, than the contemplative spirit of Persia, or the civil organization of Rome; for if the career of Alexander was rapid, its effects were lasting. The city which he chose to bear his name perpetuated in after ages the office which he providentially discharged for Judaism and mankind; and the historian of Christianity must confirm the judgment of Arrian, that Alexander, "who was like no other man, could not have been given to the world without the special design of Providence." And Alexander himself appreciated this design better even than his great teacher; for it is said that when Aristotle urged him to treat the Greeks as freemen and the Orientals as slaves, he found the true answer to this counsel in the recognition of his divine mission to unite and reconcile the world.

B. C. 330. Jaddua was succeeded, some time before the death of Alexander, by his son ONIAS I., who was high-priest from about B. C. 330 to B. C. 309, or, according to Eusebius, B. C. 300. In the division of the empire of Alexander, Palestine was treated, as it had always been considered by the Greeks, as a part of Syria; and so it fell to the lot of Laomedon, who was dispossessed, in B. C. 321-320, by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, the powerful satrap of Egypt. Ptolemy took Jerusalem by assaulting it on the Sabbath, when the Jews would offer no resistance. He carried off a large number of Jewish and Samaritan captives to Alexandria, where he gave them the full citizenship; and many others migrated to Egypt of their own accord. In the wars that followed, Palestine was alternately the prize of victory to Antigonos and Ptolemy, till the peace which followed the battle of Ipsus assigned it to Ptolemy, with Phœnicia

and Cœlesyria, as a dependency of the kingdom of Egypt, B. C. 301. It was subject to the first five Ptolemies for about a century, B. C. 301–198. The sufferings inflicted upon Palestine and Phœnicia by the wars of the *Diadochi* (as the successors of Alexander were called in Greek) were almost confined to the maritime regions, where the strong cities, such as Gaza, Joppa, and Tyre, were the chief objects of contention. As in the old wars between Assyria and Egypt, Jerusalem lay out of the direct track of the combatants.

Just after the battle of Ipsus, the high-priesthood passed B. C. 300. to SIMON I. THE JUST, son of Onias I. (about B. C. 300–292). Jewish tradition makes him the greatest of this later line of priests. In the magnificent eulogy of Jesus the son of Sirach, Simon is said to have fortified the Temple, doubling the height of the wall, and to have maintained the divine service in the highest splendor. “When he put on the robe of honor, and was clothed with the perfection of glory, when he went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honorable.” Other traditions make Simon the last survivor of the *Great Synagogue* of 120, who returned with Ezra from the Babylonish Captivity, and ascribe to him the final completion of their great work, the Canon of the Old Testament. They were succeeded by the *New Synagogue*, whose office was to interpret the Scriptures thus completed. Its founder was Antigonus Socho, the first writer of the *Mishna*. He is said to have received from Simon the Just the body of oral tradition handed down from Moses. To him also is ascribed the doctrine, that God ought to be served disinterestedly, and not for the sake of reward; which was perverted by one of his disciples into the denial of all future rewards and punishments. That disciple was Zadok (or Sadduc), founder of the *Sadducees*. But the tradition rests on insufficient evidence, and the etymology is extremely doubtful.

The fondness with which Jewish tradition regarded the priesthood of Simon, as the best period of the restored theocracy, is indicated by the prodigies which were said to have heralded impending disaster at its close. “The sacrifices, which were always favorably accepted during his life, at his death became uncertain or unfavorable. The scape-goat, which used to be thrown from a rock, and to be dashed immediately to pieces, escaped (a fearful omen) into the desert. The great west light of the golden chandelier no longer burned with a steady flame—sometimes it was extinguished. The sacrificial fire languished; the sacrificial bread failed, so as not to suffice, as formerly, for the whole priesthood.”



SHEKEL OF THE SANCTUARY.

Simon the Just was succeeded by his brother ELEAZAR, his son Onias being under age (B. C. 292–251). His long rule seems to have been profoundly tranquil, under the mild governments of Ptolemy I. Soter (the son of Lagus), and PTOLEMY II. PHILADELPHUS, who succeeded his father in B. C. 285, and reigned till B. C. 247.

To this king's literary tastes, and to the co-operation of Eleazar, the tradition preserved by Aristeeas ascribes the Greek Version of the Jewish Scriptures, which is called the SEPTUAGINT, from its seventy or seventy-two translators. Much as there is erroneous and even fabulous in the tradition, there can be no doubt that the first portion of the translation was executed at this time by learned Jews at Alexandria. The work marks an important epoch in Jewish history; not merely the embodiment of the sacred writings in a form in which they might act upon the Gentile world, but, conversely, the growing strength of those influences which are denoted by the general name of *Hellenism*. The conquests of Alexander, and the kingdoms founded by his successors in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, had led to a most powerful infusion of Greek population, manners, literature, art, and religion throughout Western Asia, and Greek was rapidly becoming a universal language in that region. The Jews of Egypt, whose numbers, from the successive migrations we have noticed, were now very large, had doubtless become so far *hellenized*, that a Greek version of the Scriptures may have been as much needed for their use as for Ptolemy's curiosity. Thus it happened, in the Divine Providence, that the growth of Oriental Hellenism prepared the way for the spread of Christianity, not only by imbuing half the world with a common civilization and a common language, but by providing in that language the sacred standard of divine truth, by which the Messiah's claims were to be established, and the words of which he

was to fulfil. But meanwhile that same Hellenism brought upon the Jews a new series of national trials. The Jews of Palestine appear to have been thus far singularly free from hellenizing tendencies; but the time soon came when their exemption was no longer preserved.

After the successive rules of his uncles Eleazar and B. C. 240. Manasseh, ONIAS II. at length entered on the high-priesthood in B. C. 240. He endangered the long friendship with Egypt by neglecting to pay the annual tribute of twenty talents to PTOLEMY III. EUERGETES, who had succeeded his father in B. C. 247. The high-priest's unseasonable avarice led to the first interruption of that kindly policy which the first three Ptolemies had uniformly preserved toward Judæa, and he was too indolent to obey the summons to answer for his conduct, under the threat of invasion. An open rupture was only averted by the policy of the high-priest's nephew, JOSEPH, the son of Tobias, who forms as great a contrast to his uncle, as Antipater and Herod afterward did to the imbecile Hyrcanus. Joseph borrowed the money for his journey from some rich Samaritans, and travelled to Alexandria in the company of certain Phœnician merchants, from whom he learned the sum they intended to bid for the farming of the tribute of Palestine, Phœnicia, and Cœlesyria. Having succeeded in appeasing Ptolemy by representing the weakness of Onias, Joseph offered to double the sum of 8000 talents, at which the merchants proposed to farm the revenues; and, when asked for his sureties, named the king and queen themselves, secure in the progress he had made in the royal favor. He obtained the contract. By a few severe examples, as at Ascalon and Scythopolis, he succeeded in discharging his office, and in establishing a civil authority side by side with that of the high-priest. His rule lasted for twenty-two years, and the power which he had set up in the state became a source of evils as great as the danger from which he had delivered it.

Onias II. died in B. C. 226, and was succeeded by his B. C. 226. son SIMON II.; and four years later the crown of Egypt passed to PTOLEMY IV. PHILOPATOR (B. C. 222-205). Meanwhile the rival kingdom of the Seleucidæ, in Syria, had reached the climax of its power, and the throne had just been ascended by the most ambitious of its kings, ANTIOCHUS III. THE GREAT (B. C. 223-187). He made war on Ptolemy for the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlesyria, and Palestine; but was defeated at the battle of Raphia, near Gaza, B. C. 217. After this victory, Ptolemy went to Jerusalem; and, not content with offering sacrifices, he entered the Holy of Holies, whence

he is said to have been driven out by a supernatural terror. He gave vent to his resentment by a cruel persecution of the Jews at Alexandria, the first example of such a measure for nearly 200 years. Its consequence was the alienation of the Jews both of Palestine and Egypt.

The death of Ptolemy Philopator, when his son PTOLEMY V. EPIPHANES (B. C. 205–181) was only five years old, gave a new opening to the ambition of Antiochus the Great. That king, who had been occupied for the last twelve years in subduing a revolt in Asia Minor and attempting in vain to recover the provinces beyond the Tigris from the Parthians and Bactrians, formed a league with PHILIP V. OF MACEDON, for the partition of Ptolemy's dominions. After a fierce contest, in which Judæa suffered severely, Antiochus became master of Coele Syria and Palestine (B. C. 198). The Jews, who had again been ill-treated by Scopas, the general of Ptolemy, welcomed Antiochus as a deliverer. He granted them an annual sum for the sacrifices, and forbade foreigners to enter the temple.

In the same year, Simon II. was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son ONIAS III. (B. C. 198–171). The conquered provinces were restored to Ptolemy Epiphanes as the dowry of his bride, Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus; but the Syrian king did not give up their possession; and he resumed them altogether by the treaty with Rome in B. C. 188. He lost his life in the following year. It is under his son and successor, SELEUCUS IV. PHILOPATOR (B. C. 187–175), that the writer of the second book of Maccabees places the attempt of Heliodorus to seize the treasures of the Temple, and his miraculous repulse. The story, of which Josephus knows nothing, illustrates the tendency of apocryphal writers to adorn their books with feeble imitations of the miracles recorded in the Scriptures. All we know for certain is, that Onias could scarcely maintain his favor with Seleucus against the machinations of Simon, the treasurer of the Temple, who is said to have instigated the sacrilege; and the bloody feud thus commenced between the partisans of the high-priest and those of Simon hastened the calamities that followed the transfer of the supremacy to Syria.

The accession of ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES (B. C. 175–164) secured the triumph of the Syrian party in Judæa. This prince, whose conduct, as well as his end, gained him the nickname of *Epimanes* (the madman), had been sent by his father, Antiochus the Great, as a hostage to Rome. He returned with a contempt for his subjects added to that love of oriental luxury which the

kings of Syria had now acquired; but his vices might have been chiefly dangerous to himself had not his Roman education inflamed the ambition which he inherited from his father. He found the Jewish high-priest at Antioch, whither Onias had gone to clear himself from the accusations of Simon, which were backed by the hostility of Apollonius, the governor of Cœlesyria. The Greek party were represented, not only by Simon, but by the high-priest's own brother, Joshua (Jesus), who went so far as to adopt the Greek name of Jason. By an enormous bribe in money and promises of annual tribute, JASON (B. C. 175–172) obtained the high-priesthood, while Onias III. was deposed, and detained at Antioch. For the first time, Greek customs were openly introduced into Judæa, with a success which shows to what an extent the Jews had already become hellenized in spirit. Not content with surrendering the privileges of free worship obtained from former kings, and neglecting the services of the Temple, Jason built a gymnasium, where the Jewish youth practised the Greek athletic exercises, some of them even obliterating the mark of circumcision. Jason also sent representatives to the quinquennial games of the Tyrian Hercules, with large presents, which even his envoys scrupled to apply to the heathen sacrifices, but bestowed them for building ships.

In three years, however, Jason was in his turn undermined by MENELAUS (B. C. 172–168), whom he had sent to Antioch with the tribute, and who obtained the high-priesthood by flattering the king's vanity and offering a higher bribe. He arrived at Jerusalem, "having the fury of a cruel tyrant and the rage of a wild beast," while Jason fled to the Ammonites. Unable to raise the money he had promised, Menelaus was summoned to Antioch. He sold some of the vessels of the Temple to the Tyrians, in order to bribe Andronicus, who governed Antioch during the king's absence in Cilicia. The deposed high-priest, Onias, who was still at Antioch, charged Menelaus with the sacrilege, and fled for sanctuary to the sacred grove of Daphne. At the instigation of Menelaus, Andronicus enticed Onias from the sanctuary and put him to death (B. C. 171). Antiochus, who returned about this time, was moved to pity by the blameless character of Onias; and, perceiving doubtless the treasonable schemes of Andronicus, he put the murderer to death. Meanwhile a great tumult had broken out at Jerusalem, in consequence of the sacrileges committed by Lysimachus, the brother and deputy of Menelaus. Lysimachus was killed, and Menelaus was accused before Antiochus, when he reached Tyre on his way to attack Egypt; but

Menelaus escaped through bribery, and his accusers were punished for the insurrection.

We must here glance at the relations of Syria toward Egypt. PTOLEMY VI. PHILOMETOR was an infant when he succeeded his father in B. C. 181; but the government was ably conducted by his mother Cleopatra, the sister of Antiochus Epiphanes. Her death (B. C. 173) led to a war with Syria, and Antiochus successfully conducted four campaigns against Egypt (B. C. 171–168), from which he only retired on the haughty mandate of the Roman ambassador, M. Popillius Lænas. During the second of these campaigns (B.C. 170), a report was spread of the king's death. Jason attacked Jerusalem at the head of 1000 men, and drove Menelaus into the citadel; but, after great cruelties against the citizens, he was compelled to fly to the land of Ammon. Thence he fled to Egypt, and afterward to Sparta, where he sought protection on some claim of kindred, and there he "perished in a strange land." Meanwhile his attempt had the most extraordinary consequences in the history of the Jews.

Antiochus was led to believe that Judæa had revolted, an idea no doubt encouraged by Manelaus, in order to get rid of his own enemies. The king returned from Egypt in a state of fury; took Jerusalem by storm, slaying young and old, women and maidens. Forty thousand fell in the conflict, and as many were sold into slavery. Guided by Menelaus, he entered the temple, profaned the altar by the sacrifice of a swine, and having caused part of its flesh to be boiled, he sprinkled the broth over the whole sanctuary, and polluted the Holy of Holies with filth. He carried off the sacred vessels and other treasures, to the amount of 1800 talents, and returned to Antioch, leaving a savage Phrygian, named Philip, as his governor at Jerusalem, and Andronicus at Gerizim, where the Samaritan temple seems to have been profaned in like manner. Menelaus, who is stigmatized as the worst of all the three, is not again named in the books of Maccabees. His subsequent death under Antiochus Eupator was regarded as a judgment for his crimes (B. C. 163).

Two years later (B. C. 168) Antiochus vented upon Judæa B. C. 168. the exasperation of his dismissal from Egypt. Policy too, as well as passion, may have urged him to destroy a province now thoroughly disaffected, and likely soon to fall into the power of Egypt. Apollonius, the old enemy of the Jews, was sent to Jerusalem at the head of 22,000 men, with orders to slay all the male adults, and to seize the women and children. Pretending that his mission was friendly, he waited till the Sabbath, and then fell upon the unresist-

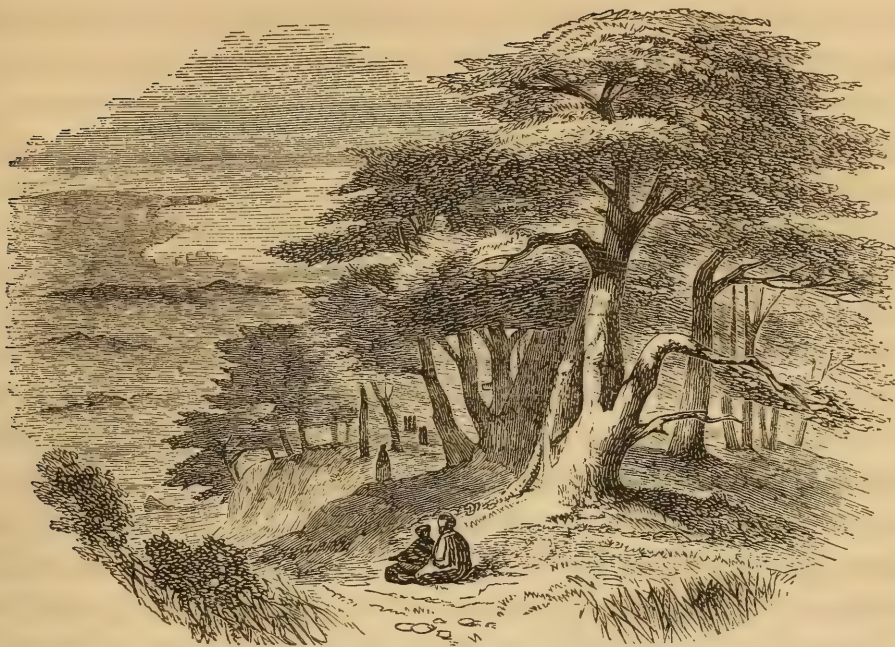
ing people. A frightful massacre took place: the city was pillaged and set on fire: its fortifications were dismantled: and a tower was erected on Mount Zion, overlooking both the temple and the city, from which the garrison sallied forth upon all who dared to resort to the deserted sanctuary. Then followed one of the severest persecutions recorded in the history of religion. Antiochus issued an edict for uniformity of worship throughout his dominions, and committed its execution in Samaria and Judæa to an old man named Athenæus, one of those fanatics who have been produced by heathenism, as well as by religions that claim a more earnest faith. A strong element of such fanaticism may be traced in the character of Antiochus himself. While his quick and versatile Greek temperament, trained in Roman ideas of power, and corrupted by oriental luxury, led him to indulge in all the vices and freaks for which despotism supplied the means—at one time rioting through the streets of Antioch with his boon companions, at another going through a mock canvass for the Roman magistracies, and pretending to hold them—he was all the while a munificent and bigoted supporter of the Greek worship. “The admirers,” says Dean Milman, “of the mild genius of the Grecian religion, and those who suppose religious persecution unknown in the world to the era of Christianity, would do well to consider the wanton and barbarous attempt of Antiochus to exterminate the religion of the Jews and substitute that of the Greeks.”

The Samaritans submitted without resistance, and their temple on Mount Gerizim was dedicated to Zeus Xenius. At Jerusalem Athenæus began his work by converting the sanctuary into a temple of Zeus Olympius. Its courts were polluted by the most licentious orgies; the altar was loaded with abominable offerings; and the old idolatry of Baal was re-established in the obscene form in which it had been carried to Greece—the phallic revels of Dionysus. The copies of the Book of the Law were either destroyed, or profaned by heathen and doubtless obscene pictures. The practice of Jewish rites, and the refusal to sacrifice to the Greek gods, were alike punished with death. Two women, who had circumcised their children, were led round the city with the babes hanging at their breasts, and then cast headlong from the wall. A company of worshippers were burned by Philip in a cave, to which they had fled to keep the Sabbath. The favorite test of conformity was the compulsion to eat swine’s flesh; and two particular cases of heroic resistance make this one of the brightest pages in Jewish and Christian martyrology. A chief scribe, named ELEAZAR, a man of noble person and ninety years of age, when a piece of swine’s flesh

was thrust into his mouth, spat it out, and willingly offered his body to the torments. When some of the officers, for old acquaintance sake, besought him to provide some meat, and eat it as if it were the unclean food, he made a reply which contains the whole justification of the martyr's constancy to death: "It becometh not our age in anywise to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think that Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, were now gone to a strange religion, and so through mine hypocrisy, and desire to live a little time, should be deceived by me, and I get a stain to my old age, and make it abominable. For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men, yet I should not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive, nor dead." He concluded by declaring his resolve, "to leave a notable example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honorable and holy laws." His tempters incensed at his obstinacy, grew doubly cruel, and, as he was expiring beneath their blows, he cried—"It is manifest unto Jehovah, that hath the holy knowledge, that whereas I might have been delivered from death, I endure sore pains in body by being beaten; but in soul am well content to suffer these things, because I fear him." Thus was he "tortured, not accepting deliverance, that he might obtain a better resurrection;" and he is included, with the other martyrs of the age, in the "cloud of martyrs," "of whom the world was not worthy, who obtained a good report through faith." Some Christian writers have called him "the proto-martyr of the Old Covenant," a glory, however, which belongs to Abel.

"Others had trial of mockings and scourgings." Such was the fate of the seven brethren who, with their mother, were brought into the king's own presence, and, having refused to eat swine's flesh, were put to death with insults and torments, of which the horrid details may be read in the original text. From the eldest to the youngest, they displayed not only constancy but triumph; and the mother, after encouraging each in his turn, herself suffered last. The atrocities committed at Jerusalem were rivalled in the country. But at this very crisis, when the worship and the people of Jehovah seemed doomed to extinction, a new light arose for both; and the result showed how needful was the baptism of fire to purify the people from the corruptions of Hellenism.

Meanwhile the persecutor himself became a signal example of the retribution which awaits despotic power and unbridled passion; and, before relating the resurrection of Judæa under the Maccabees, we may anticipate the short period of four years, to notice the fate of



CEDARS OF LEBANON.

Antiochus Epiphanes. He was in the eastern provinces when he heard of the revolt of Judæa and the defeat of his general Lysias. Hastening back to avenge the disgrace, he attacked a temple at Elymais, the very place where his father had lost his life in a similar attempt. The mortification of being repulsed seems to have brought to a climax the madness which despotism usually engenders; and he died in a raving frenzy at Tabæ in Persia, B. C. 164. His end was regarded, by Greeks as well as Jews, as a judgment for his sacrilegious crimes; and he has left to history a name as odious as that of Nero, with whose character he had many points in common.

It is very remarkable that this great persecution, and the subsequent history of the glorious regeneration of Judæa under the Maccabees, should have been passed over by the Greek and Roman historians. From Polybius we might have expected a just appreciation of its importance, and an impartial summary of its facts; but of this portion of his work only a few fragments remain, and the silence of Livy, who closely follows his history of Syria, seems to imply that of his great authority. Appian's meagre summary of Syrian history takes no notice of the Jews. Diodorus gives a very brief account of them, repeating the current prejudices, not as his own belief, but as arguments used by the counsellors of Antiochus to urge the extirpation of the Jews. The contemptuous summary given by Tacitus is even more significant than the silence of the rest, and shows how far prejudice can lead even the most careful writers from the truth. He

speaks as follows:—"During the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews were the most abject of their dependent subjects. After the Macedonians obtained the supremacy of the East, King Antiochus endeavored to do away with their superstition and introduce Greek habits, but was hindered by a Parthian war from reforming a most repulsive people."

The spirit of this passage may explain the indifference of other authors. The uncompromising devotion of the Jews to their religion and their national traditions, and their claim to be worshippers of the only true God, excited among the heathen, and especially those who laid claim to philosophy, the same affected contempt and unaffected resentment which led Gibbon to sneer at Palestine as a country no larger nor more favored by nature than Wales. Nor is it only this brilliant passage of the Jewish annals that escaped the notice and the sympathy of the western historians. The period of 370 years, from the Decree of Cyrus to the revolt of the Maccabees, embraces the most brilliant events of Greek and Roman history. The aristocratic republics of Greece and the monarchy of Rome had reached their climax at its commencement, amidst the rapid growth of philosophy and art. Its first quarter of a century beheld the expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens and the Tarquins from Rome. The struggles which placed Rome at the head of the Italian states, and formed her republican constitution, the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, the conflict of the Greek states for the supremacy, which they at last yielded to the Macedonian, and the very conquest which brought Alexander to Judæa, are all related just as they might have been if there had been no such nation as the Jews. The keen inquiries of Herodotus, who visited Egypt and Tyre at the very time when Ezra and Nehemiah were regulating the restored state, produced nothing but the notice of Necho's victory over Josiah and capture of Cadytis (probably Gaza), the mistake "that the Syrians of Palestine" learned circumcision from the Egyptians, and the mention of them as serving with the Phœnicians in the fleet of Xerxes.

The silence of the historians of Alexander and his successors about the Jewish people is the more remarkable, as they have to mention Judæa as the scene of war; it is matched by the Romans even when they come into contact with Syria and Egypt; nor is it even broken when (if we may believe the historian of the Maccabees) Rome formed an alliance with Judas Maccabæus. A century later, when Pompey penetrated into the Temple, the sacred city suggests even to Cicero nothing better than a nickname for his distrusted leader; nor does Tacit-

tus notice the very advent of Christ with half the interest he shows in the relations of the Herodian princes to the Cæsars. Surely we cannot but see in all this a divine purpose, that the outer, like the inner life, of the chosen people, should lie hidden from the world at large, and pursue a course apart from the ordinary current of warlike and political conflict, till from their bosom should emerge the band of lowly and unworldly men, who were to proclaim a "kingdom not of this world."

In preparation for that event, the Jewish people had a history of its own, for which we could wish to possess more abundant materials. They had resumed the ordinances of their religion, purified from their old idolatries by the Captivity, and with their zeal constantly stimulated by antagonism with the Samaritans. Politically they were subject first to Persia, and then to Egypt; but, as long as their tribute was paid, their relations to their sovereign were kindly, and they were left to the government of their high-priests and patriarchal princes; till the great Syrian persecution. The extinction of royalty, after it had served its purpose by giving an image of Messiah's kingdom, removed the chief influence which had led to apostasy in Israel and to idolatry in Judah; and the very dependence which debarred them from political freedom gave them the better opportunity for religious organization. The band by which the "people of God" were held together was at length felt to be religious and not local; and all the more so from the existence of large portions of the nation separate from the rest, in the great Eastern "dispersion," or in the new community formed in Egypt. The Jews incorporated in different nations still looked to Jerusalem as the centre of their faith. The boundaries of Canaan were passed; and the beginnings of a spiritual dispensation were already made. But this process could not work unmixed good. "In the darkness of this long period, Judaism, with its stern and settled aversion to all polytheism to Gentile influences, gradually hardened into its rigid exclusiveness. . . . Conflicting opinions, which grew up under the Asmonæan princes into religious factions, those of the Pharisees and Sadducees, began to stir in the religious mind and heart of the people. The old Nazaritism grew toward the later Essenism."

The Jews restored to Palestine resumed their agricultural life on a land rendered doubly fertile by having "enjoyed her Sabbaths as long as she lay desolate, to fulfil threescore and ten years; and it may be observed in passing, that the ordinance of the Sabbatic year, which had been so systematically neglected before the Captivity, was

observed in the Maccabæan age. How the land was divided among the returned families we are not told ; but thus much seems clear, that it soon fell chiefly into the hands of the nobles, who, becoming rapidly enriched through the fertility of the soil, resumed that course of oppression toward the poor, which the old prophets had so vehemently denounced as the crying sin of their class. An order which thus sets itself above the social bonds of mutual kindness is prone to maintain its consequence against popular discontent by foreign influence ; and, just as the princes of Judah headed the idolatrous and Egyptian party in the last days of the monarchy, so now they were the leaders of the Syrian and hellenizing party. Their influence was resisted, as formerly by the prophets, so now by the priests, who headed the glorious uprising of the nation in defence of their religion. The issue of that contest proves that the nation was still sound at heart at the time of the Syrian domination. .

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MACCABÆAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

[B. C. 168-106.]

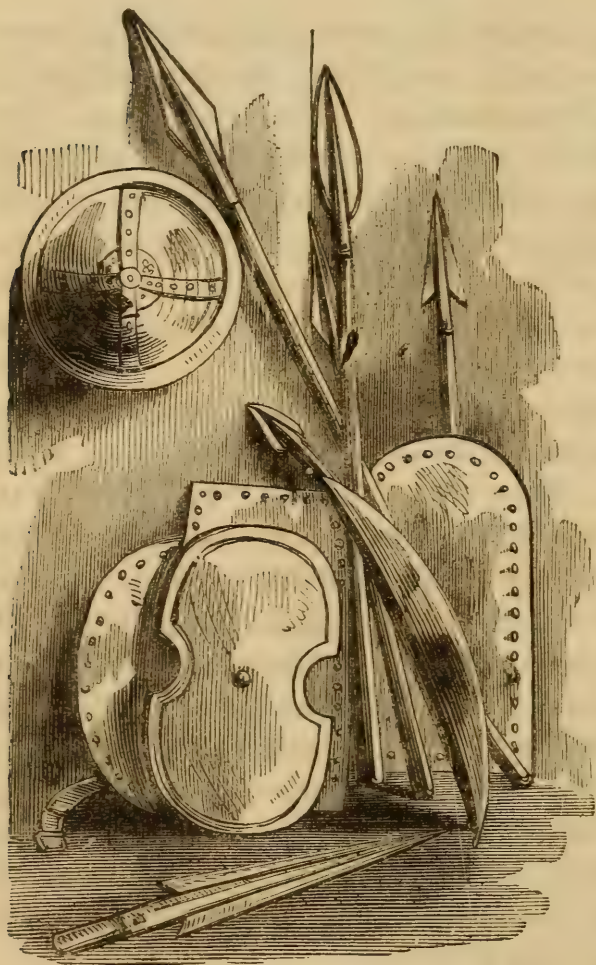
THE persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes called forth a glorious resistance, which ended in establishing the independence of Judæa under the Maccabæan or Asmonæan princes. The interposition of Jehovah in this crisis was not, as formerly, by miraculous assistance, but it pleased him at this time to work for his people by the instrumentality of human virtues, the lofty patriotism, adventurous valor, daring and sagacious soldiership, generous self-devotion, and inextinguishable zeal of heroic men in B. C. 168. the cause of their country and their God.

In Modin, a town on an eminence commanding a view of the sea, the exact site of which is unknown, lived an aged priest of the line of Joarib, named Mattathias. He was the father of five sons in the prime of life, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. When Apelles, the officer of Antiochus, arrived at Modin to enforce the execution of the royal edict against the Jewish religion, he made splendid offers to Mattathias, as a man of great influence, to induce him to submit to the king's command. The old priest not only rejected his advances, but publicly proclaimed his determination to live and die in the faith of his fathers. Other Jews were found more ready to apostatize, and one of them advanced to the altar to sacrifice to the heathen gods. The sight so incensed Mattathias, that he sprang upon the apostate and slew him upon the altar, and then turning upon the royal commissioner he struck him dead at his feet.

This bold act brought matters to a crisis, and Mattathias, calling upon all the citizens who were zealous for the Law, to follow him, fled to the mountains, where he was joined by his sons, and by many of his countrymen. Their numbers rapidly increased, but the Syrian troops having surprised 1000 in a cave, attacked them on the Sabbath day, and meeting with no resistance, slew them without mercy. This led Mattathias and his followers to declare that it was lawful to engage in defensive warfare on the Sabbath day.

The insurgents conducted their revolt with equal enterprise and

discretion. For a time they lay hid in the mountain fastnesses, and, as opportunity occurred, poured down upon the towns; destroyed the altars of the heathen gods; circumcised children by force; inflicted severe punishments upon all apostate Jews whom they captured; recovered many copies of the Law, which their enemies had wantonly defaced; and re-established the synagogues for public worship,—the Temple being defiled and in possession of the enemy. Their ranks



ANCIENT JEWISH SHIELDS AND SPEARS.

were swelled with the zealots for the Law, who were then called the Chasidim. For, immediately after the return from Babylonia, two sects had divided the people: the Zadikim, the righteous, who observed the written Law of Moses; and the more austere and abstemious Chasidim, or the holy, who added to the Law the traditions and observances of the fathers, and professed a holiness beyond the letter of the covenant. From the former sprang the Sadducees and Karaites of later times; from the latter the Pharisees. But the age of Mattathias was ill suited to this laborious and enterprising warfare; having bequeathed the command to Judas, the

most valiant of his sons, he sank under the weight of toil and years. So great already was the terror of his name, that he was buried, without disturbance on the part of the enemy's troops, in his native city of Modin.

JUDAS, the third and most warlike of the sons of Mattathias, and hence surnamed *Maccabæus* (the Hammerer), is one of the grandest characters in Jewish history. If his youth added



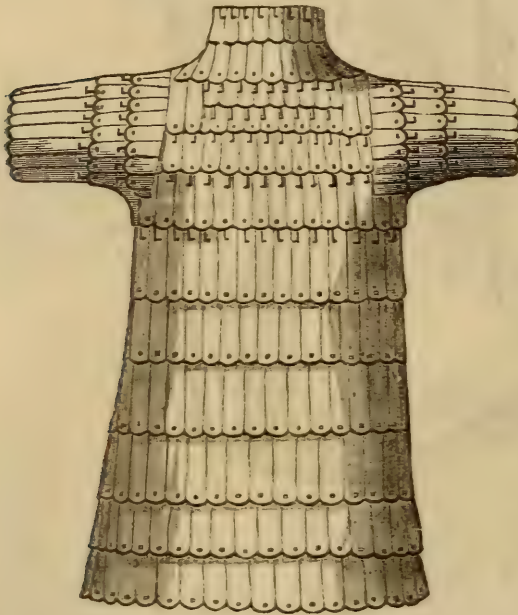
ANCIENT SWORDS.

vigor and enterprise to the cause,* it lost nothing in prudence and discretion. He had already done good service under his father, and was by far the best qualified leader the patriot army could have been given. He succeeded in collecting a force of 6000 men, and having tried his troops by many surprises, and night attacks, in which he captured a number of cities, which he fortified and garrisoned, he ventured to meet the enemy in the open field. He first encountered

* The origin of the name Maccabees is uncertain. Some assert that it was formed from the concluding letters of a sentence in the eleventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, "Mi Camo Ka Baalim, Jehovah," signifying, "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?" Some, that it was the banner of the tribe of Dan, which contained the three last letters of the three names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; others that it was the personal appellation of Judas, from a word signifying a hammer.

Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, who marched against him from that city. Judas routed him and captured his sword, which he ever afterwards wore. Seron, the deputy-governor of Cœlesyria, advanced to revenge the defeat of Apollonius, but was met and beaten by Judas in the strong pass of Beth-horon, where Joshua had defeated the Canaanites centuries before.

Antiochus was furious when he heard of these disasters to his army, as they occurred at a time when his extravagance had exhausted his treasury. His eastern provinces, Armenia and Persia, refused their tribute. He therefore was constrained to divide his forces, marching himself into the East, and leaving Lysias his general to crush the insurrection in Judæa. The rapid progress of Judas demanded im-



LEATHER CUIRASS.

mediate resistance. Philip, the Syrian governor in Jerusalem, sent urgent solicitations for relief. The vanguard of the Syrian army, amounting to 20,000 men, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, advanced rapidly into the province; it was followed by the general-in-chief Ptolemy Macron, their united forces assuming an army of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse. A number of slave merchants came with them, Nicanor having suggested the policy of selling as slaves as many of the Jews as they could capture, in order to

discharge the arrears of tribute due to Rome.

Judas assembled his little band of 6000 men at the ancient sanctuary of Mizpeh; there they fasted and prayed; and then Judas, who knew that his only hope, save in his God, was in the enthusiastic zeal of his followers for the law of Moses, issued, in strict conformity to its injunctions, the appointed proclamation, that all who had married wives, built houses, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should return to their homes. His force at once melted away to 3000 badly armed, but devoted men. With the audacity of genius, he marched rapidly with this little force to Emmaus, where the enemy lay encamped, and having learned that Gorgias had been detached with 5000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, all picked men, to gain his rear and

attack him in the night, the enemy still supposing him to be at Mizpeh, he boldly resolved to storm the Syrian camp before Gorgias could return. His trust in Jehovah was not in vain. He communicated his resolution to his men, as they arrived on the heights overlooking the hostile camp at daybreak, and hurled them with terrific force upon the still unsuspecting foe. The Syrians made but a feeble resistance, and fled on all sides unto Gazara, and unto the plains of Idumæa, and Azotus, and Jamnia. Three thousand Syrians fell in the battle. The excellent discipline of the Jewish army now made itself conspicuous. Judas was aware that Gorgias would soon return, and he held his troops from the plunder of the camp until the arrival of that general, who came back disappointed at not finding the Jewish insurgents among the mountains where he had hoped to surprise them. To his dismay he beheld his own camp a blaze of fire, and before his forces had recovered from their astonishment, Judas and his men were among them, sword in hand. The contest was short and decisive. The Syrians fled without making a stand, and in their flight suffered immense loss. The

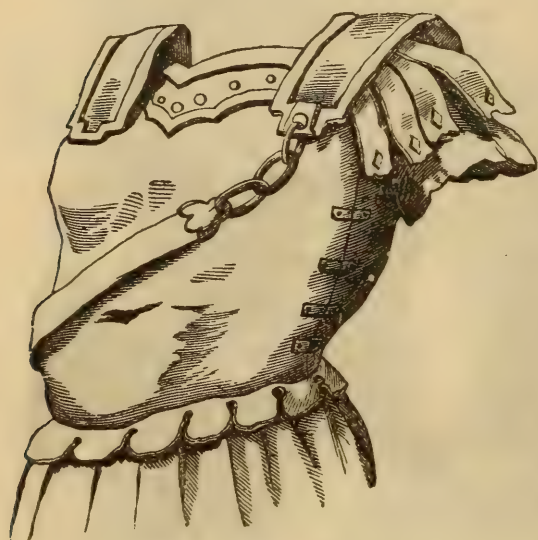


BURNT SACRIFICE AT THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION.

rich booty of the camp fell into the hands of the Jews, "much gold and silver, and blue silk and purple of the sea, and great riches." The Jews, with just retribution, sold for slaves as many of the slave merchants as they could find. A due share of the spoil was given to the maimed, the widows, and the orphans; and the rest was divided among the conquerors. The next day was the Sabbath, a day indeed of rest and rejoicing. But this success only excited the honorable ambition of the Maccabee. Hearing that a great force was assembling beyond the Jordan, under Timotheus and Bacchides, he crossed the river, and gained a great victory and a considerable supply of arms. Here two of the chief oppressors of the Jews, Philarches and Callis-

thenes, perished ; one in battle ; the other burnt to death in a house, where he had taken refuge. Nicanor fled in the disguise of a slave to Antioch. So closed the first triumphant campaign of the Maccabees.

Dec. The next year an army of 60,000 infantry and 5000
B. C. 166. cavalry, commanded by Lysias in person, appeared at Bethsura, a little north of Hebron towards the southern frontier of Judæa. Judas attacked this force promptly with 10,000 men, and gained a decisive victory, inflicting a loss of 5000 killed upon the enemy. Thus on all sides triumphant, Judas led his heroic army into the ruined and desolate capital of his people—Jerusalem. They found the courts of the Temple overgrown with tall shrubs, and the chambers of the priests thrown down. With wild lamentations and the sound of martial trumpets they mingled their prayers and praises to



COAT OF MAIL.

the God of their fathers. The Syrians still held the tower on Mount Zion, and Judas took the precaution to hold them in check with a strong force, while he proceeded to install the most blameless of the priests in their office, to repair the sacred edifice, to purify every part from the profanation of the heathen, to construct a new altar, to replace out of the booty all the sacred vessels, and at length to celebrate the Feast of Dedication—a period of eight days—which ever after was held sac-

red in the Jewish calendar. It was the festival of the regeneration of the people, which, but for the valor of the Maccabees, had almost lost its political existence.

B. C. 164. The neighboring tribes beheld with undisguised jealousy the reëstablishment of a powerful State in Judæa. But Judas, having strongly fortified the Temple on the side of the citadel, anticipated a powerful confederacy which was forming against him, and carried his victorious arms into the territories of the Idumæans and Ammonites. Thus discomfited on every side, the Syrians and their allies began to revenge themselves on the Jews who were scattered in Galilee and the trans-Jordanic provinces. Judas revenged a cruel stratagem of the inhabitants of Joppa, who decoyed 200

Jews or families on board their ships, and threw them into the sea. He made a descent upon the place, and burned many houses on the harbor, and many of their ships. In Jamnia, another treacherous massacre was committed, and he revenged it by burning the town, the flames of which were seen from Jerusalem, a distance of twenty-five miles.

A great force from Tyre and Ptolemais advanced into the neighboring country. Timotheus, son of a former general of the same name, laid waste Gilead with great slaughter. Judas divided his army into three parts. He took 8000 men himself, and crossed the Jordan into Gilead; sent 3000 under his brother Simon into Galilee; and left the remainder, under Joseph, the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, to defend the liberated provinces, but with strict orders to refrain from attacking the enemy. The Maccabees, as usual, were irresistible. Both expeditions were successful, and future dangers were guarded against by removing the Galilean and trans-Jordanic Jews to Jerusalem. But the commanders who were left at home failed to obey their orders; and having undertaken an expedition against Jamnia, a seaport, were defeated with severe loss by Bacchides, the ablest of the Syrian generals. The defeat was shortly after revenged by the indomitable Judas; but not without loss. When they proceeded, after observing the Sabbath in Adullam, to bury the dead, small idols were found in the clothes even of some of the priestly race. A sin-offering was sent to Jerusalem, not only to atone for the guilt of these men, but for the dead, in whose resurrection the Maccabean Jews, no doubt the Chasidim, had full faith.

About this time Antiochus Epiphanes, the great persecutor of the Jews, died, as has been related in the previous chapter. His young son, Antiochus V. Eupator (B. c. 164-162) was placed on the throne by Lysias; Demetrius, the rightful heir, being a hostage in Rome. The first measure of Lysias was to attempt the subjugation of Judæa, where in Jerusalem itself the garrison of the unsundered fortress on Mount Zion, joined to a strong party of the apostate Jews, anxiously awaited his approach. The royal army at once laid siege to Bethsura on the Idumæan frontier, not far from Hebron, which Judas had strongly fortified. Their force consisted, of 80,000 or 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and thirty-two elephants. The elephants seem to have excited great terror and astonishment. According to the Jewish annalist, each beast was escorted by 1000 infantry, splendidly armed, and 500 horsemen; and each beast bore a tower containing thirty-two armed men. To provoke the elephants to fight,

they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries. The whole army in radiant armor spread over the mountains and valleys, so that the mountains glistened therewith, and seemed like lamps of fire. Bethsura made a gallant defence, and Judas marched promptly to its relief. Wherever he fought the Israelites were successful, and his heroic brother, Eleazar, excited the admiration of his countrymen by rushing under an elephant, which he stabbed in the belly, and was crushed to death by its fall. The force of the enemy was overwhelming, however, and Judas was compelled to retreat to Jerusalem. Bethsura, pressed by famine (it was the Sabbatic year, the land lay fallow, and supplies were scarce), capitulated on honorable terms; and the royal army joined the siege of that part of the capital which was held by Judas. Jerusalem resisted all their assaults; the Syrians began to suffer from want of provisions; and intelligence arrived that affairs at Antioch needed their immediate attention. The army which Antiochus Epiphanes had led into Persia returned under Philip, who claimed the guardianship of the young king. Upon this Lysias advised Antiochus to make peace with the Jews. The king was no sooner admitted into the city, than he broke the terms just made by pulling down the new wall of Judas, after which he retired to Antioch, and recovered the capital from Philip. His triumph was brief, for Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV.—whose rightful inheritance had been usurped by his uncle Antiochus Epiphanes—returned from Rome, where he had been a hostage, overthrew and put to death Antiochus and Lysias, and became king by the title of DEMETRIUS I. SOTER (B. C. 162–150).

B. C. 162. The new king adopted a more dangerous policy against the independence of Judæa than the invasion and vast armies of his predecessor. The looser and less patriotic Jews ill-brooked the severe government of the Chasidim, who formed the party of Judas. Many, perhaps, were weary of the constant warfare in which their valiant champion was engaged. Menelaus, the renegade high-priest, had accompanied the army of Lysias, and endeavored to form a faction in his favor; but, on some dissatisfaction, Lysias had sent him to Berea, where he was thrown into a tower of ashes, and suffocated—a fit punishment, it was said, for one who had polluted the altar fires and holy ashes of God's shrine. Onias, son of the Onias murdered by means of Menelaus, the heir of the priesthood, fled to Egypt, and Alcimus, or Jacimus, was raised to the high-priesthood. By reviving the title of high-priest to the supreme authority, Demetrius hoped, if not to secure a dependent vassal in the



BATTLE OF ADASA.

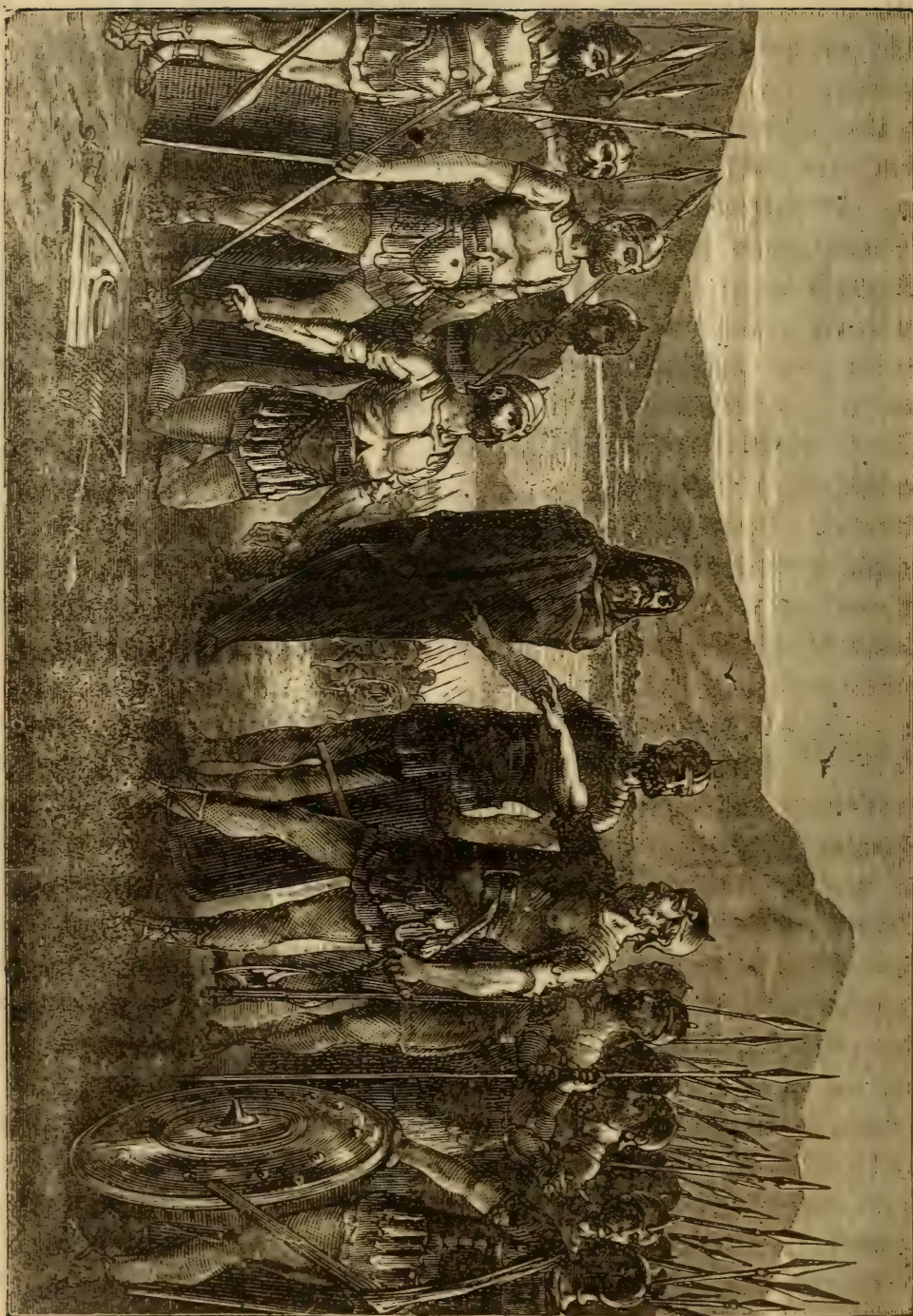
government of Judæa, at least to sow discord among the insurgents. He sent Alcimus, supported by Bacchides, his ablest general, to claim the sacerdotal dignity. The zealots for the Law could not resist the title of the high-priest. Jerusalem submitted. But no sooner had Alcimus got the leaders into his power than he basely murdered sixty of them.

Bacchides returned to Antioch, leaving the high-priest as governor; while the indefatigable Judas went through the cities of Judah rallying the patriots. Alcimus again repaired to Antioch for help; and Nicanor, who was sent to restore him, was defeated by Judas at Capharsalama. He retired to the citadel of Zion, where his refusal to listen to the overtures of the priests until Judas was delivered up to him, and his ferocious cruelties, reunited the patriots in resistance and prayer for his overthrow. A battle ensued at ADASA, near Beth-horon, where Judas gained his most glorious victory, on the 13th of Adar (end of February, B. C. 161), a day which was kept as a national festival. Nicanor was slain, and his head and hand were exposed as trophies at Jerusalem. The independence of Judæa was won, though it was not finally secured till after several years of contest, and the death of all the Maccabæan brothers. Meanwhile the land enjoyed a brief interval of rest.

B. C. 161. It is at this juncture that the name of ROME first appears in Jewish history. The imagination of Judas was captivated by the successes she had gained against the Gauls and Spaniards, and especially over those Greek powers with which he was so fiercely struggling. He had heard of their defeats of Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus the Great, and of their power to set up and cast down kings; but he seems to have been most attracted by their republican form of government. He sent to Rome Eupolemus the son of John, with Jason the son of Eleazar, to propose a league against Syria; and the envoys brought back a letter, inscribed on brazen tablets, containing the articles of alliance between the Romans and the Jews. But before they reached Judæa, the career of Judas was closed; gloriously indeed, but in a manner which we can scarcely doubt that one of the old prophets would have regarded as a judgment for seeking strength from a heathen alliance, as the only error of his life.

B. C. 161. Demetrius had sent his whole force, under Bacchides, to restore Alcimus and avenge Nicanor. The treaty with Rome seems to have offended the extreme party of the Assidæans; and Judas had only 3000 men to oppose to the enemy's 20,000 foot

JUDAS MACCABEUS AND HIS WARRIORS.



and 2000 horse. Their camp was at "Berea" (probably Beeroth), and his at "Eleasa." His men, terrified by the disparity of numbers, continued to desert, till only 800 remained. These urged Judas to fly, and wait for a better opportunity. His reply shows that prophetic instinct which has often warned a hero of coming death:—"If our time be come, let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honor!" He took post, with his chosen warriors, over against the right wing of the Syrians, where Bacchides commanded. He defeated this wing, the strength of the Syrian army, pursuing them to Azotus. But the Syrians on the left, scarcely meeting with opposition, fell upon the rear of the victorious Jews. The odds were overwhelming; and the disaster was crowned by the death of Judas, whereupon his followers fled. His brothers, Jonathan and Simon, recovered his body, and buried him in his father's sepulchre at Modin, amidst the lamentations of all Israel, as they cried, "How is the valiant man fallen that delivered Israel!" As Adasa was the Marathon of the Jewish war of freedom, so Eleasa was its Thermopylæ; and, when Scripture history recovers its place in the literature of Christendom, the fame of Leonidas will no longer eclipse that of Judas Maccabæus. His best eulogy is the simple record of his deeds, of which his historian assures us that they were too many to be written. "Among those lofty spirits," says Dean Milman, "who have asserted the liberty of their native land against wanton and cruel oppression, none have surpassed the most able of the Maccabees in accomplishing a great end with inadequate means; none ever united more generous valor with a better cause:" none, we may add, more completely gave God the glory. There is at least one worthy tribute to his honor, in the splendid oratorio of Handel. His death occurred in B. C. 161.

The triumph of Bacchides and the "impious faction" B. C. 161. was aided by the distress of a great famine, and the friends of Judas were hunted down on every side. But, as before, this want of moderation compelled resistance. JONATHAN, surnamed APPHUS (the wary), the fifth and youngest son of Mattathias, was chosen leader, as the most warlike of the three surviving brothers; Simon aiding him with his counsel. They established themselves in the wilderness of Tokoah, where their first exploit was to avenge their eldest brother JOHN (Johanan), surnamed Gaddis, who was treacherously killed by the Arabs, while conveying some of the effects of the patriots to the care of the Nabathæans. Incensed by this deed, Bacchides, on a Sabbath, attacked their position in the marshes of the

Jordan; but they escaped by swimming across the river, having slain 1000 of the Syrians (B. C. 161). Bacchides now occupied himself with fortifying Jericho, Emmaus, Beth-horon, Bethel, and other strong cities in Judah, and he placed in them hostages from the chief families. Alcimus had set to work with equal ardor to pull down the walls round the Temple, when he was struck with a palsy, and died in great torment. Upon this, Bacchides returned to Antioch, and the land had rest for two years. A last attempt of the hellenizing party to call in the aid of Bacchides proved their ruin; for, enraged by a defeat which he suffered from Jonathan, Bacchides put to death many of the faction who had invited him, and gave up the enterprise. Before he retreated, however, he accepted the invitation of Jonathan to make peace; restored his prisoners and hostages; and promised not again to molest the Jews, a promise which he kept. Jonathan established himself at the fortress of Michmash, so renowned in the history of his great namesake, the son of Saul. There he governed the people, and "destroyed the ungodly men out of Israel." This state of things lasted for about six years (B. C. 158-153).

B. C. 153-146. The claim of Alexander Balas, a pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to the crown of Syria, led to a new advancement of Jonathan and the Jews (B. C. 153), who were courted by both rivals. Demetrius wrote first, authorizing Jonathan to raise an army, and commanding that the hostages in the tower of Zion should be delivered to him. This was at once done, and Jonathan began to repair the fortifications of Jerusalem. Meanwhile all of the hostile party fled from the fortified cities, except Bethsura. Next came the letter from Alexander, nominating Jonathan to the high-priesthood, which had been vacant since the death of Alcimus, and sending him a purple robe and a crown of gold. Jonathan assumed these insignia at the Feast of Tabernacles (B. C. 153), and thus began the line of the priest-princes of the Asmonæan family. Demetrius, in despair, now made new and unbounded offers: freedom for all the Jews of his kingdom from tribute, from the duties on salt, and from crown-taxes; and exemption from the payment of the third of the seed and the half of the produce of the fruit-trees. The three governments of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramathem, including the port of Ptolemais (*Acre*), were to be taken from Samaria and annexed to Judæa forever, under the sole government of the high-priest. An army of 30,000 Jews was to be raised at the king's expense, to garrison the cities and act as a police. Jerusalem, with its territory, was declared holy, free from tithe and tribute, and a place of asylum,

A large annual sum was promised for the works of the Temple and the fortifications of the city, and the revenues of Ptolemais were assigned for the ordinary expenses of the sanctuary. All Jewish captives throughout the Syrian empire were to be set free, and all the feasts were to be holidays for them. More moderate offers might have been a better proof of good faith. The Jews had more confidence in Alexander, who was, moreover, favored by Rome; and, after he had defeated and killed Demetrius (B. C. 150), he gave Jonathan a magnificent reception at Ptolemais, on his marriage with Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor.

Three years later (B. C. 147), the younger Demetrius (who afterward reigned as Demetrius II. Nicator), attempted to recover his father's kingdom; and his adherent Apollonius, governor of Cœle-syria, advanced to Jamnia and sent a challenge to Jonathan. A battle was fought near Azotus, in which the infantry of Jonathan stood firm against the Syrian cavalry, who attacked them on all sides, till the fresh forces of his brother Simon routed the wearied horsemen, who fled to the temple of Dagon at Azotus. Jonathan burned the city and temple, with the men in it to the number of 8000; and after receiving the submission of Ascalon he returned to Jerusalem.

A new enemy now took the field against Alexander, in the person of his father-in-law, Ptolemy, who marched into Syria, professedly as a friend. Jonathan met him at Joppa, and was favorably received, in spite of the accusations of his enemies. We need not here relate the alliance of Ptolemy with the young Demetrius, nor the defeat and death of Alexander, followed by the death of Ptolemy and the accession of DEMETRIUS II. NICATOR to the throne of Syria (B. C. 146). Jonathan's political tact not only brought him safe through this revolution, but gained new advantages for his country. During the confusion, he had laid siege to the tower on Zion, for which act his enemies accused him to the new king, who summoned him to Ptolemais. Leaving orders to press the siege, he went with a body of priests and elders, carrying splendid presents. He gained great favor with Demetrius, who confirmed him in the high-priesthood; and a present of 300 talents to the king secured for Judæa most of the privileges which had been promised by Demetrius I.

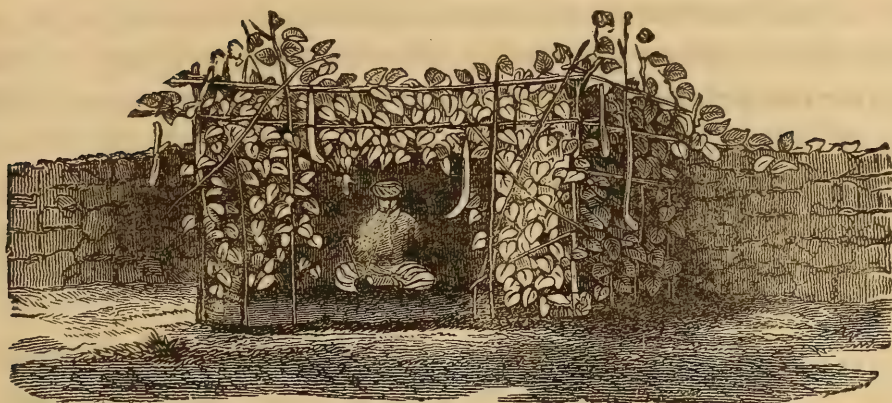
The unpopularity of Demetrius, in consequence of his disbanding the Syrian troops and replacing them by mercenaries whom he had brought with him from Crete, opened the door to the schemes of TRYPHON, who claimed the throne for Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas. Jonathan seized the opportunity to obtain from Demetrius

a promise of the evacuation of the long-contested tower, and sent him a body of 3000 Jews, who saved his life in a tumult at Antioch. But the immediate danger was no sooner past, than Demetrius became estranged from Jonathan, and failed to fulfil his promises.

The defeat of Demetrius by Tryphon placed ANTIOCHUS B. C. 144. VI. THEOS on the throne (B. C. 144). Jonathan was confirmed in all his honors, and his brother Simon was made captain-general of the country from the Ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt. Gaza and Bethsura were reduced, and Jonathan defeated the partisans of Demetrius near the lake Gennesareth, and again in the region of Hamath, and advanced as far as Damascus; while Simon secured Ascalon and took Joppa. Having renewed the alliance with Rome, and also, if we may trust our leading authority, with the Lacedæmonians, Jonathan summoned the elders to fortify the cities of Judæa, to heighten the walls of Jerusalem, and to block out the tower on Zion by a great mound from the city and the Temple. They were engaged on this work when Tryphon, who was plotting an usurpation, and regarded Jonathan as his chief obstacle, enticed him to Ptolemais, with a guard of only 1000 men, who were slain, and Jonathan was made prisoner.

The enemies of the Jews now rose in every quarter; but Simon was acknowledged as leader, and marched to Adida to meet Tryphon, who was advancing to invade Judæa. When Tryphon found with whom he had to do, he opened negotiations. Pretending that Jonathan had been seized for money due to the king, he promised to release him on the payment of 100 talents of silver and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. Simon expected treachery; but, lest his motives should be mistaken, he accepted the terms. Tryphon verified his fears; and, after being foiled by Simon in all his attempts to advance to Jerusalem and relieve the Syrian garrison, he marched into Gilead, still carrying Jonathan with him, and killed and buried him at Bascama. On his retiring to Antioch, Simon removed the bones of Jonathan to Modin, where he built a stately monument, with seven obelisks for Mattathias, his wife, and their five sons; the whole forming a sea-mark for passing ships.

SIMON surnamed Thassi, the second son of Mattathias, B. C. 143-137. and the last of the five brethren, was high-priest from B. C. 143 to B. C. 135. He was not the least glorious for the vigor and wisdom of his administration. He openly espoused the party of Demetrius against Tryphon, and received from that monarch a full recognition of the independence of his country. Instead, therefore, of interfering in foreign affairs, he directed his whole attention



SITTING UNDER THE VINE.

to the consolidation and internal security of the Jewish kingdom. He sent an embassy, which was honorably received at Rome; he fortified Bethsura on the Idumæan frontier, and Joppa, the great port of Judæa; reduced Gazara; and at length broke off the last and heaviest link of the Syrian fetters, by taking, by the aid of famine, the tower of Jerusalem. He at once demolished the tower, and then, with incredible labor, levelled the hill on which it stood, so that it no longer commanded the hill of the Temple. Simon executed the law with great impartiality and vigor; repaired the Temple, and restored the sacred vessels. The wasted country began, under his prudent administration, to enjoy its ancient fertility. "The ancient men sat in all the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel." While his internal government was just and firm, he opened up a commerce with Europe through the port of Joppa, and renewed the treaties with Rome and Lacedæmon. The letters in favor of the Jews, addressed by the Roman Senate to the States and islands of Greece and Asia Minor, and to the great potentates of Asia, including even the Parthian Arsaces, are a striking evidence of the wide dispersion of the Jewish race, even in those times, and of the all commanding policy of Rome.

In the meantime, Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of B. C. 137. Syria, had been taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians. ANTIOCHUS VII. SIDETES, his brother, now levied an army to dispossess the usurper and murderer, Tryphon, whom he quickly defeated, and besieged in Dora. Simon openly espoused his party, but Antiochus considered Simon's assistance dearly purchased at the price of the independence of Palestine, and, above all, the possession of the important ports of Joppa and Gazara. Athenobius, his ambassador, sent to demand tribute and indemnification, was struck

with astonishment at the riches and splendor of Simon's palace; and on the Jewish sovereign refusing all submission, and only offering a price for the possession of Joppa, Antiochus sent his general, Cendebeus, to invade the country, and thus began the last war which the Maccabees had to wage with Syria. Simon, now grown old, entrusted the command of his forces to Judas and John Hyrcanus, his sons. They defeated Cendebeus and took Azotus, and returned to Jerusalem in triumph.

B. C. 135. But the Maccabæan race seemed destined to perish by violence. Ptolemy, son of Abubus, the son-in-law of Simon, under a secret understanding with Antiochus, king of Syria, formed a conspiracy to usurp the sovereignty of Judæa. At a banquet in Jericho, he contrived basely to assassinate Simon and his elder son; and at the same time endeavored to surprise the younger son, John Hyrcanus, in Gazara; but John managed to escape, and went at once to Jerusalem, where he was unanimously proclaimed high-priest and ruler of the country.

B. C. 135. JOHN HYRCANUS was the second son of Simon, under whom he had been commander of the army. He inherited the vigor and ability of his family, and was high-priest for thirty years (B. C. 135-106). His first act was to march against Jericho, to revenge the base murder of his father and brother; but Ptolemy had in his power the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus. He shut himself up in a fortress, and exposed his captives on the walls, scourging them, and threatening to put them to death. The noble-minded woman exhorted her son, notwithstanding her own danger, to revenge his father's murder: but Hyrcanus hesitated; the siege was protracted; and, at length, according to the improbable reason assigned by Josephus, the year being a Sabbatic year, entirely raised the siege. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia; of his subsequent fate we know nothing. The rapid movements of Hyrcanus had disconcerted the confederacy between the assassin and Antiochus. Still, however, the Syrian army overran the whole country. Hyrcanus was besieged in Jerusalem, where he was reduced to the last extremity by famine. He had been compelled to the hard measure of expelling from the city all those, the young and old, of both sexes, who were incapable of contributing to the defence. The besiegers refused to let them pass; and many perished miserably in the ditches and on the out-works. But Antiochus proved a moderate and generous enemy; on the Feast of Tabernacles, he conceded a week's truce, and furnished the besieged with victims for sacrifice, bulls with golden horns, and

gold and silver vessels for the Temple service. He was gratefully called Antiochus Eusebes (the pious). Finally he concluded a peace, of which the terms, though hard, were better than Hyrcanus, in the low condition to which he was reduced, could fairly expect. The country was to be reduced to a tributary state, and the fortifications of Jerusalem were to be dismantled. The king treated Hyrcanus with favor, and summoned him to attend him on the expedition which he made against Parthia, ostensibly to release his imprisoned brother Demetrius Nicator (B. C. 128). Hyrcanus returned before the defeat which lost Antiochus his throne and life. Demetrius escaped, and recovered the throne of Antioch. Hyrcanus seized the glorious opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Syria, and the Jewish kingdom regained its independence, which was never again lost until it was compelled to acknowledge the Roman dominion—first under the Asmonæan dynasty, then under the house of Herod.

B. C.
128-125. The Syrian monarchy being distracted by rival competitors for the throne, the prudent and enterprising Hyrcanus lost no opportunity of extending his territory and increasing his power. He took Samega and Medaba, in the trans-Jordanic region. But his greatest triumph, that which raised him the highest in the opinion of his zealous countrymen, was the capture of Sichem or Samaria, and the total destruction of the rival temple on Mount Gerizim. It was levelled to the earth; not a vestige remained. The sanctuary on Mount Zion thus regained its pre-eminence in the Holy Land, and the Jews once more imposed upon the Samaritans the sacred law, “that Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.” The reduction of Samaria was effected by Aristobulus and Antigonus, the sons of John Hyrcanus, in the twenty-sixth year of his rule (B. C. 109). The city of Samaria was utterly destroyed, and its site converted into pools of water from its own abundant springs. Most of Galilee submitted to the authority of the high-priest, who again renewed the alliance of his family with Rome. Of his buildings at Jerusalem, the most important was the *Tower of Baris*, at the northwest corner of the enclosure of the Temple. It was afterward the *Antonia* of Herod.

Thus the Holy Land, under the name of Judæa, was restored to its ancient limits, and the people enjoyed their worship, under a race of priest-princes, who held their authority in submission to the divine law. But no human affairs ever reached the climax of prosperity without taking the downward turn; and it was taken with frightful rapidity by the successors of John Hyrcanus, who displayed a personal

ambition unknown to the pure patriotism of the Maccabees, and were soon engaged in fierce contests for supreme power. Then began those family murders, which form the most horrid feature of Oriental despotism, and which reached their climax under Herod. One chief source of these evils was the rupture of the religious unity of the nation, by the rise of the opposing sects of the PHARISEES and SADDUCEES, which, springing from a doubtful origin, and from causes long at work, had become established during the government of John Hyrcanus.* Toward the end of his reign, Hyrcanus, provoked by an insult from one of the leading Pharisees, joined the party of the Sadducees, a step which left a heritage of trouble to his successors. "The cause of this rupture," says Dean Milman, "is singularly characteristic of Jewish manners. During a banquet, at which the chiefs of the ruling sect were present, Hyrcanus demanded their judgment on his general conduct and administration of affairs, which he professed to have regulated by the great principle of justice (the *righteousness* which was the watchword of the Pharisees), and by strict adherence to the tenets of their sect. The Pharisees, with general acclamation, testified their approval of all his proceedings: one voice alone, that of Eleazar, interrupted the general harmony:—'If you are a just man, abandon the high-priesthood, for which you are disqualified by the illegitimacy of your birth.' The mother of Hyrcanus had formerly, it was said, though, according to Josephus, falsely, been taken captive, and thus exposed to the polluting embraces of a heathen master. The indignant Hyrcanus demanded the trial of Eleazar for defamation. By the influence of the Pharisees he was shielded, and escaped with scourging and imprisonment. Hyrcanus, enraged at this unexpected hostility, listened to the representations of Jonathan, a Sadducee, who accused the rival faction of a conspiracy to overawe the sovereign power; and from that time he entirely alienated himself from the Pharisaic councils."

John Hyrcanus died exactly sixty years, or the space of B. C. 106. two complete generations, after his grandfather Mattathias (B. C. 106). As he began a new generation of the Maccabæan house, so was he the first who escaped the violent end to which his father and uncles had succumbed. His death marks the transition from the theocratic commonwealth, under the Maccabæan leaders, to the Asmonæan kingdom, which was established by his son Judas or Aristobulus, whose Greek name is but too significant of the hellenizing character of the new era.

* See Appendix to Book I., SECTS OF THE JEWS.

The only two of the first generation of the Maccabæan family, who did not obtain to the leadership of their countrymen like their brothers, yet shared their fate—Eleazar by a noble act of self-devotion, John, apparently the eldest brother, by treachery. The sacrifice of the family was complete; and probably history offers no parallel to the undaunted courage with which such a band dared to face death, one by one, in the maintenance of a holy cause. The result was worthy of the sacrifice. The Maccabees inspired a subject-people with independence; they found a few personal followers, and they left a nation.

The great outlines of the Maccabæan contest, which are somewhat hidden in the annals thus briefly epitomized, admit of being traced with fair distinctness, though many points must always remain obscure, from our ignorance of the numbers and distribution of the Jewish population, and of the general condition of the people at the time. The disputed succession to the Syrian throne (B. C. 153) was the political turning-point of the struggle, which may thus be divided into two great periods. During the first period (B. C. 168–153) the patriots maintained their cause with varying success against the whole strength of Syria: during the second (B. C. 153–139), they were courted by rival factions, and their independence was acknowledged from time to time, though pledges given in times of danger were often broken when the danger was over. The paramount importance of Jerusalem is conspicuous throughout the whole war. The loss of the Holy City reduced the patriotic party at once to the condition of mere guerilla bands, issuing from “the mountains” or “the wilderness,” to make sudden forays on the neighboring towns. This was the first aspect of the war; and the scene of the early exploits of Judas was the hill-country to the north-east of Jerusalem, from which he drove the invading armies at the famous battle-fields of Beth-horon and Emmaus (Nicomopolis). The occupation of Jerusalem closed the first act of the war (B. C. 166); and after this Judas made rapid attacks on every side—in Idumæa, Ammon, Gilead, Galilee—but he made no permanent settlement in the countries which he ravaged. Bethsura was fortified as a defence of Jerusalem on the south; but the authority of Judas seems to have been limited to the immediate neighborhood of Jerusalem, though the influence of his name extended more widely. On the death of Judas, the patriots were reduced to as great distress as at their first rising; and as Bacchides held the keys of the “mountain of Ephraim,” they were forced to find a refuge in the lowlands near Jericho, and after some slight successes Jonathan was allowed to settle at Michmash undisturbed, though the whole country remained absolutely under the

sovereignty of Syria. So far it seemed that little had been gained, when the contest between Alexander Balas and Demetrius I. opened a new period (B. C. 153). Jonathan was empowered to raise troops; the Jewish hostages were restored; many of the fortresses were abandoned; and apparently a definite district was assigned to the government of the high-priest. The former unfruitful conflicts at length produced their full harvest. The defeat at Eleasa, like the Swiss St. Jacob, had shown the worth of men who could face all odds, and no price seemed too great to secure their aid. When the Jewish leaders had once obtained legitimate power, they proved able to maintain it, though their general success was checkered by some reverses. The solid power of the national party was seen by the slight effect which was produced by the treacherous murder of Jonathan. Simon was able at once to occupy his place and carry out his plans. The Syrian garrison was withdrawn from Jerusalem; Joppa was occupied as a sea-port; and "four governments"—probably the central parts of the old kingdom of Judah, with three districts taken from Samaria—were subjected to the sovereign authority of the high-priest.

The war, thus brought to a noble issue, if less famous, is not less glorious than any of those in which a few brave men have successfully maintained the cause of freedom or religion against overpowering might. The answer of Judas to those who counselled retreat was as true-hearted as that of Leonidas; and the exploits of his followers will bear favorable comparison with those of the Swiss, or the Dutch, or the Americans. It would be easy to point out parallels in Maccabæan history to the noblest traits of patriots and martyrs in other countries; but it may be enough here to claim for the contest the attention which it rarely receives. It seems, indeed, as if the indifference of classical writers were perpetuated in our own days, though there is no struggle—not even the wars of Joshua or David—which is more profoundly interesting to the Christian student. For it is not only in their victory over external difficulties that the heroism of the Maccabees is conspicuous; their real success was as much imperilled by internal divisions as by foreign force. They had to contend on the one hand against open and subtle attempts to introduce Greek customs, and on the other against an extreme Pharisaic party, which is seen from time to time opposing their counsels. And it was from Judas and those whom he inspired that the old faith received its last development and final impress before the coming of our Lord.

For that view of the Maccabæan war, which regards it only as a civil and not as a religious conflict, is essentially one-sided. If there

were no other evidence than the book of Daniel—whatever opinion be held as to the date of it—that alone would show how deeply the noblest hopes of the theocracy were centered in the success of the struggle. When the feelings of the nation were thus again turned with fresh power to their ancient faith, we might expect that there would be a new creative epoch in the national literature; or, if the form of Hebrew composition was already fixed by sacred types, a prophet or psalmist would express the thoughts of the new age after the models of old time. Yet in part at least the leaders of Maccabæan times felt that they were separated by a real chasm from the times of the kingdom or of the exile. If they looked for a prophet in the future, they acknowledged that the spirit of prophecy was not among them. The volume of the prophetic writings was completed, and, as far as appears, no one ventured to imitate its contents. But the Hagiographa, though they were already long fixed as a definite collection, were not equally far removed from imitation. The apocalyptic visions of Daniel served as a pattern for the visions incorporated in the book of Enoch; and it has been commonly supposed that the Psalter contains compositions of the Maccabæan date. This supposition, which is at variance with the best evidence which can be obtained on the history of the Canon, can only be received upon the clearest internal proof; and it may well be questioned whether the hypothesis is not as much at variance with sound interpretation as with the history of the Canon.

The history of the Maccabees does not contain much which illustrates in detail the religious or social progress of the Jews. It is obvious that the period must not only have intensified old beliefs, but also have called out elements which were latent in them. One doctrine at least, that of a resurrection, and even of a material resurrection, was brought out into the most distinct apprehension by suffering. "It is good to look for the hope from God, to be raised up again by him," was the substance of the martyr's answer to his judge; "as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life." "Our brethren," says another, "have fallen, having endured a short pain leading to everlasting life, being under the covenant of God." And as it was believed that an interval elapsed between death and judgment, the dead were supposed to be in some measure still capable of profiting by the intercession of the living. Thus much is certainly expressed in the famous passage, 2 Macc. xii. 43-45, though the secondary notion of a purgatorial state is in no way implied in it. On the other hand, it is not very clear how far the future judgment was supposed to extend. If the punishment of the wicked heathen in another life had formed a

definite article of belief, it might have been expected to be put forward more prominently, though the passages in question may be understood of sufferings after death, and not only of earthly sufferings; but for the apostate Jews there was a certain judgment in reserve. The firm faith in the righteous providence of God shown in the chastening of His people, as contrasted with His neglect of other nations, is another proof of the widening view of the spiritual world, which is characteristic of the epoch. The lessons of the Captivity were reduced to moral teaching; and in the same way the doctrine of the ministry of angels assumed an importance which is without parallel except in patriarchal times. It was perhaps from this cause also that the Messianic hope was limited in its range. The vivid perception of spiritual truths hindered the spread of a hope which had been cherished in a material form; and a pause, as it were, was made, in which men gained new points of sight from which to contemplate the old promises.

The various glimpses of national life which can be gained during the period, show on the whole a steady adherence to the Mosaic law. Probably the law was never more rigorously fulfilled. The importance of the Antiochian persecution, in fixing the Canon of the Old Testament, deserves notice. The books of the law were specially sought out for destruction; and their distinctive value was in consequence proportionately increased. To use the words of 1 Macc., "the holy books in our hands" were felt to make all other comfort superfluous. The strict observance of the Sabbath or Sabbatical year, the law of the Nazarites, and the exemptions from military service, the solemn prayer and fasting, carry us back to early times. The provision for the maimed, the aged, and the bereaved, was in the spirit of the law; and the new feast of the dedication was a homage to the old rites, while it was a proof of independent life. The interruption of the succession to the high-priesthood was the most important innovation which was made, and one which prepared the way for the dissolution of the state. After various arbitrary changes, the office was left vacant for seven years upon the death of Alcimus. The last descendant of Jozadak (Onias), in whose family it had been for nearly four centuries, fled to Egypt, and established a schismatic worship; and at last, when the support of the Jews became important, the Maccabæan leader, Jonathan, of the family of Joarib, was elected to the dignity by the nomination of the Syrian king, whose will was confirmed, as it appears, by the voice of the people.

Little can be said of the condition of literature and the arts which has not been already anticipated. In common intercourse the Jews

used the Aramaic dialect, which was established after the return: this was "their own language;" but it is evident from the narrative quoted that they understood Greek, which must have spread widely through the influence of Syrian officers. There is not, however, the slightest evidence that Greek was employed in Palestinian literature till a much later date. The description of the monument which was erected by Simon at Modin in memory of his family, is the only record of the architecture of the time. The description is obscure, but in some features the structure appears to have presented a resemblance to the tombs of Porsena and the Curiatii, and perhaps to one still found in Idumæa. An oblong basement, of which the two chief faces were built of polished white marble, supported "seven pyramids in a line ranged one against another," equal in number to the members of the Maccabæan family, including Simon himself. To these he added other works of art (*μνησθέναι*), placing round (on the two chief faces?) great columns (Josephus adds, each of a single block), bearing "trophies of arms, and sculptured ships, which might be visible from the sea below." The language of 1 Macc. and Josephus implies that these columns were placed upon the basement, otherwise it might be supposed that the columns rose only to the height of the basement supporting the trophies on the same level as the pyramids. So much at least is evident, that the characteristics of this work—and probably of later Jewish architecture generally—bore closer affinity to the styles of Asia Minor and Greece than of Egypt or the East; a result which would follow equally from the Syrian dominion and the commerce which Simon opened by the Mediterranean.

The only recognized relics of the time are the coins which bear the name of "Simon," or "Simon Prince (*Nasi*) of Israel," in Samaritan letters. The privilege of a national coinage was granted to Simon by Antiochus VII. Sidetes; and numerous examples occur which have the dates of the first, second, third, and fourth years of the liberation of Jerusalem (Israel, Zion); and it is a remarkable confirmation of their genuineness, that in the first year the name Zion does not occur, as the citadel was not recovered till the second year of Simon's supremacy, while after the second year Zion alone is found. The privilege was first definitely accorded in B. C. 140, while the first year of Simon was B. C. 143; but this discrepancy causes little difficulty, as it is not unlikely that the concession of Antiochus was made in favor of a practice already existing. No date is given later than the fourth year, but coins of Simon occur without a date, which may belong to the last four years of his life. The emblems which the coins bear

have generally a connection with Jewish history—a vine-leaf, a cluster of grapes, a vase (of manna?), a trifid flowering rod, a palm-branch surrounded by a wreath of laurel, a lyre, a bundle of branches symbolic of the feast of tabernacles. The coins issued in the last war of independence by Barcochba repeat many of these emblems, and there is considerable difficulty in distinguishing the two series. The authenticity of all the Maccabæan coins was impugned by Tychsen, but on insufficient grounds. He was answered by Bayer, whose admirable essays give the most complete account of the coins, though he reckons some apparently later types as Maccabæan. Eckhel has given a good account of the controversy, and an accurate description of the chief types of the coins.

The authorities for the Maccabæan history have been given already. Of modern works, that of Ewald is by far the best. Herzfeld has collected a mass of details, chiefly from late sources, which are interesting and sometimes valuable; but the student of the period cannot but feel how difficult it is to realize it as a whole. Indeed, it seems that the instinct was true which named it from one chief hero. In this last stage of the history of Israel, as in the first, all life came from the leader; and it is the greatest glory of the Maccabees that, while they found at first all turn upon their personal fortunes, they left a nation strong enough to preserve an independent faith till the typical kingdom gave place to a universal Church.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ASMONÆAN KINGDOMS.

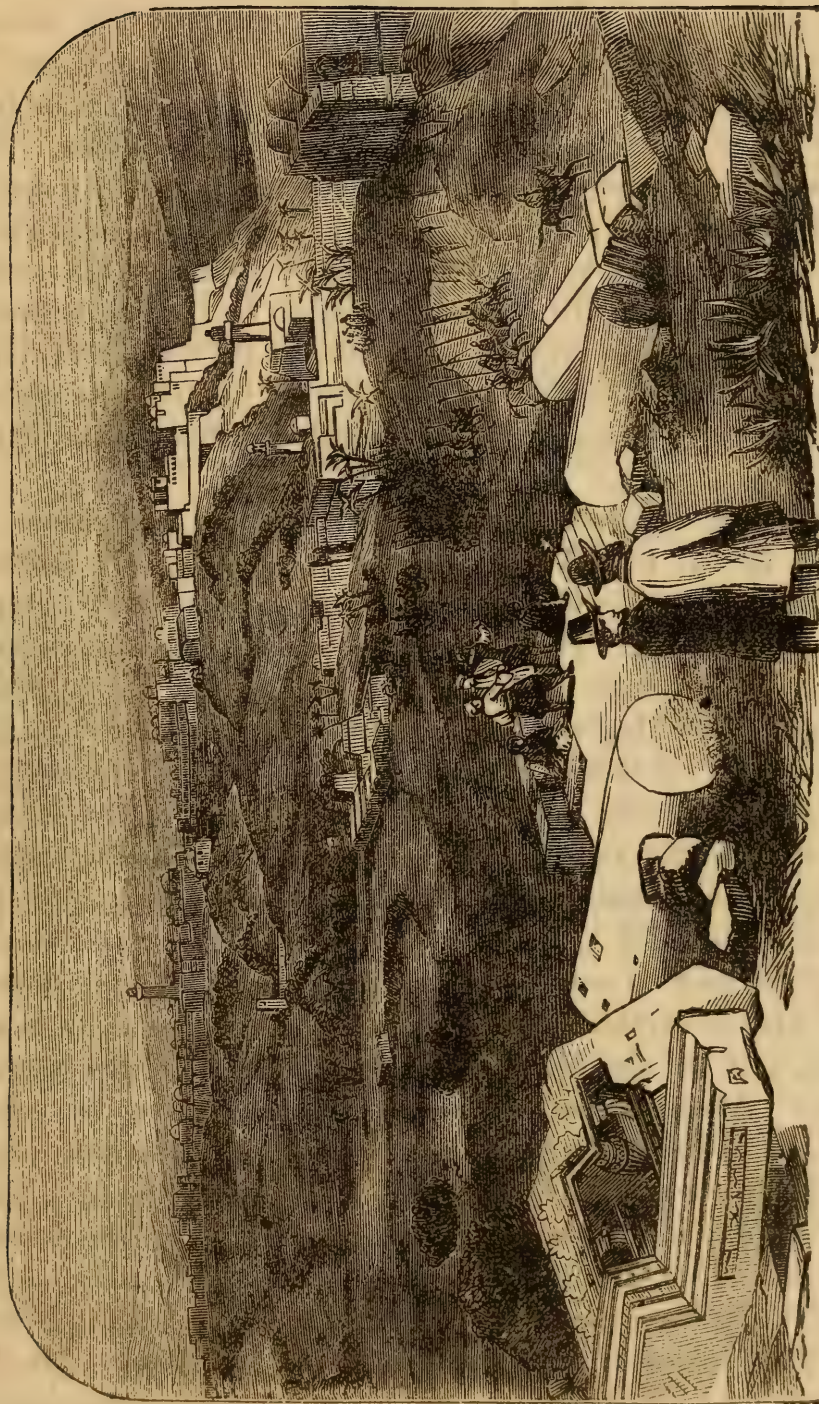
[B. C. 106-37.]

ARISTOBULUS I. (B. C. 106-105), the son of Hyrcanus, succeeded his father. His reign, though brief, was long enough for much crime and much misery. His mother, by the will of Hyrcanus, claimed the sovereignty; he threw her into a dungeon and starved her to death. The fate of his brother Antigonus (the one of his brothers whom he loved) will immediately appear; the other three were kept in close imprisonment. Aristobulus assumed the diadem and the title of king, and B. C. 106. founded the Asmonæan monarchy, which lasted just seventy years; but the whole period was one of internal dissension, and for nearly its latter half the interference of the Romans made the royalty little more than nominal.

Soon after mounting the throne, the new king made a successful expedition and subdued Iturea, a district at the foot of Anti-Libanus, afterward called Auranitis. He returned, suffering under a dangerous malady. His brother Antigonus, a short time after, having completed the conquest, as he entered Jerusalem, hastened, all armed as he was, to pay his devotions in the Temple; to utter his thanksgiving prayers, it is said, for his brother's recovery. This innocent act was misrepresented by the queen and harem of Aristobulus as covering a treacherous design. Aristobulus sent to summon his brother to attend him unarmed. The treacherous enemies of Antigonus, instead of delivering this message, told him to wear a new and splendid suit of armor which he possessed, as the king wished to see it. The guards were posted; and Antigonus, appearing in arms, was assassinated in the subterranean gallery which led from the Temple to the palace of Baris. Aristobulus, seized with agonizing compunction for his crime, vomited blood. The slave who bore the vessel away happened to stumble on the very spot where Antigonus had been slain, and the blood of the two brothers mingled on the pavement. A cry of horror rang through the palace. The king, having extorted from the reluctant attendants the dreadful cause, was seized with such an agony of remorse and horror that he expired.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS (B. C. 105-78), the eldest surviving brother of Aristobulus I., secured the succession for himself. A feeble attempt was made by his younger brother to usurp his place, but the rebel was seized and put to death. Alexander was an enterprising rather than a successful prince; and it was, perhaps, fortunate for the kingdom of Judæa that the adjacent states were weakened by dissension and mutual hostility. Egypt was governed by Cleopatra, widow of Ptolemy Physcon; Cyprus by Ptolemy Lathyrus, her eldest son, and most deadly enemy. The Syrian monarchy was shared by Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus; one held his court at Antioch, the other at Damascus. The Jews possessed the whole region of Palestine, except the noble port of Ptolemais; Dora and the tower of Straton were in the hands of Zoilus, who owned a sort of allegiance to Syria. Gaza was likewise independent of the Jewish government. The first object of Alexander was to reduce all these cities. He laid siege to Ptolemais, the inhabitants of which demanded the aid of Ptolemy Lathyrus, the king of Cyprus; but after the Cyprian king had levied an army of 30,000 men, the Ptolemaites, dreading the loss of their independence, refused to admit him within their gates. Ptolemy turned on the dominions of Zoilus, and on Gaza. Alexander entered into negotiations with Ptolemy for the friendly surrender of those places, and at the same time with Cleopatra for a large force to expel the king of Cyprus from Palestine. Ptolemy detected the double intrigue, marched into Judæa, took Asochis near the Jordan on the Sabbath, ravaged the country, and (by the assistance of an expert tactician, Philostephanus) totally defeated Alexander, with the loss of 30,000 men, pursued his ravages, and, to spread the terror of his name, is said to have practised most abominable cruelties. The kingdom of Judæa was lost but for a great army of Egyptians under the command of Chelcias and Ananias, two Alexandrian Jews. Lathyrus retreated into Cœlesyria; part of Cleopatra's army pursued him, part formed the siege of Ptolemais. Lathyrus determined on the bold measure of marching into Egypt, but was repelled, and obliged to retreat to Gaza. Ptolemais fell; and Alexander came to congratulate the Queen of Egypt on her victory. Cleopatra was strongly urged to seize the prince, and thus make herself mistress of Judæa; but the remonstrances of Ananias, the Jew, dissuaded her from this breach of faith.

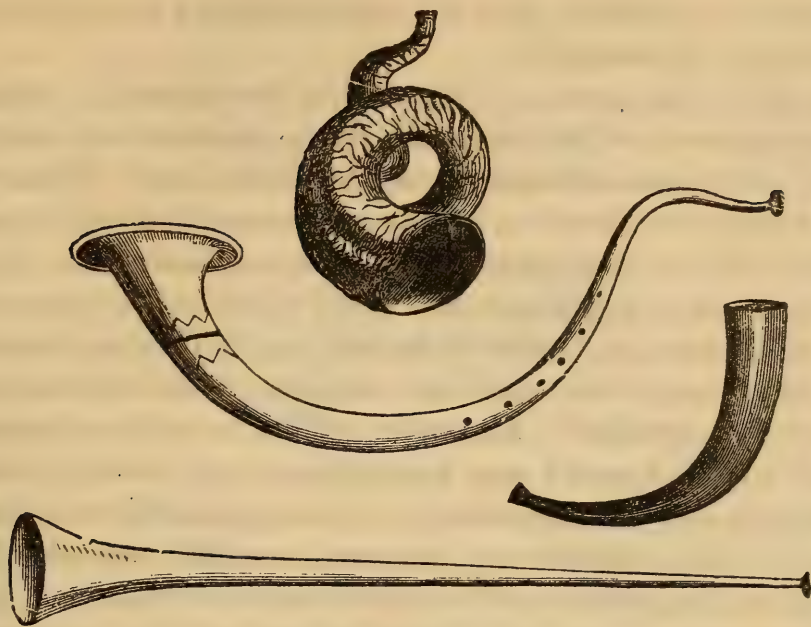
The Cypriote and Egyptian armies being withdrawn, Alexander resumed his sovereignty; but his restless disposition involved him in



GAZA.

new wars, with no better success. He invaded the country east of the Jordan, took Gadara, but was totally defeated before Amathus, which he had plundered of the treasures of Theodorus, prince of Philadelphia. The indefatigable prince-priest next fell upon the territory of Gaza, took Raphia and Anthedon, and, although constrained to raise the siege of Gaza by a descent of Lathyrus, he formed it again the next year. Gaza made an obstinate resistance. At one time the besieger came near losing his whole army by a desperate sally of the besieged; at length, however, the commander of the garrison, Apollodotus, having been slain by treachery, Gaza surrendered. Alexander at first seemed inclined to mercy, but, before long, let loose his troops to revenge themselves on the town. The inhabitants took up arms; yet, after a considerable loss, the conqueror succeeded in totally dismantling and destroying this ancient city, and left it a heap of ruins.

But the most dangerous enemies of Alexander were at home. The Pharisaic faction had the populace at their command; and at the Feast of Tabernacles, while he was officiating as king and high-priest, a mutiny broke out. The mob pelted him with citrons, reproached him with the baseness of his descent, and denied his right to the priesthood. The king threw his troops upon the unarmed multitude, and slew 6000 of them. To prevent these insults in future, Alexander raised a wooden partition between the court of the priests and that of the people; and, to awe the insurgents, enrolled a bodyguard of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Pisidians and Cilicians. He then, a second time, invaded the country east of the Jordan, reduced it to pay tribute, took Amathus, but again suffered a total defeat by Orodes, king of Arabia. The Jews seized the opportunity to rise in rebellion, and for six years the country suffered all the horrors of civil war. Alexander at first met with great success; but when he endeavored to bring the mutineers to terms, they cried out with one voice that they would yield only on one condition, that he would put himself to death. At length, pressed on all sides, the insurgents sought the aid of Demetrius Euchærus, one of the kings of Syria. Alexander, always unfortunate in battle, was routed with the loss of all his 6000 mercenaries and many other of his troops. He fled to the mountains; but a sudden revulsion of popular feeling took place in his favor, and he found himself at the head of 60,000 men. Demetrius retreated, and Alexander, master of all the country, besieged his enemies in Bethome, took the city, and marched to Jerusalem in triumph. His vengeance was signal and terrible. During



TRUMPETS.

a banquet in the midst of his concubines, he publicly crucified 800 men, and slew their wives and children before their faces. From this atrocity he was named the Thracian. Of the disaffected, 8000 abandoned the city; but, under his iron sway, the whole country remained in awed submission, though not unharassed by wars against the Syrians and Arabians, during the rest of his reign. His foreign policy at this period was equally vigorous. The kingdom of the Jews at his death comprehended the coast from the Tower of Straton to Rhinocolura, Idumæa, Samaria, and considerable provinces to the east of the Jordan. In the fourth year after his triumph over the insurgents, Alexander Jannæus was seized with a mortal malady. A disturbed and rebellious kingdom, and newly conquered provinces, were not likely to submit to the feeble authority of women and children. The dying king summoned his wife Alexandra, and strongly urged, as the only means of preserving the kingdom, that on his death she should throw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, powerful on account of their numbers and turbulence, and still more from having the people entirely under their direction. Thus, after an unquiet and eventful reign of twenty-seven years, Alexander Jannæus died.

B. C. 78-69. ALEXANDRA (B. C. 78-69), his widow, succeeded him, and immediately adopted the policy which he had suggested, and threw the administration into the hands of the Pharisees. - The change was instant, the greatest honors were paid to the remains of

the unpopular Jannæus, and the high-priesthood was conferred on his eldest son, Hyrcanus II.

During the whole reign of Alexandra, the wisdom, or rather the imperious necessity of her husband's dying admonition became more manifest; the throne stood secure, the whole land, says Josephus, was at rest, except the Pharisees, who began to execute dreadful reprisals upon their former adversaries. Having strengthened their party by a general release of prisoners and recall of exiles, they began their attack on Diogenes, a favorite of the late king. They next demanded public justice on all who had been accessory to the execution of the 800 who were crucified. Alexandra, unable to resist, was compelled to submit; but her second son, Aristobulus, a man of daring ambition and intrigue, seized the opportunity of placing himself at the head of the party, which, though now oppressed, was still powerful. They appealed to the justice as well as to the mercy of the queen, and remonstrated on the ingratitude of abandoning the faithful adherents of her husband to the vengeance of their enemies. She adopted a measure intended to secure them, without offending the Pharisees; they were allowed to leave Jerusalem, and were enrolled as the garrison of the frontier cities. To employ the restless mind of her son Aristobulus, she sent him, with a considerable army, under the pretence of checking the depredations of Ptolemy, who ruled a small independent kingdom at Chalcis, but with the secret design of seizing Damascus. Aristobulus succeeded both in the object contemplated by his mother and in his own; he got possession of Damascus, and strongly attached the army to his person.

The result was seen when Alexandra, after a prosperous
B. C. 69. reign of nine years, sickened and died. Aristobulus secretly fled from Jerusalem, before his mother's death, put himself at the head of the army, summoned all the frontier garrisons, which were composed of his own party, to his assistance, and upon his mother's death, marched rapidly upon Jerusalem, where his brother Hyrcanus II., who already held the high-priesthood, had been proclaimed king. The Pharisaic party, with Hyrcanus at their head, seized as hostages the wife and children of Aristobulus, and hastily raising their forces, met the invader at Jericho. But the affections of the army were centred in the bold and enterprising Aristobulus; a great part deserted, the rest were discomfited; the younger brother entered Jerusalem, the elder was besieged in the palace of Baris; till at length the mild and indolent Hyrcanus consented to yield up the sovereignty, and retire perhaps to the happier station of a private man. The blow was fatal to the Pharisaic party.



ASMONÆAN COINS.

1. Shekel, time of Simon the Maccabee.
2. Half Shekel, time of Simon the Maccabee.
3. Copper Coin, time of Simon the Maccabee.

4. Copper Coin, of Judas the Maccabee.
5. Copper Coin, of Jonathan.

ARISTOBULUS II. (B. C. 69–63) had scarcely achieved his victory over the Pharisees, when a new enemy arose in the person of Antipater, whose descendants were to be more dangerous opponents to the Asmonæan house even than the Pharisees. Antipater, the father of Herod, an Idumæan of noble birth, was the son of Antipas, who had been governor of that province under Alexander Jannæus. Antipater had acquired considerable influence over the feeble mind of Hyrcanus as his chief minister, and as he had every prospect of enjoying all but the name of a sovereign, he ill brooked the annihilation of his ambitious hopes by the conquest of Aristobulus. At length, after long working on the fears of Hyrcanus, as if his life were in danger, Antipater persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of Arabia. This kingdom had silently grown up to considerable power. Petra, its capital, had become the great emporium of the commerce through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Aretas came to the aid of Hyrcanus with an army of 50,000 men, defeated Aristobulus, and besieged him in the Temple, his last refuge, where the priests prepared for defence. He was vigorously pressed by Aretas, Antipater, and Hyrcanus. During the siege two characteristic incidents took place. An old man named Onias had the fame of having prayed for rain in a season of great drought, and rain had immediately fallen; and he was now brought to the camp of Hyrcanus, and commanded

to employ his powerful prayers against Aristobulus. The patriotic old man knelt down, and prayed as follows: "O God, the King of the Universe, since on one side are thy people, on the other thy priests, I beseech thee hear not the prayers of either to the detriment of the other." For this impartial patriotism the people stoned him to death. The second occurrence was as follows:—The Passover drew near, and there were no victims in the Temple for sacrifice. The besieged entered into an agreement that, on payment of a certain price, lambs should be furnished for the great national offering. They let the baskets down the walls, but the perfidious besiegers took the money and sent up the baskets empty, or, as the Rabbins relate with the deepest horror, loaded with swine.

B. C. 65. An unexpected deliverer at length appeared; a military officer of that haughty republic which had been steadily pursuing its way to universal dominion. Scaurus, the lieutenant of the Roman conqueror Pompey, had seized Damascus, and the competitors for the Jewish throne endeavored to outbid each other for his protection. Aristobulus offered 400 talents—Hyrcanus the same. The rapacious Roman hesitated; but Aristobulus was in possession of the public treasures of the Temple, and therefore most likely to make good his terms. Scaurus sent an order to Aretas to break up the siege; the Arabian complied, and as he drew off was attacked and defeated by the forces of Aristobulus.

B. C. 64–63. In a short time, Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Kings crowded from all sides to pay homage, and to conciliate with splendid presents the greatest subject of the Republic. The present of the King of Egypt was a crown of gold worth 4000 pieces of gold; that of Aristobulus a golden vine, worth 500 talents. After a short absence in Pontus and Armenia, Pompey returned to Syria, and the ambassadors of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before the tribunal of their master; the wily Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus—on that of Aristobulus a certain Nicodemus, who had so little address as to complain of the extortions of the Roman commanders, Scaurus and Gabinius. Pompey appointed a solemn hearing of the cause for the next spring at Damascus; and accordingly, at that time, the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, of Aristobulus, and of the Jewish people, stood before the tribunal of the Roman. The people began the charge against both the brothers; they had usurped (it was urged) an authority which belonged solely to the high-priests, introduced a kingly despotism, and reduced a free people to servitude. The ambassador of Hyrcanus pleaded his superior title as the elder born;

accused Aristobulus not merely of usurping the throne of his brother, and degrading him to a private station, but of committing wanton depredations by land and piracies by sea, on all the neighboring states. The cause of Hyrcanus was supported by more than a thousand of the most illustrious of the Jews, suborned by Antipater. On the part of Aristobulus, the total incapacity of Hyrcanus was strongly pressed; his own pretensions to power were limited to that enjoyed by his father Alexander. On his behalf appeared a troop of insolent youths, splendidly arrayed in purple, with flowing hair and rich armor, who carried themselves as if they were the true nobles of the land. But Pompey had a greater object in view than the settlement of Judæa—the subjugation of Arabia, with the seizure of Petra and its trade. He dismissed both parties with great civility, particularly Aristobulus, who had the power of impeding his designs. Aristobulus, suspecting the goodness of his own cause, endeavored to put the country in a state of defence; but Pompey, on his return from Arabia, began to assume a higher tone. He collected his forces, and marched directly into Judæa. He found Aristobulus shut up in a strong citadel on a rock, called Alexandrion. Aristobulus attempted to negotiate; twice he descended from his place of security to hold a conference with Pompey; the third time Pompey forced him to sign written orders for the surrender of all his fortresses. The proud spirit of Aristobulus could not brook the disgrace of submission; too high-minded to yield, too weak to resist, his conduct shows a degree of irresolution and vacillation which it is more just to attribute to the difficulty of his situation than to the want of vigor in his character. He fled to Jerusalem, and prepared for resistance.

B. C. 63. Pompey advanced to Jericho, where the Romans were struck with admiration at the beautiful palm groves and gardens of balsam shrubs, which, originally the growth of Arabia, flourished in that district with great luxuriance; their produce had become an important article of trade. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided to make effectual resistance, met him, and offered a large sum of money, and the surrender of the capital. Gabinius was sent forward to take possession of the city, but the bolder party, meantime, had gained the ascendancy, and he found the gates closed and the walls manned. Indignant at this apparent treachery, Pompey threw the king into chains, and advanced in person on Jerusalem. The party of Hyrcanus were superior in the city, and immediately received the invader with open arms. The soldiery of Aristobulus threw themselves into the Temple, and,



THE PALM GROVES OF JERICH0.

with the priesthood, cut off all the bridges and causeways which communicated with the town, and prepared for an obstinate defence. The hill of the Temple, precipitous on three sides, was impregnable except from the north. On that side Pompey made his approaches, where, nevertheless, there was a rapid descent, flanked by lofty towers. Notwithstanding the arrival of military engines from Tyre, this holy citadel held out for three months, and was only lost through the superstitious observance of the Sabbath. The Maccabæan relaxation of this law only provided for actual self-defence; the Romans soon perceived that they might carry on their works without disturbance on that day. They regularly, therefore, suspended their assault, but employed the time in drawing the engines near the walls, filling up the trenches, and in other labors, which they carried on without the least impediment. At the end of the three months one of the battering engines threw down the largest of the towers. Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sylla, mounted the breach, and after an obstinate resistance and great loss of life, the Romans remained masters of the Temple. During the assault, the priests had been employed in the daily sacrifice: unmoved by the terror and confusion and carnage around, they calmly continued their office. Many of them were slain. Many of

the more zealous defenders of the Temple, threw themselves headlong down the precipices.

B. C. 63. The conduct of the Roman general excited at once the horror and admiration of the Jews. He entered the Temple, surveyed every part, and even profaned with his heathen presence the Holy of Holies, into which the high-priest entered only once a year. Great was his astonishment to find this mysterious sanctuary entirely empty, with no statue or form or symbol of the Deity to whom it was consecrated. In the other parts he found immense riches—the golden table and candlesticks, a great store of precious frankincense, and two thousand talents in the treasury. All these, with generosity not less noble because it was politic, he left untouched—commanded the Temple to be purified from the carnage of his soldiers—nominated Hyrcanus to the priesthood, though without the royal diadem. Then having fixed the sum which the country was to pay as tribute to Rome, he demolished the walls of the city, and limited the dominions of Hyrcanus to Judæa. This done, he set out for Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus and his two sons and daughters as prisoners. Alexander, the elder son, made his escape on the journey, but the Jewish king and his second son adorned the splendid triumph of the conqueror. The magnanimity of Pompey, in respecting the treasures of the Temple, could not obliterate the deeper impression of hatred excited by his profanation of the sacred precincts. The Jews beheld with satisfaction the decline of Pompey's fortunes, which commenced from this period, and attributed it entirely to his sacrilegious impiety. Throughout the whole world they embraced the party of Cæsar, fortunate, inasmuch as the course they followed from blind passion conduced eventually to their real interests, and obtained for them important privileges and protection from the imperial house.

B. C. 63–40. **HYRCANUS II.** (B. C. 63–40) was restored to a power which was merely nominal; for Judæa was really governed by Antipater in complete subservience to the policy of Rome. In fact, Judæa seems to have been annexed by Pompey to the newly-formed province of Syria, though under a separate administration, both judicial and financial. The progress of Alexander, who soon appeared at the head of 10,000 foot and 1500 horse, left Hyrcanus no choice but Roman protection. Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, besieged Alexander in the fortress of Alexandrion; but the interest of Alexander's mother with the Romans obtained her son an amnesty, on condition of his surrendering that and his other fortresses. The celebrated **MARK ANTONY** acted in this campaign as the lieutenant

of Gabinius. The intervention of Gabinius led to a new settlement of the civil government. He deprived the high-priest of the supreme power, which he divided among five "Great Sanhedrims," seated at Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amantus, and Sepphoris, and modelled on the Great Sanhedrim of 71 members, which had administered justice at Jerusalem from the time of the Maccabees.* Thus the desire of the Jews for emancipation from the temporal power of the high-priest was gratified at the expense of the loss of a central seat of government. This state of things lasted till the restoration of Hyrcanus to the principality by Julius Cæsar. B. c. 44.

* The word Sanhedrim, properly Sanhedrin, is formed from *συνέδριον*: the attempts of the Rabbins to find a Hebrew etymology for it are idle.

The *Great Sanhedrim*, as it is called in the Talmud, was the supreme council of the Jewish people in the time of Christ and earlier. In the Mishna it is also styled *house of judgment*.

The *origin* of this assembly is traced in the Mishna to the seventy elders whom Moses was directed to associate with him in the government of the Israelites (Num. xi. 16, 17). This body continued to exist, according to the Rabbinical accounts, down to the close of the Jewish commonwealth. But it is now generally admitted that the tribunal established by Moses was probably temporary, and did not continue to exist after the Israelites had entered Palestine.

In the lack of definite historical information as to the establishment of the Sanhedrim, it can only be said in general that the Greek etymology of the name seems to point to a period subsequent to the Macedonian supremacy in Palestine. The fact that Herod, when procurator of Galilee, was summoned before the Sanhedrim (B. c. 47), on the ground that in putting men to death he had usurped the authority of the body (Joseph. Ant. xiv. 9, § 4), shows that it then possessed much power and was not of very recent origin. If the *γερονσία τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, in 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27, designates the Sanhedrim—as it probably does—this is the earliest historical trace of its existence.

In the silence of Philo, Josephus, and the Mishna, respecting the *constitution* of the Sanhedrim, we are obliged to depend upon the few incidental notices in the New Testament. From these we gather that it consisted of *ἀρχιερεῖς*, *chief priests*, or the heads of the twenty-four classes into which the priests were divided (including, probably, those who had been high-priests), or *πρεσβύτεροι*, *elders*, men of age and experience, and *γραμματεῖς*, *scribes*, lawyers, or those learned in the Jewish law (Matt. xx. 57, 59; Mark xv. 1; Luke xxii. 66; Acts v. 21).

The number of members is usually given as 71, though other authorities make them 70, and others 72. The president of this body was styled *Nasi*, and was chosen on account of his eminence in worth and wisdom. Often, if not generally, this pre-eminence was accorded to the high-priest. That the high-priest presided at the condemnation of Jesus (Matt. xxvi. 62), is plain from the narrative. The vice-president, called in the Talmud, *father of the house of judgment*, sat at the right hand of the president. While in session the Sanhedrim sat in the form of a half-circle. In Matt. xxvi. 58, Mark xiv. 54, *al.*, the lictors or attendants of the Sanhedrim are referred to under the name of *ὑπηρέται*.

The *place* in which the sessions of the Sanhedrim were ordinarily held was,

The new settlement was but just made, when Aristobulus, having escaped from Rome with his youngest son Antigonus, gathered a new army, and again occupied Alexandrion; but they were speedily defeated by Gabinius, and sent back to Rome, where Aristobulus remained a prisoner, but Antigonus was again released through his mother's intercession. When Gabinius marched with Mark Antony into Egypt, Alexander seized the opportunity for another revolt, and shut up the small Roman force, who had been left behind, in Mount Gerizim (B. C. 56). At the head of 80,000 men, he met Gabinius after his return from Egypt, but was utterly defeated near Mount Tabor, and only saved his life by flight.

In B. C. 55, CRASSUS received Syria as his share in the partition of provinces by the first triumvirs. In the following year he reached Jerusalem on his disastrous expedition against the Parthians, who had complete power beyond the Euphrates, and had begun to threaten Syria. The high-priest only whetted his insatiable avarice by the surrender of a secret treasure; and Crassus pillaged the Temple of all the wealth which was collected by the annual offerings of the faithful who were dispersed over the world, and which

according to the Talmud, a hall called *Gazzith*, supposed to have been situated in the southeast corner of one of the courts near the Temple building. In special exigencies, however, it seems to have met in the residence of the high-priest (Matt. xxvi. 3). Forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and consequently while the Saviour was teaching in Palestine, the sessions of the Sanhedrim were removed from the hall *Gazzith* to a somewhat greater distance from the Temple building, although still on Mount Moriah. After several other changes, its seat was finally established at Tiberias.

As a judicial body the Sanhedrim constituted a supreme court, to which belonged, in the first instance, the trial of a tribe fallen into idolatry, false prophets, and the high-priest, as well as the other priests. As an administrative council, it determined other important matters. Jesus was arraigned before this body as a false prophet (John xi. 47), and Peter, John, Stephen and Paul as teachers of error and deceivers of the people. From Acts ix. 2, it appears that the Sanhedrim exercised a degree of authority beyond the limits of Palestine. According to the Jerusalem Gemara, the power of inflicting capital punishment was taken away from this tribunal forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem. With this agrees the answer of the Jews to Pilate (John xix. 31), "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death." Beyond the arrest, trial, and condemnation of one convicted of violating the ecclesiastical law, the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim at the time could not be extended; the confirmation and execution of the sentence in capital cases belonged to the Roman procurator. The stoning of Stephen (Acts vii. 56 sqq.) is only an apparent exception, for it was either a tumultuous procedure, or, if done by order of the Sanhedrim, was an illegal assumption of power, as Josephus (Ant. xx. 9, 1) expressly declares the execution of the Apostle James during the absence of the procurator to have been.

Pompey had spared. His plunder is said to have reached the enormous amount of 10,000 talents, or more than two millions sterling; and his fatal overthrow by the Parthians was viewed by the Jews as the punishment of one more of their oppressors, for Gabinius had already been driven into exile.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, Cæsar freed Aristobulus and sent him to Judæa, but he was murdered on the journey by the partisans of Pompey, and his son Alexander was executed by Scipio at Antioch. Antigonus alone was left; and his claims were superseded by the timely aid which Antipater gave Cæsar in his Egyptian campaign (B. C. 48). His services were rewarded by the restoration of his puppet Hyrcanus to the sovereignty, with the title of Ethnarch, and by the remission of tribute in the Sabbatic year. ANTIPATER was made the Procurator of all Judæa, and a Roman citizen; and the aggrandizement of his family occupies the few remaining years of the Asmonæan dynasty.

Antipater had four sons:—Phasaël HEROD, Joseph, and Pheroras, and a daughter named Salome. He made Phasaël governor of Jerusalem, and Herod, who was only fifteen years old, governor of Galilee. HEROD soon distinguished himself alike by energy in his government and defiance of all Jewish laws and powers. He put down the banditti by a severity in which we see the germs of his later cruelties. His execution of their leader roused the jealousy of the Sanhedrim, who cited him to answer before them for his assumption of the power of life and death. Confident in the popularity his success had earned, and bearing a menacing letter from Sextus Cæsar, the governor of Syria, Herod appeared before the Sanhedrim in arms and royal purple. The only man who dared to rebuke his presumption and to warn the court against submission, Sameas, was one of the only two whose lives Herod spared when the warning was fulfilled. Hyrcanus adjourned the trial, and permitted Herod to escape to Damascus to Sextus Cæsar, who made him governor of Coelesyria. It required all the influence of Antipater to dissuade his son from marching in arms upon Jerusalem.

The death of Julius Cæsar (B. C. 44) was a great blow, not only to the party of Hyrcanus and the family of Antipater, but to the whole Jewish nation, to whom he had granted protection in their religion. Cassius assumed the government of Syria with the intolerant rapacity of a proconsul of the old school. Judæa was assessed at 700 talents, half to be raised by Antipater and his sons, and half by Malichus, a courtier of Hyrcanus. Malichus being unable

to raise his portion, would have fallen a victim to the resentment of Cassius, had not Antipater made good the deficiency from the treasures of Hyrcanus. Malichus acquitted the obligation by poisoning Antipater; but Herod not long afterward procured the murder of Malichus in the presence of Hyrcanus, who was forced to approve the deed as performed by the authority of Cassius, whose favor Herod had completely won.

B. C. 42. The departure of Cassius from Syria seemed to give the stricter Jews the opportunity of throwing off the domination of the Herodians, for so we may call the party since the death of Antipater. But Phasaël put them down at Jerusalem, and Antigonus himself was repulsed from Galilee by Herod. Their hopes revived with the battle of Philippi (B. C. 42); and Hyrcanus placed himself at their head. He was won back, however, by Herod, who offered to marry his grand-daughter Mariamne,* and so allied himself with the Asmonæan family. Herod also defeated Antigonus, though supported by the Roman governor of Damascus; and his presents and flattery secured the favor of Mark Antony, to whom the second triumvirate had given the dominion of the East. Antony committed the two governments of Palestine to Herod and his brother Phasaël, under the title of tetrarchs, and issued various decrees in favor of Hyrcanus and the Jewish nation (B. C. 41).

A last ray of hope from the East gilded the fall of the Asmonæans. While Antony was spending his time in dalliance with Cleopatra, Syria revolted, and called in the aid of the Parthians under Pacorus, the king's son (B. C. 40). Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, offered the Parthian general 1000 talents and 500 women of the noblest families, if he would restore him to the throne. Supported by a Parthian force, Antigonus marched upon Jerusalem, where the two factions came to open war, and Hyrcanus was only upheld by Herod's energy and severity. At length Hyrcanus and Phasaël were induced, against the advice of Herod, to submit their cause in person to Barzaphernes, the Parthian commander in Syria. Herod fled to Massada, a strong fortress on the west side of the Dead Sea, where he placed his mother, his sister, and his betrothed bride, Mariamne, under the care of his brother Joseph and an Idumæan force, while he betook himself

* She was the daughter of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, and of Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, and so the last representative (except Antigonus and her brother Aristobulus) of both the surviving branches of the Asmonæan house. By the marriage, which took place in B. C. 37, the same year in which Antigonus was put to death, Herod adopted her claims as his own.

to Rome. Foiled in the main object of securing Herod's person, the Parthian general threw Hyrcanus and Phasaël into chains. The latter committed suicide in prison. The former was mutilated of his ears, in order to disqualify him from continuing high-priest. He lived for some years longer, and was at last put to death by Herod on a charge of treason.

ANTIGONUS, the last ruler of the Asmonæan house, B. C. 40-37. held a nominal sovereignty for three years (B. C. 40-37). The Parthians ravaged the country, and Herod soon returned in a new character. He had artfully advocated with the triumvirs the claims of young Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne, who was the grandson both of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus. But his real wishes were doubtless well known to his former friend, Antony; with his usual address he secured the favor of Octavian; and the result was a decree of the Senate appointing him king of Judæa.

All this was done at Rome in the short space of a week, and Herod landed at Ptolemais after an absence of only three months. Antigonus was now left to himself, his Parthian allies having retired on the advance of Ventidius, the legate of Antony. He was besieging Masada, which Herod speedily relieved with the aid of a Roman force under Silo. The treachery of this general, whose object was to make all the gain he could of both parties, compelled Herod, after considerable successes, to retire from before Jerusalem. Fixing his headquarters in Samaria, he employed his energies in clearing Galilee of robbers.

The next year's campaign was indecisive; but, after the expulsion of the Parthians from Syria, Antony placed a sufficient force at Herod's disposal. Having gained a great battle over Pappus, the general of Antigonus, Herod formed the siege of Jerusalem in the spring of B. C. 37; while he sought to recommend himself to the Asmonæan party by completing his marriage with Mariamne. The siege lasted six months; the sufferings of the besieged being increased by the scarcity of a Sabbatic year. The city was at length taken on a Sabbath; and such was the fury of the Roman soldiery under Sosius, that Herod had to entreat that he might not be left king of a depopulated capital.

Antigonus was sent in chains to Antony, who put him to death at Herod's instigation. The last king of the Maccabæan line was the first sovereign who ended his life beneath the rods and axe of the Roman lictor; and the Jewish historian so far sympathizes with Rome, as to forget the shame of his nation in contempt for the weak-

ness of its last native ruler. Thus ended the Asmonæan dynasty (B. C. 37), in the 130th year from the first victories of Judas Macca-bæus, and the 70th from the assumption of the royal title by Aristobulus I.

We shall soon see how the sole remaining scion of the long line of heroes, priests, and princes, the young Aristobulus, was cut off by Herod.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HEROD THE GREAT.

[B. C. 37-4.]

THE history of the Herodian family presents one side of the last development of the Jewish nation. The evils already seen in the hierarchy which grew up after the return, found an unexpected embodiment in the tyranny of a foreign usurper.

Religion was adopted as a policy ; and the hellenizing designs of Antiochus Epiphanes were carried out, at least in their spirit, by men who professed to observe the Law. Side by side with the spiritual "kingdom of God," proclaimed by John the Baptist, and founded by the Lord, a kingdom of the world was established, which in its external splendor recalled the traditional magnificence of Solomon. The simultaneous realization of the two principles, national and spiritual, which had long variously influenced the Jews in the establishment of a dynasty and a church, is a fact pregnant with instruction. In the fulness of time a descendant of Esau established a false counterpart of the promised glories of Messiah.

Various accounts are given of the ancestry of the Herods ; but, neglecting the exaggerated statements of friends and enemies, it seems certain that they were of Idumæan descent, a fact which is indicated by the forms of some of the names which were retained in the family. But though aliens by race, the Herods were Jews in faith. The Idumæans had been conquered and brought over to Judaism by John Hyrcanus (B. C. 130) ; and from the time of their conversion they remained constant to their new religion, looking upon Jerusalem as their mother city, and claiming for themselves the name of Jews.

The general policy of the whole Herodian family, though modified by the personal characteristics of the successive rulers, was the same. It centred in the endeavor to found a great and independent kingdom, in which the power of Judaism should subserve the consolidation of a state. The protection of Rome was in the first instance a necessity ; but the designs of Herod I. and Agrippa I. point to an independent Eastern Empire as their end, and not to a mere subject monarchy. Such a consummation of the Jewish hopes seems to have found some measure of acceptance at first, and hence arose the party of the Herod-

ians ; and by a natural reaction the temporal dominion of the Herods opened the way to the destruction of the Jewish nationality. The religion which was degraded into the instrument of unscrupulous ambition lost its power to quicken a united people. The high-priests were appointed and deposed by Herod I. and his successors with such a reckless disregard for the character of their office, that the office itself was deprived of its sacred dignity. The nation was divided, and amid the conflicts of sects a universal faith arose, which more than fulfilled the nobler hopes that found no satisfaction in the treacherous grandeur of a court.

HEROD THE GREAT (B. C. 37-4) was now established on the throne of Judæa, and founded a dynasty of princes who ruled in different parts of Palestine under various titles ; but among whom he himself was the last, as he was the first, independent sovereign of the whole country. For he may be termed independent in reference to the exercise of his power, though its origin and tenure rested on the will of his Roman masters. By birth an Idumæan, by policy and predilection an adherent and imitator of Rome, he seemed to many of his subjects little better than a heathen conqueror ; and his cruelties to the Asmonæan house, which was still held in reverence, roused a deep sense of indignation. He signalized his elevation to the throne by offerings to the Capitoline Jupiter, and surrounded his person with foreign mercenaries, some of whom had been formerly in the service of Cleopatra. His coins, and those of his successors, bore only Greek legends, and he introduced heathen games within the walls of Jerusalem. He resolved at once to show the malcontents that they had a master. Massacre and confiscation were dealt out to the Asmonæan party. Forty-five of the chief adherents of Antigonus were put to death, with the whole Sanhedrim, except the rabbis Sameas and Pollio, who had counselled the surrender of Jerusalem during the siege. Their spoils enabled Herod to satisfy the rapacity of his patron Antony. The whole period of Herod's reign was, in many respects, a repetition of that of the Maccabees and Antiochus Epiphanes. True, Herod was more politic and more prudent, and also probably had more sympathy with the Jewish character, than Antiochus. But the spirit of stern resistance to innovation and of devotion to the law of Jehovah burned no less fiercely in the breasts of the people than it had done before ; and it is curious to remark how every attempt on Herod's part to introduce foreign customs was met by outbreaks, and how futile were all the benefits which he conferred both on the temporal and ecclesiastical welfare of the people when these obnoxious



THE RACE.

intrusions were in question. Whatever his ultimate designs might be, he was not yet prepared to annul the great institutions of religion ; nor, as a stranger of the hated race of Esau, did he venture to assume the robes of Aaron. He brought an obscure priest from Babylon, named Ananel, to fill the office of high-priest, which had been vacant since the mutilation of Hyrcanus. But this insult to the surviving members of the Asmonæan house found an able and unscrupulous opponent. This was Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, widow of Alexander the elder son of Aristobulus, and mother of Herod's wife Mariamne, and of young Aristobulus, whose claims we have seen Herod himself affecting to support at Rome. Her adroit appeals to Cleopatra, and her unscrupulous intrigues to win over Antony, alarmed Herod, who, always ready to trim his policy by necessity, conferred the high-priesthood on Aristobulus. But the people's applause, when they saw the graceful youth of sixteen, the last scion of the Maccabees, perform his office with a dignity becoming his descent, sealed the doom which had doubtless already been resolved on. At a feast given by Alexander to Herod near Jericho, Aristobulus was drowned while bathing in a tank, as if accidentally, by the rough play of his comrades, who were instigated by Herod. Ananel was then reappointed to the priesthood.

It was in vain that the king honored his victim with a
 B. C. 35. splendid funeral. The people were not deceived by his pretended grief ; and Alexandra again appealed to Cleopatra. Herod was summoned to Antony at Laodicea. He resolved to face the danger ; but, the husband's jealousy being, perhaps, mixed with the desire for a sweet revenge on Alexandra in the death of her remaining

child, he left orders with his brother Joseph to dispatch Mariamne on the first news of his own death. Herod's gifts and personal influence with Antony triumphed even over the enmity of Cleopatra; but the visit had fatal consequences. Herod returned, with Cœlesyria added to his dominions, to have his mind poisoned against his wife by the jealousy of his sister Salome. His fondness for Mariamne, however, prevailed over suspicion, till her own remonstrance with him for the cruel sentence, which Joseph had betrayed to her, seemed to prove the familiarity alleged by Salome. But her charms had not yet lost their power, and his rage was satiated by the execution of Joseph and the imprisonment of Alexandra. A new danger followed, in the shape of a visit of Cleopatra to Jerusalem, on her return with Antony from his Parthian expedition; but Herod, after saving his kingdom from her cupidity, had the rarer skill to preserve himself from her fascinations. He is even said to have contemplated her murder, as the best service he could do at once to Antony and himself, and to have afterward taken credit with Augustus for such a proof of friendship to his patron.

In the spring of 31, the year of the battle of Actium, B. C. 31. Judæa was visited by an earthquake, the effects of which appear to have been indeed tremendous: 10,000, or, according to another account, 20,000 persons were killed by the fall of buildings, and an immense quantity of cattle. The panic at Jerusalem was very severe; but it was calmed by the arguments of Herod, then departing to a campaign on the east of Jordan for the interests of Cleopatra, against Malchus, king of Arabia. This campaign, in which Herod won a dear-bought victory, kept him, whether by good fortune or design, from following Antony to Actium. He went to meet the conqueror at Rhodes, having first put an end to all rivalry from the Asmonæan house by the execution of the aged Hyrcanus on a charge of treason (B. C. 30). He intrusted the government to his brother Pheroras, and provided for the safety of his family in the fortress of Massada. Mariamne and her mother were placed in Alexandrion, under the care of his steward Joseph and an Ituræan named Soëmus, with the same secret instructions as before. Herod had not miscalculated his personal influence over the young Octavian. Instead of apologizing for his faithful adherence to Antony, he urged it as a proof of the constancy which the conqueror might expect. He returned to Judæa, invested anew with the diadem, and honored with marks of personal favor. He shortly after met Octavian on his way to Egypt at Ptolemais, and secured his favor by a magnificent

entertainment, by providing for all the wants of the Roman army, and by a present of 800 talents.

When the tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra was consummated, and Egypt reduced to a Roman province, Octavian restored to Herod those parts of Palestine which Antony had presented to Cleopatra, as well as the fortresses and maritime towns, which had long been the objects of dispute, as Gadara, Samaria, Joppa, Gaza, and the Tower of Straton, soon to become the princely city of Cæsarea. Herod was now master of a kingdom which included all the land originally divided among the twelve tribes, together with Idumæa. Exclusive of the latter country, the whole was divided into four districts, a clear conception of which is needful for understanding the topography of our Lord's ministry:—I. JUDÆA; extending from the confines of Egypt and the southern desert to a line drawn from Joppa, not far different from the 32d parallel of latitude. II. SAMARIA; whose north boundary ran along the hills south of the plain of Esdraëlon, meeting the sea south of Dora. III. GALILEE, Lower and Upper; extending northward as far as the parallel of Mount Hermon; but shut out from the sea by the narrow strip of Phœnice, which reached south of Carmel and even of Dora. IV. PERÆA, the name of the whole region east of Jordan and the Dead Sea as far south as the Arnon, which was again subdivided into—(1) *Peræa*, in the narrower sense, between the Arnon and the Jabbok: (2) *Galaaditis*, the old land of Gilead, partly overlapping the former: (3) *Batanæa*, (4) *Gaulonitis*, and (5) *Ituræa* or *Auranitis*, embracing together the ancient country of *Bashan*: (6) *Trachonitis*, in the wild rocky desert of the *Hauran*. (7) *Abilene*, among the eastern foot-hills of the Antilibanus, lay beyond the proper limits of the country. Lastly, (8) *Decapolis*, a name at first given to Ten Cities in the north, which were rebuilt and endowed with certain privileges at the time of the first Roman occupation (B. C. 65), became the designation of a large district on both sides the lake of Galilee.

This fair kingdom had been won (we have seen in what B. C. 29. way) by a man of ability, magnificence, and taste; but utterly regardless of his people's most cherished feelings, and insensible to the high destiny of the "Holy Nation," the "peculiar possession of Jehovah." This idea has been for some time so steadily fading, that the sacred name has almost disappeared from our pages; but it was reserved for the Idumæan usurper at once to reunite the nation, and to heathenize its government, and so to prove the need, while smoothing the way, for the advent of the Christ. Meanwhile Herod's

prosperity was poisoned by unparalleled domestic tragedies. Alexandra and Mariamne had again won from Soëmus the secret of Herod's fatal orders, and this time the wife's indignation and the renewed accusations of Salome were too strong for Herod's fondness. Convinced at length that guilty love was the price of his betrayed secret, Herod doomed Mariamne to death; and her last moments were insulted by the reproaches with which her mother purchased a brief respite for herself. The proud and beautiful queen died with the courage of innocence, leaving Herod the victim of a remorse which never ceased. In its first transports he retired into solitude, and fell dangerously ill. Alexandra now thought the time was come to consummate her intrigues and revenge; but her plot for seizing the Tower of Baris was betrayed to Herod, and she was led to the fate which her daughter had so lately suffered. Her death removed Herod's last fears from the Asmonæans; but his illness seems to have given the last permanent tinge of morose cruelty to his stern temper. Among many distinguished victims to the charge of an Asmonæan conspiracy was Costabaras, an Idumæan, the former husband of Salome, who had divorced him in direct violation of the law.

Herod's public administration was directed to the increase of his own royal state, and the gratification of his imperial master. But he probably acted also from the more subtle policy of "counterbalancing by a strong Grecian party the turbulent and exclusive spirit of the Jews." The Jews, who had so nobly resisted the attempt to persecute them into Hellenism, were now invited to adopt both Greek and Roman customs. The holy hill, to which David had carried up the ark of God, looked down upon a theatre and amphitheatre, in which Herod held games in honor of Augustus, with musical and dramatic contests, horse and chariot races, and the bloody fights of gladiators and wild beasts, while Jewish athletes took part in gymnastic contests. The sullen submission of the people was only overtaxed by the sight of the trophies hung round the theatre; but when Herod had them opened to show that they contained no idols, indignation gave way to ridicule. A few, however, viewed these proceedings with far sterner feelings. Ten zealots bound themselves by a vow to kill Herod in the theatre; but they were discovered and put to death, enduring the most cruel torments with the constancy of the Maccabæan martyrs.

At this time Herod occupied the old palace of the
B. C. 26-24. Asmonæans, which crowned the eastern face of the upper city, and stood adjoining the Xystus at the end of the bridge which

formed the communication between the south part of the Temple and the upper city. This palace was not yet so magnificent as he afterward made it, but it was already most richly furnished. Herod had now also completed the improvements of the Baris—the fortress built by John Hyrcanus on the foundations of Simon Maccabæus—which he had enlarged and strengthened at great expense, and named *Antonia*—after his friend Mark Antony. This celebrated fortress formed an intimate part of the TEMPLE, as reconstructed by Herod. It stood at the west end of the north wall of the Temple, and was inaccessible on all sides but that. He provided a refuge, in case of need, from the hostility of Jerusalem, in the two fortresses of Gaba in Galilee and Heshbon in Peræa. A similar feeling was displayed in his restoration of Samaria, which he called Sebaste, in honor of Augustus, and peopled with his veteran soldiers mingled with descendants of the old Samaritans. But his greatest undertaking in this sort was the erection of a new maritime city on the site of the Tower of Straton. An exposed anchorage was converted into a safe harbor by a mole 200 feet wide, constructed of immense stones and fortified with towers. The city, magnificently built in the Græco-Roman style of architecture, rose in the form of an amphitheatre from the quays that lined the harbor. Among its public buildings were a theatre and amphitheatre; and in its centre stood a temple dedicated to Augustus, with two colossal statues, one of Rome, and the other of the Emperor, in whose honor the city was called CÆSAREA. That all might be in keeping, it was peopled chiefly by Greeks. Its erection occupied twelve years. Designed probably for Herod's new capital, whenever he might feel it safe to throw off the last shred of Judaism, it became before long the seat of Roman government. Meanwhile its maritime position brought Judæa into closer contact than ever with the Roman world. Its ruins, which still bear the imperial name, *Kaisarieh*, have no other inhabitants than wild beasts, serpents, lizards, and scorpions. Herod's leaning to the religion of Rome was further shown by his erecting a temple of white marble, dedicated to Augustus, at the chief source of the Jordan, which had already acquired the heathen name of *Panium* (the *Cave of Pan*). Around this temple his son Philip afterward built the city of *Cæsarea Philippi*, in honor of Tiberius.

B. C. 24. Herod's sons by Mariamne, Aristobulus and Alexander, were sent to be educated at Rome; and he lost no opportunity of waiting upon Augustus, whether in his wars or his peaceful progresses. At the same time he maintained the closest friendship with the great minister Agrippa, so that "Cæsar was said to assign

Herod the next place in his favor to Agrippa; Agrippa to esteem Herod higher than any of his friends, except Augustus." This intimacy was the cause of the introduction into the family of Herod's son, Aristobulus, of the name of AGRIPPA, which appears in the Acts of the Apostles. He courted the people of Greece by magnificent donations to the temple at Olympia, and was made perpetual president of the Olympic games—a strange mutation for both Jews and Greeks, that a half-heathen king of Judæa should be the recognized head of the Hellenic race.

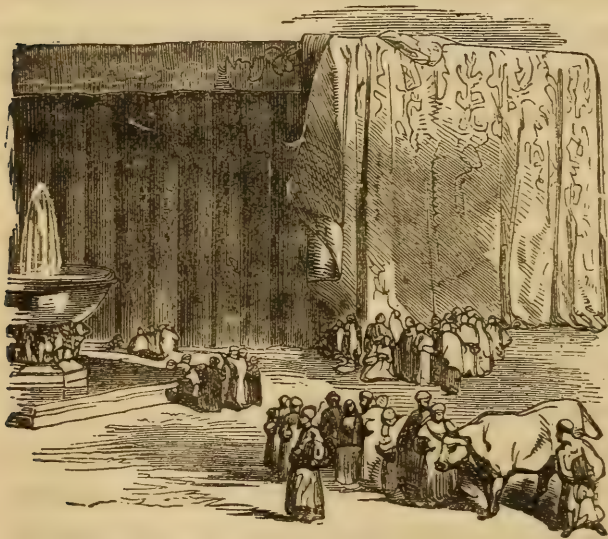
Herod's subjects were not without some compensation for all these insults to their national traditions. True, he put down every show of opposition with relentless severity. His perpetual fears of the Pharisees and Essenes prompted him to require of them an oath of allegiance, and he knew how to revenge himself for their obstinate refusal. His espionage was always vigilant, and many murmurers disappeared forever in the prison of Hyrcania, which has been called Herod's Bastile. But he displayed a princely liberality. His great works enriched the industrious, without adding to the burdens of the country; and the taxes were diminished by a third.

The year 25—the next after the attempt on Herod's life in the theatre—was one of great misfortunes. A long drought, followed by unproductive seasons, involved Judæa in famine, and its usual consequence, a dreadful pestilence. Herod took a noble, and at the same time a most politic course. He sent to Egypt for corn, sacrificing for the purchase the costly decorations of his palace and his silver and gold plate. He was thus able to make regular distributions of corn and clothing, on an enormous scale, for the present necessities of the people, as well as to supply seed for the next year's crop. The result was to remove to a great degree the animosity occasioned by his proceedings in the previous year.

B. C. 22. In this year or the next Herod took another wife, the daughter of an obscure priest of Jerusalem named Simon. Shortly before the marriage Simon was made high-priest in the room of Joshua, or Jesus, the son of Phaneus, who appears to have succeeded Ananel, and was now deposed to make way for Herod's future father-in-law. It was probably on the occasion of this marriage that he built a new and extensive palace immediately adjoining the old wall at the northwest corner of the upper city, about the spot now occupied by the Latin convent, in which, as memorials of his connection with Cæsar and Agrippa, a large apartment, superior in size to the Sanctuary of the Temple, was named after each. This palace

was very strongly fortified: it communicated with the three great towers on the wall erected shortly after, and it became the *citadel*, "special fortress," as Josephus calls it, of the upper city. A road led to it from the northern gate in the west wall of the Temple enclosure.

But his great claim to the favor of the Jews was that B. C. 20-18. restoration of the *Temple*, the design of which he announced to the people assembled at the Passover (B. C. 20 or 19). If we may believe Josephus, he pulled down the whole edifice to its foundations and laid them anew on an enlarged scale; but the ruins still exhibit, in some parts, what seem to be the foundations laid by Zerubbabel, and beneath them the more massive substructions of Solomon. The new edifice was a stately pile of Græco-Roman archi-



OUTER COURT OF THE TEMPLE.

tecture, built in white marble with gilded *acroteria*. It is minutely described by Josephus, and the New Testament has made us familiar with the pride of the Jews in its magnificence.* A different feeling, however, marked the commencement of the work, which met with some opposition from the fear that what Herod had begun he would not be able to finish. He overcame all

jealousy by engaging not to pull down any part of the existing buildings till all the materials for the new edifice were collected on its site. Two years appear to have been occupied in these prepara-

* For our knowledge of the last and greatest of the Jewish Temples, we are indebted almost wholly to Josephus, with an occasional hint from the Talmud.

The Temple or *Naos* itself was in dimensions and arrangement very similar to that of Solomon, or rather that of Zerubbabel—more like the latter; but this was surrounded by an inner enclosure of great strength and magnificence, measuring as nearly as can be made out 180 cubits by 240, and adorned by porches and ten gate-ways of great magnificence; and beyond this again was an outer enclosure measuring externally 400 cubits each way, which was adorned with porticoes of greater splendor than any we know of as attached to any temple of the ancient world: all showing how strongly Roman influence was at work in enveloping

tions, among which Josephus mentions the teaching some of the priests and Levites to work as masons and carpenters—and then the work began.

The holy "house" (ἱεὸς), including the Porch, Sanctuary, and Holy of Holies, was finished in a year and a half (B. C. 16). Its completion, on the anniversary of Herod's inauguration, was cele-

with heathen magnificence the simple templar arrangements of a Semitic people, which, however, remained nearly unchanged amid all this external incrustation.

The Temple was certainly situated in the southwest angle of the area now known as the Haram area at Jerusalem, and its dimensions were what Josephus states them to be—400 cubits, or one stadium, each way.*

At the time when Herod rebuilt it, he enclosed a space "twice as large" as that before occupied by the Temple and its courts, an expression that probably must not be taken too literally, at least if we are to depend on the measurements of Hecataeus. According to them, the whole area of Herod's Temple was between four and five times greater than that which preceded it. What Herod did apparently was to take in the whole space between the Temple and the city wall on its eastern side, and to add a considerable space on the north and south, to support the porticoes which he added there.

As the Temple terrace thus became the principal defence of the city on the east side, there were no gates or openings in that direction, and being situated on a sort of rocky brow—as evidenced from its appearance in the vaults that bound it on this side—it was at all later times considered unattackable from the eastward. The north side, too, where not covered by the fortress Antonia, became part of the defences of the city, and was likewise without external gates. On the south side, which was enclosed by the wall of Ophel, there were double gates nearly in the centre. These gates still exist at a distance of about 365 feet from the southwestern angle, and are, perhaps, the only architectural features of the Temple of Herod which remain *in situ*. This entrance consists of a double archway of Cyclopean architecture on the level of the ground, opening into a square vestibule measuring 40 feet each way. From this a double tunnel, nearly 200 feet in length, leads to a flight of steps which rise to the surface in the court of the Temple, exactly at that gate-way of the inner Temple which led to the altar, and is the one of the four gate-ways on this side by which any one arriving from Ophel would naturally wish to enter the inner enclosure. We learn from the Talmud that the gate of the inner Temple to which this passage led was called the "Water Gate;" and it is interesting to be able to identify a spot so prominent in the description of Nehemiah (xii. 37). Toward the west there were four gate-ways to the external enclosure of the Temple, and the positions of three of these can still be traced with certainty. The first or most southern led over the bridge, the remains of which were identified by Dr. Robinson, and joined the Stoa Basilica of the Temple with the royal palace. The second was that discovered by Dr. Barclay, 270 feet from the southwest angle, at a level of 17 feet below that of the southern gates just described. The site of the third is so completely covered by the buildings of the Meckmé that it has not yet been seen, but it will be found between 200 and 250 feet from the northwestern angle

* Comp. *O. T. Hist.* ch. xxii. § 5, etc., and ch. xxvii. *Notes and Ill.* (A), concerning the Temples of Solomon and Zerubbabel.

brated by lavish sacrifices and a great feast. Yet even this splendid work was not likely to mislead the Jews as to the real spirit of the king. While he rebuilt the temple at Jerusalem, he rebuilt also the temple at Samaria, and made provision, in his new city of Cæsarea, for the celebration of heathen worship; and it has been supposed that the rebuilding of the Temple furnished him with the opportunity of destroying the authentic collection of genealogies which was of the highest importance to the priestly families. Herod, as appears from his public designs, affected the dignity of a second Solomon, but he joined the licence of that monarch to his magnificence; and it was

of the Temple area; for, owing to the greater width of the southern portico beyond that of the northern, the Temple itself was not in the centre of its enclosure, but situated more toward the north. The fourth was that which led over the causeway which still exists at a distance of 600 feet from the southwestern angle.

Cloisters.—The most magnificent part of the Temple, in an architectural point of view, seems certainly to have been the cloisters which were added to the outer court when it was enlarged by Herod. The cloisters in the west, north, and east sides were composed of double rows of Corinthian columns, 25 cubits or 37 feet 6 inches in height, with flat roofs, and resting against the outer wall of the Temple. These, however, were immeasurably surpassed in magnificence by the royal porch or Stoa Basilica, which overhung the southern wall. It consisted of a nave and two aisles, that toward the Temple being open, that toward the country closed by a wall. The breadth of the centre aisle was 45 feet; of the side aisles 30 from centre to centre of the pillars; their height 50 feet, and that of the centre aisle 100 feet. Its section was thus something in excess of that of York Cathedral, while its total length was one stadium or 600 Greek feet, or 100 feet in excess of York, or the largest Gothic cathedrals. This magnificent structure was supported by 162 Corinthian columns.

The court of the Temple was very nearly a square. It may have been exactly so, for we have not all the details to enable us to feel quite certain about it. The *Middoth* says it was 187 cubits east and west, and 137 north and south. To the eastward of this was the court of the women. The great ornament of these inner courts seems to have been their gate-ways, the three especially on the north and south leading to the Temple court. These, according to Josephus, were of great height, strongly fortified and ornamented with great elaboration. But the wonder of all was the great eastern gate leading from the court of the women to the upper court. It was in all probability the one called the "Beautiful Gate" in the New Testament.

Immediately within this gate-way stood the altar of burnt-offerings. Both the Altar and the Temple were enclosed by a low parapet one cubit in height, placed so as to keep the people separate from the priests while the latter were performing their functions.

Within this last enclosure, toward the westward, stood the TEMPLE itself. As before mentioned, its internal dimensions were the same as those of the Temple of Solomon. There is no reason for doubting that the Sanctuary always stood on the identically same spot in which it had been placed by Solomon a thousand years before it was rebuilt by Herod.

said that the monument which he raised over the royal tombs was due to the fear which seized him after a sacrilegious attempt to rob them of secret treasures.

About B. C. 9—eight years from the commencement—the court and cloisters of the Temple were finished, and the bridge between the south cloister and the upper city (demolished by Pompey) was doubtless now rebuilt with that massive masonry of which some remains still survive. At this time equally magnificent works were being carried on in another part of the city, namely, in the old wall at the northwest corner, contiguous to the palace, where three towers of great size and magnificence were erected on the wall, and one as an outwork at a small distance to the north. The latter was called Psephinus, the three former were, Hippicus, after one of his friends—Phasaëlus, after his brother—and Mariamne, after his queen. Phasaëlus appears to have been erected first of the three, though it cannot have been begun at the time of Phasaël's death, as that took place some years before Jerusalem came into Herod's hands. The Temple continued afterward to receive fresh additions, besides the repairs of injuries done in frequent tumults, so that, when it was visited by our Lord at the beginning of his ministry (A. D. 27), it was said that the building had occupied the intervening forty years. Nor did it cease then; for Josephus places its completion by Herod Agrippa II. about A. D. 65, only five years before its final destruction; an act in which its finisher, and the great-grandson of its founder, was the ally of the Romans, A. D. 70. The great Agrippa, though a heathen, is connected with the Temple in another way. When on a visit to Herod, he propitiated the Jews by offering a hecatomb of oxen, and feasted all the people, Herod having joined in his heathen sacrifices at Cæsarea. During this period, in fact, Herod was drawing closer to his patron. In the beginning of B. C. 14 he joined Agrippa in the Euxine with a powerful fleet, and his services were rewarded by the addition of the territory to the east of the lake of Gennesareth, where Herod hunted the robbers of Trachonitis out of their mountain caves with wonderful vigor and relentless cruelty. Part of this region was formed into a tetrarchy for his brother Pheroras. He also procured from Agrippa the restoration of privileges and immunities to the Jews of the "Dispersion." On his return, in the autumn of the same year, he addressed the people assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles, and remitted them a fourth of the annual tax.

B. C. 13-7. The eye turned from all this splendor to Herod's domestic life meets one of the most appalling spectacles in the

pages of history. The source of all his cruelties is to be found in his usurpation. His jealousy was excited by the Asmonæan blood which flowed in the veins of his own sons by his marriage with Mariamne; and his conscience, ever reproaching him with her murder, prompted him to suspect her avengers in her children. Those who had urged him on to the condemnation of Mariamne had better reason for the like fears on their own account. So when Herod brought back Aristobulus and Alexander from their three years' residence at Rome, their destruction was already half-prepared. Their fate was sealed by the enthusiasm of the people, who hailed in their graceful persons and popular manners the true scions of the Asmonæan house. Herod, who never displayed that morose depravity which loves wickedness for its own sake, treated the youths at first like a father. He married Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; and Aristobulus to his cousin Berenice, the daughter of Salome. Even this union did not appease Salome's jealous ambition. With the aid of Herod's brother, Pheroras, she so far wrought on his fears as to induce him to send for ANTIPATER, his eldest son by Doris, whom he had divorced to marry Mariamne. Antipater proved a deadly and unscrupulous enemy to his brothers, who were at length carried by Herod before the tribunal of Augustus at Aquileia (B. C. 13). Herod was accompanied by NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS, the intimate friend both of Augustus and himself, whose eloquence was so often of service to the Herodian family. This distinguished rhetorician, a native of Damascus, and the son of Antipater and Stratonice, was the companion of Herod's studies, and his mediator with Augustus whenever some especially flagrant act of the Jewish king stirred the emperor's indignation. His name is curiously preserved in the mediæval appellation of the palm-tree (*nicolai*), a present of the finest fruit of which was made to him by Augustus on this occasion. Nicolaus wrote lives of Augustus and of himself, and a Universal History. The emperor effected a reconciliation; but still Antipater was placed before the sons of Mariamne in the succession to the throne; and, being sent to Rome in the train of Agrippa, he tried in all his letters to renew Herod's suspicions against them. Herod's return from a visit to Rome, in B. C. 11, was again followed by an address to the people assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles, in which the announcement of Antipater as his successor—a prince not of the Asmonæan blood—was recommended by new exemptions. The whole atmosphere of the court was poisoned with distrust. False accusers shared the fate of the accused; slaves were tortured to extract evidence; and at

last Alexander was tempted to a most improbable confession. A fresh trial took place at Berytus before the Roman governors of Syria, Saturninus and Volumnius, with a court of 150 assessors, by a majority of whom the youths were condemned unheard, and Herod's claim to the power of life and death over them was confirmed. After some hesitation he caused them to be strangled at Sebaste.

In or about the year 7 occurred the affair of the Golden Eagle, a parallel to that of the theatre, and, like that, important, as showing how strongly the Maccabæan spirit of resistance to innovation on the Jewish law still existed, and how vain were any concessions in other directions, in the presence of such innovations. Herod had fixed a large golden eagle, the symbol of the Roman empire, of which Judæa was now a province, over the entrance to the Sanctuary, probably at the same time that he inscribed the name of Agrippa on the gate. As a breach of the second commandment—more than as a badge of dependence—this had excited the indignation of the Jews, and especially of two of the chief rabbis, who instigated their disciples to tear it down. A false report of the king's death was made the occasion of doing this in open day, and in the presence of a large number of people. Being taken before Herod, the rabbis defended their conduct and were burned alive. The high-priest Matthias was deposed, and Joazar took his place.

To complete the series of his domestic tragedies, Herod's favored son, Antipater, conspired against his life with his favorite brother, Pheroras. The wife of Pheroras was connected with the Pharisees, 7000 of whom had refused to take the oath of allegiance, and she was accused of disseminating disloyal prophecies. Pheroras fell into disgrace; but in his last illness, which soon followed, Herod treated him with a kindness which moved him to abandon his designs. Upon his death, not without suspicion of poison, Herod instituted an inquiry; the whole plot was revealed, and proved by the confession of his wife. Atipater, who had gone to Rome to avoid suspicion, was returning to reap, as he supposed, the fruit of his parricide, when he was seized at Sebaste, brought to trial before Herod and Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, and condemned on the clearest evidence.

While his doom awaited the confirmation of Augustus, Herod was seized with a most painful and loathsome disease. The increasing torments of his ulcerated body, which derived no benefit from the warm baths of Callirhoë, drove him to new acts of frenzied cruelty; but we may well doubt whether the fancy of what he *might* have felt does not prevail over sober fact in the statement, that he ordered the

representatives of the chief families of Judæa to be shut up in the hippodrome at Jericho, and to be put to death as soon as he expired, that his funeral might not want mourners.

B. C. 4. His rage and terror were brought to a climax by a new and strange danger, threatening the crown which had cost him so much. A caravan, headed by persons of great distinction, arrived at Jerusalem, making the ominous inquiry, "Where is he that is born KING OF THE JEWS?" and declaring that the star of his Nativity had guided them from the distant East. Herod well knew the significance of that title. His agitation was shared by all the people of Jerusalem, though doubtless from widely different feelings. Assembling the teachers of the law, he obtained their opinion, on the authority of the prophet Micah, that Bethlehem would be the birth-place of the Messiah. Secretly calling for the strangers, and having learned from them the precise time of the star's appearance, he sent them to Bethlehem, and bade them return to inform him when they had found the babe, that he too might go and worship him. Having in vain awaited their return, he resolved to rid himself of the dreaded rival by the massacre of all the babes in Bethlehem and its district, from the age of two years old and under. The consummation of this sentence, and the escape of Jesus, belong to the next book of our history. We here regard the transaction from the point of view of Herod's life. Vast as we know the issues at stake to have been, we can hardly be surprised that, amid all the horrors of Herod's last days, the murder of some ten or twelve children in a small country town escaped the notice of the Jews at the time, and of their historian afterward.

They soon had horrors enough in their very midst. The embassy returned from Rome, with the consent of Augustus to Herod's dealing as he pleased with his guilty son, though the milder alternative of banishment was suggested. About the same time, Herod attempted suicide in a paroxysm of agony. The rumor of his death spread through the palace. Antipater tried to bribe his jailor, who reported the offer to Herod, and the tyrant's dying breath gave the order for his son's execution. It appears to have been in connection with the fate of Antipater, perhaps as the expression of his own disgust in yielding to the king's importunity, that Augustus uttered the celebrated sarcasm, "It is better to be Herod's hog than his son:"—for his religion forbade his slaughtering the former. But, if we look more closely into the form in which the story is preserved, we shall find that, amid an accidental confusion, it supplies an incidental proof

that the massacre of Bethlehem was known at Rome. After using his last remnant of strength to give final directions about his will, he expired five days after the death of Antipater, shortly before the Passover, B. C. 4. He had just entered on the thirty-seventh year of his reign, dating from the edict which gave him the kingdom, and the thirty-fourth of his actual possession of the throne, dating from the death of Antigonus.*

Enough has appeared of Herod's abilities and vices in this summary of his reign. It is, perhaps, difficult to see in his character any of the true elements of greatness. Some have even supposed, that the title—the *great*—is a mistranslation for the *elder*; and yet, on the other hand, he seems to have possessed the good qualities of the English Henry VIII., with his vices. He maintained peace at home, during a long reign, by the vigor and timely generosity of his administration. Abroad he conciliated the good-will of the Romans under circumstances of unusual difficulty. His ostentatious display, and even his arbitrary tyranny, were calculated to inspire Orientals with awe. Bold and yet prudent, oppressive and yet profuse, he had many of the characteristics which make a popular hero; and the title which may have been first given in admiration of successful despotism now serves to bring out in clearer contrast the terrible price at which the success was purchased.

It remains to say a word upon his relation to the whole course of Divine Providence in the history of the Jews. As a usurper of an alien race, and that the hated race of Edom, and the destroyer of the Asmonæan house and kingdom, he cleared the ground of all who might have lawfully competed with Christ for the throne of David; while his power united the Holy Land, in preparation for the advent of its predicted King. Nor was even his personal character without its bearing on the coming of the Christ. No government, except perhaps one that maintains its power over an enslaved but noble people by brute force, is much worse in its moral character than the people who submit to it; and Herod is in some sense the representative of the deep moral degradation of the Jews. The religious puritanism, which the bitter lesson of the Captivity had impressed on the Jewish Church, was still maintained, though only in outward form, by the Pharisees; and a remnant of its living spirit was preserved amid the fanaticism of the Essenes; but the more than half-heathen pomp of

* There is no doubt that the common era of the birth of our Saviour is wrong by four years. Christ was born shortly before the death of Herod, and we know that the latter died four years before the Christian era.

Herod too truly represented the worldly spirit which looked for an earthly kingdom as its highest hope. Nor are the family feuds, which stained the house of Herod with perpetual blood, without their deep significance. The palace gave the worst example, but still only an example, of that dissolution of the bonds of nature, which the prophet Malachi had marked as a sign of his coming, who alone could restore peace. The time was evidently at hand, when "Elijah the prophet should be sent before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord ; to *turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers*, lest he should come and smite the earth with a curse."



"BEHOLD THE LAMB OF GOD."

PART III.

THE NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

FROM THE BIRTH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST TO THE
DEATH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

BOOK VIII.

THE HISTORY OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST; OR THE
REVELATION OF THE GOSPEL.

[B. C. 5.—A. D. 30.]

CHAPTER XXIX.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF JOHN AND JESUS.

[B. C. 5—A. D. 26.]

WE must pause now in the narration of the secular history of the Jews, to take up the narrative of the New Testament. This completed, we shall return to the purely Jewish history, to a proper understanding of which a knowledge of the events recorded in the writings of the Apostles is necessary.

The *History of the New Covenant* divides itself into two chief parts:—*The Revelation of the Gospel* by Jesus Christ, including the accomplishment of his work of redemption; and the *Propagation of the Gospel*, and full establishment of the Christian Church, after his ascension.

The former history is written in the “Gospels” of the “Four Evangelists,” the respective openings of which furnish us with four different, but almost equally important, starting-points for all that follows. ST. MATTHEW, who writes with the most constant reference to the fulfilment of prophecy, begins by showing that Jesus Christ was, by his reputed father Joseph, the son of David, and the son of Abraham; the predicted king of the royal line of Judah; the prom-

ised seed, in whom all kindreds of the earth were to be blessed; the great object of the Covenants made by God with Abraham and with David. ST. MARK, commencing at once with the public proclamation of Christ, dates "the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God" from the ministry of John the Baptist as his forerunner. ST. LUKE places in the forefront of his narrative its practical purpose, for the instruction of a convert to Christianity, and begins "to write in order" from the birth of John the Baptist, and of Christ himself. ST. JOHN, having his mind imbued with the mysteries revealed to the "disciple whom Jesus loved," goes back to a "beginning" antecedent to all time, and displays the eternal and divine glory of that "Life and Light," which were manifested by Christ when he appeared on earth.

And what is true of the beginning of the Gospel history applies to each step of its subsequent development. Critics may speculate on some common remoter source of the narratives of the four evangelists, till they learn to abandon the unprofitable search: harmonists may pursue their useful labors so far as to be in danger of confounding the separate characters of the four documents in the artificial compound of their own making: but the student who rightly appreciates the purpose of God's providence, in entrusting the record to four writers instead of one, will trace the distinct spirit of each as really his own, and will find the truest *harmony* in the concordant spiritual impression they produce, under the guidance of the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

"The Beginning" of which St. John speaks, both in the opening of his Gospel and of his General Epistle, is the true point of view for understanding the New Covenant. In this light the histories of the two covenants open with the self-same words:—"In the beginning;" and there is a closer connection between them than of language only. The GOD who, in the beginning of the Old Covenant, created the heaven and the earth, to be the scene of man's probation, was the same as that divine "WORD," whose dwelling "with God," both in essential glory and in council on men's behalf, formed the true beginning of the Covenant of Redemption. "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father." The discussion of this "great mystery of godliness," as a point of theological science, belongs not to the present work: we only insist on the plain truth, as the point of view from which our Saviour's work on earth derives all its meaning. It is thus that the Apostle Paul places the same great

truth before his summary of the steps by which Christ advanced from the cradle to the throne:—"Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness; *God was manifest in the flesh*, justified by the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." The narratives of the four Evangelists fill up the outline which the Apostle draws in these few bold strokes.

Between the two points thus marked by St. John, there lies the whole preparatory training of the human race and the chosen family, with the successive steps in the revelation of the one great promise. A summary of the testimony of the old Covenant to Christ would be no inappropriate preface to the history of the New; but having continually kept in view the evangelical aspect of the Old Covenant, and having to recur to it on the occasion of the fulfilment of the several prophecies, we may at once accompany St. Luke to the first scene of the history itself.

In the reign of Herod the Great, there lived in Judæa an B. C. 5. aged couple, both of them being of priestly descent, and of the most devout and blameless character, Zacharias and Elisabeth. They were childless, and Elisabeth was too old to hope for offspring. Now it came to the turn of Zacharias to fulfil his week of service in the Temple, as a priest of the course of Abia or Abijah, the 8th of the courses appointed by David. At the solemn moment of the daily (probably the morning) sacrifice, when he had carried the blood of the lamb into the Holy Place, and the people were praying without, the angel Gabriel, the same who had foretold to Daniel the time of the Messiah, appeared to him in the form of a man, standing by the altar of incense. He announced to Zacharias that Elisabeth should bear him a son, whose name was to be called JOHN. The vow of a Nazarite was to be upon him from the womb; and he was to discharge the very ministry which had been assigned by the prophet Malachi to Elijah, as the forerunner of the Lord. The doubts which Zacharias began to utter were silenced by the sentence of dumbness till the promise should be fulfilled; and, when he came forth, his speechless signs convinced the waiting people that he had seen some strange vision. This last point is of no little importance in connection with what we know from other sources of the state of expectation into which the Jews were now wrought, awaiting the promise of the Messiah.

Elisabeth had already been living in retirement in the hill country south of Jerusalem for five months, rejoicing in the removal of her reproach of barrenness, when in the sixth the same angel was sent on

a similar, but still higher mission, to the city of Nazareth in Galilee. There lived MARY, as she is invariably called in the sacred narrative, without any of those titles of reverence or superstition, by which men, trying to adorn her incomparable dignity, have sown the seeds of Mariolatry. She was still a maiden, but betrothed to JOSEPH, who, like herself, was of the royal house of David.* He was a carpenter by occupation ; and the condition of both was lowly, though not that of abject poverty.

*The genealogies of our Lord, as given in St. Matthew and St. Luke, have occasioned much discussion. It is sufficient to state here that the prophets announced our Lord Jesus Christ as the seed of Abraham and the son of David, and the angel declared that to him should be given the throne of his father David, that he might reign over the house of Jacob forever. His descent from David and Abraham being therefore an essential part of his Messiahship, it was right that his genealogy should be given as a portion of Gospel truth. Considering, further, that to the Jews first he was manifested and preached, and that his descent from David and Abraham was a matter of special interest to them, it seems likely that the proof of his descent would be one especially adapted to convince them ; in other words, that it would be drawn from documents which they deemed authentic. Such were the genealogical records preserved at Jerusalem. And when to the above considerations we add the fact that the lineage of Joseph was actually made out from authentic records for the purpose of the civil census ordered by Augustus, it becomes morally certain that the genealogy of Jesus Christ was extracted from the public registers. Another consideration adds yet further conviction. It has often excited surprise that the genealogies of Christ should both give the descent of Joseph, and not Mary. But if these genealogies were those contained in the public registers, it could not be otherwise. In them Jesus, the son of Mary, the espoused wife of Joseph, could only appear as Joseph's son (comp. John i. 45). In transferring them to the pages of the Gospels, the evangelists only added the qualifying expression "as was supposed" (Luke iii. 23, and its equivalent, Matt. i. 16).

But now to approach the difficulties with which the genealogies of Christ are thought to be beset. These difficulties have seemed so considerable in all ages as to drive commentators to very strange shifts. Some, as early as the second century, broached the notion, which Julius Africanus vigorously repudiates, that the genealogies are imaginary lists, designed only to set forth the union of royal and priestly descent in Christ. Others on the contrary, to silence this and similar solutions, brought in a *Deus ex machinâ*, in the shape of a tradition derived from the Desposyni, in which, by an ingenious application of the law of Levirate to two *uterine* brothers, whose mother had married first into the house of Solomon, and afterward into the house of Nathan, some of the discrepancies were reconciled, though the meeting of the two genealogies in Zerubbabel and Salathiel is wholly unaccounted for. Later, chiefly among Protestant divines, the theory was invented of one genealogy being Joseph's and the other Mary's, a theory in direct contradiction to the plain letter of the Scripture narrative, and leaving untouched as many difficulties as it solves. The fertile invention of Anniius of Viterbo forged a book in Philo's name, which accounted for the discrepancies by asserting that all Christ's ancestors, from David downward, had two names.

For Mary was reserved the lot which had been the object of intense desire to every Hebrew bride, and to every mother of the patriarchal race, since Eve first vainly imagined that it had been fulfilled, "I have gotten a man, even Jehovah"—the promised seed, the Redeemer from sin. Her high destiny was revealed by the angel's salutation, "Hail! thou that art highly favored, the Lord be with thee: blessed art thou among women." As she trembled with astonishment, he proceeded to announce her miraculous visitation by the power of the Holy Ghost, and the birth of a son whose name she was to call JESUS, who was to be the Son of the Highest and the heir of his father David in a kingdom without end. He confirmed her faith by the example of Elisabeth, who was her relative, though they were of different tribes; and Mary could only reply in those simple words of submissive piety, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word!"

The circumstance, however, of one line running up to Solomon, and the other to Nathan, was overlooked. Other fanciful suggestions have been offered; while infidels, from Porphyry downward, have seen in what they call the contradiction of Matthew and Luke a proof of the spuriousness of the Gospels; and critics, like Professor Norton, a proof of such portions of Scripture being interpolated. Others, like Alford, content themselves with saying that solution is impossible, without further knowledge than we possess. But it is not too much to say that after all, in regard to the main points, there is no difficulty at all, if only the documents in question are dealt with reasonably, and after the analogy of similar Jewish documents in the Old Testament; and that the clues to a right understanding of them are so patent, and so strongly marked, that it is surprising that so much diversity of opinion should have existed. The following propositions will explain the true construction of these genealogies:

1. They are both the genealogies of Joseph, *i. e.*, of Jesus Christ, as the reputed and legal son of Joseph and Mary. One has only to read them to be satisfied of this. The notices of Joseph as being of the house of David, by the same evangelists who give the pedigree, are an additional confirmation (Matt. i. 20; Luke i. 27, ii. 4, etc.); and since there can be little doubt that these pedigrees were extracted from the public archives, they must have been Joseph's.

2. The genealogy of St. Matthew is Joseph's genealogy as legal successor to the throne of David, *i. e.*, it exhibits the successive heirs of the kingdom ending with Christ, as Joseph's reputed son. St. Luke's is Joseph's private genealogy, exhibiting his real birth, as David's son, and thus showing why he was heir to Solomon's crown. The simple principle that one evangelist exhibits that genealogy which contained the successive heirs to David's and Solomon's throne, while the other exhibits the paternal stem of him who was the heir, explains all the anomalies of the two pedigrees, their agreements as well as their discrepancies, and the circumstance of there being two at all.

3. Mary the mother of Jesus, was in all probability the daughter of Jacob, and first cousin to Joseph her husband. So that in point of *fact*, though not of *form*, both the genealogies are as much hers as her husband's.

Immediately after the Annunciation, Mary hastened to visit her cousin Elisabeth, who was residing with her husband, in one of the Levitical cities among the hills of Judah, probably Hebron, the ancient capital of the priests, or Juttah. The first words she uttered on her entrance seemed to give life to her cousin's unborn child; and, prompted by this sign, Elisabeth saluted Mary as "the mother of the Lord." It was then that Mary, doubtless by immediate inspiration, uttered the first of those three glorious canticles concerning the advent of Christ, which are preserved in the opening chapters of St. Luke, and which have become the chief hymns of the Christian Church. Mary stayed with Elisabeth three months, till just before the birth of John the Baptist.

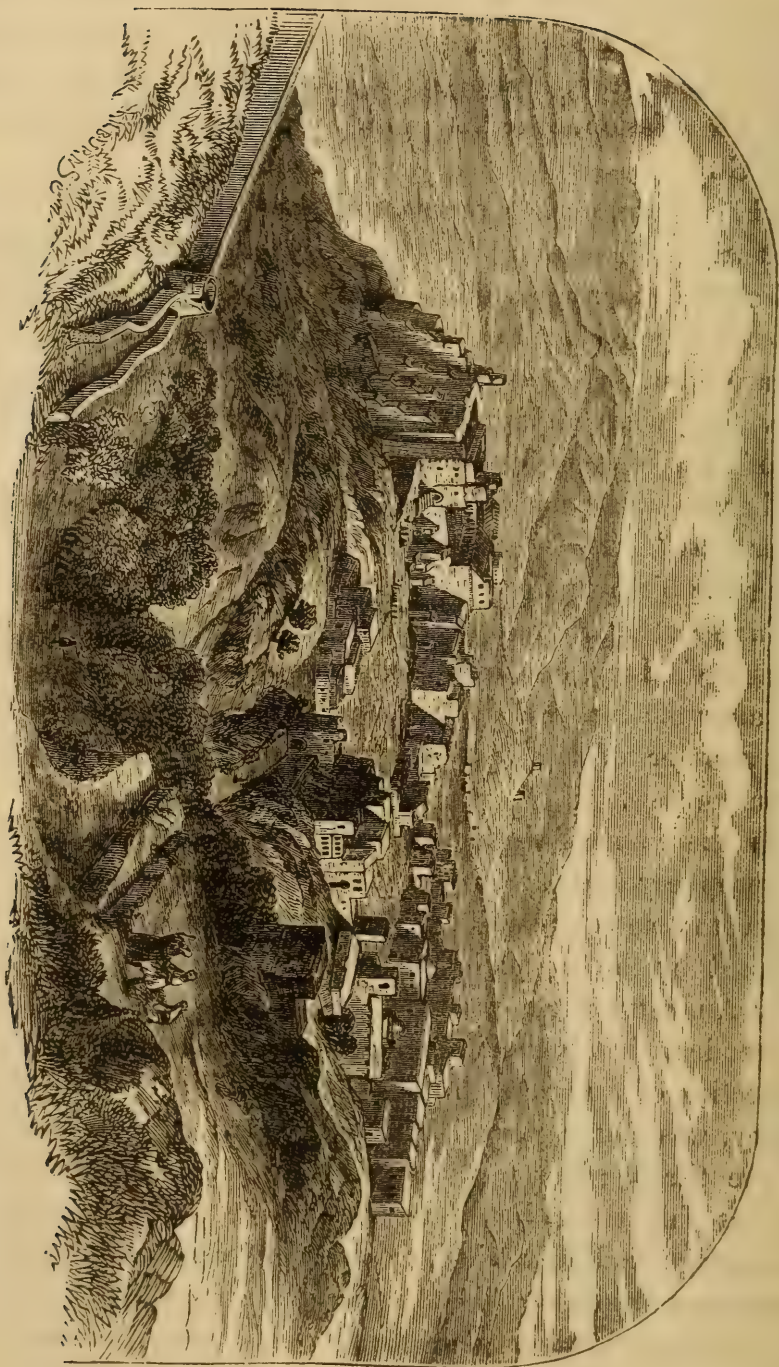
That event gave rise to the first public intimation of the wonders that were about to dawn on Israel. Elisabeth's relations and friends assembled to congratulate her, and on the eighth day from its birth, the child was brought to the priest for circumcision. On this occasion the new-born child was named, as if to connect it by its personal identity with the privileges and obligations of Jehovah's covenant. The near relatives, who took the lead as Zacharias was still dumb, were giving the child his father's name, when Elisabeth insisted on its being called JOHN, a name sacred by many recollections, especially in the house of Levi, and borne by the Maccabæan princes, but strange to the house of Zacharias. The father, appealed to by signs, surprised the company by writing on his tablets, "*His name is JOHN.*" With this act of obedience to the angelic vision, his tongue was loosed, and he praised God. The news spread through all the hills of Judah, not merely exciting wonder, but deep thought and expectation, "What manner of child shall this be?" Signs, connected probably with the early development of the power and temper of the Nazarite, showed that "the hand of the Lord was with him." The spirit of prophecy came upon Zacharias; and, in the second of the hymns already mentioned, he blessed God who had at length visited his people with redemption, and raised up for them a prince and Saviour of the house of David, to fulfil his covenant with Abraham; and announced that John was the prophet of God and the herald of this Saviour.

The child's training was in accordance with this destiny. Not only bound by the vow of a Nazarite, but appointed to proclaim repentance to a people sunk in all the sins that spring from self-indulgence, he had to practise the sternest self-denial, but for which perhaps he might have become another Samson:—"The child grew and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing to Israel."

This text compels us to abandon all the fancies of the great painters, whose "Holy Families" exhibit John in familiar intercourse with Jesus, whom he did not know when he came to him for baptism. While Jesus was brought up at Nazareth, John lived in the wild region west of the Dead Sea, with the prophet's garment of camel's hair girded about him, feeding on locusts and wild honey, and prepared for his mission, like his prototype Elijah, by solitary communion with God.

Meanwhile Mary, on her return to Nazareth, had her joy overcast by a great trial. According to Jewish law, the tie of betrothal was as sacred as the marriage vow itself; and Mary's apparent violation of that bond exposed her to the death of an adulteress. But Joseph was no hard man, and he was thinking of giving her a bill of divorce-ment privately, when an angel revealed to him, in a dream, the holy mystery of Mary's conception, and repeated the injunction already given to her to call the child JESUS, "for he shall save his people from their sins." Thus was fulfilled the great prophecy of Isaiah, concerning the birth of *Emmanuel* (*God with us*) from a virgin mother. Joseph immediately obeyed the command of the angel to complete the espousal of Mary, but he abstained from consummating the marriage till after the birth of Jesus. The subsequent virginity of Mary is simply another of the figments which really add nothing to her dignity or holiness.

Though the home of Joseph and Mary was at Nazareth, the sure word of prophecy had declared that the Christ should be born at Bethlehem, the native place of his royal father David; and this was accomplished by the agency of the Roman emperor. A decree was issued by Augustus for a census of "all the world" over which his power extended, that is the Roman Empire and its subject kingdoms. The connection of Judæa with the province of Syria, first established by Pompey, was not regarded as utterly dissolved by Herod's elevation to the throne; nor was the dying prince, for such was Herod's condition at this time, likely to contest the authority under whose shelter his reign had flourished, even though the census might betray the intention of absorbing his kingdom into the empire. The sacred pride of the Jews in their genealogies would lead them to hasten to the head cities of their tribes and families. Thus Mary, though about to become a mother, traversed with her husband the length of the land, from Nazareth to Bethlehem, the royal city of David, to whose house they both belonged. The caravanseraï was crowded with wealthier and more important travellers; so they sought shelter in a



BETHLEHEM

stable. Here Mary gave birth to the SAVIOUR of the world, and made his cradle in the manger of the cattle.*

But there was no lack of heralds and attendants to welcome Him who said, "Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." No sooner was Jesus born than his *Gospel*—"good tidings of great joy to all the people"—was proclaimed by an angel of Jehovah to certain shepherds, who were keeping their flocks in the fields by night, the fit image of the "great shepherd of the sheep." While he directed them to Bethlehem, the glory of God shone round them, and a multitude of the heavenly host joined in the chorus,—“Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward (or among) men.” Hastening to Bethlehem, the shepherds found the new-born child with his parents, and became the first witnesses to his advent. They praised God, and spread the news abroad, and Mary pondered in her heart the welcome which her babe had received from heaven.

Already acting on the principle afterward proclaimed by Christ,—“it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness,”—since he was not only “born of a woman,” but also “born under the law,” his parents brought him to the priest for circumcision at the earliest time appointed by the law, the eighth day from his birth; and he was called JESUS, as the angel had commanded. But the law had still another claim upon him; and the only begotten son of God was presented to

* According to the received chronology, which is in fact that of Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, our Lord was born in the year of Rome 754, which is therefore called A. D. 1. But modern writers, with hardly an exception, believe that this calculation places the Nativity some years too late; although they differ as to the amount of error. Herod the Great died, according to Josephus, in the thirty-seventh year after he was appointed king. His elevation coincides with the consulship of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio, and this determines the date A. U. C. 714=B. C. 40. There is reason to think that in such calculations Josephus reckons the years from the month Nisan to Nisan; and also that the death of Herod took place in the beginning of the thirty-seventh year, or just before the Passover; if then thirty-six complete years are added, they give the year of Herod's death A. U. C. 750=B. C. 4. As Jesus was born during the life of Herod, it follows from these data that the Nativity took place some time before the month of April, 750; and if it took place only a few months before Herod's death, then its date would be four years earlier than the Dionysian reckoning. We have no precise data for determining the interval between the birth of Jesus and the death of Herod; but there are some reasons for supposing it to have been briefer than the space between “Christmas” and “Easter.” The *epoch* of the Christian era, however, is independent of this nice calculation, being the *zero point between Dec. 31 and Jan. 1 nearest the actual event, i. e., the beginning of B. C. 4.*—Mr. Lewin, however, places the birth of our Lord in B. C. 6, about August 1.

him in the same manner as the other first-born sons of Jewish mothers. As soon as the forty days allotted for purification after the birth of a son had expired, Mary and Joseph brought Jesus to the Temple at Jerusalem, with the sacrifice appointed for the poorer sort of people, "a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons," one for the burnt-offering, and the other for the sin-offering,—in place of the full sacrifice of a lamb for the burnt-offering, and a pigeon or turtle-dove for the sin-offering.

This first appearance of Jesus in the Temple was the signal for his reception by those who may be regarded as the representatives of the spiritual remnant of Israel. An aged man and woman had long watched, with prophetic spirit, for the dawn of the Sun of Righteousness. SIMEON, who had been forewarned by the Holy Spirit, that he should not die till he had seen the "Anointed of Jehovah," was now guided by the same spirit into the Temple; and, taking the child in his arms, he proclaimed him, for the first time, as the CHRIST OF GOD, and declared that, for himself, the time was come to depart in peace, since his eyes had seen the Salvation of God, the Light of the Gentiles, and the Glory of Israel. But his prophecy was not ended; for, as Joseph and Mary wondered at his words, he announced the varied reception which Christ would meet from his own people, the trial of the inmost hearts of men by his spirit, and the sorrows which, in striking at him, should smite through his mother's heart—the primal curse and blessing on the woman.

Simeon had scarcely ceased, when ANNA, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher, entered the sacred court. This devout woman had employed her widowhood of eighty-four years, after a marriage of only seven, in constant prayers and fasting within the precincts of the Temple. She was a prophetess; and in that character she now gave thanks to God for the advent of the Christ, and repeated her testimony to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem. It seems to be implied that these "true Israel" were few, and known to one another, a small church among the nation; nor ought we to overlook the part which the express mention of Anna's tribe gives to *Israel*, as well as Judah, in the welcoming of Christ.

Nor was he without a welcome from the heathen world. B. C. 4. "The Gentiles came to his light, and kings to the brightness of his rising." Tradition and philosophy have had much to say of the "wise men"—properly MAGIANS—who were guided by a star from "the East" to Jerusalem, where they suddenly appeared in the days of Herod the Great, inquiring for the new-born king of the Jews,



SIMEON AND ANNA IN THE TEMPLE.

whom they had come to worship. That they were three in number, and that they were named Melchior, Caspar, and Balthazar, are statements as little genuine as the skulls which grin out of the gems that deck their shrine at Cologne. If not "kings," they are proved to be persons of the greatest wealth and distinction by the "treasures" which they opened, to present their gifts to Christ; and the nature of those gifts, "gold, and frankincense, and myrrh," implies the homage commonly paid by subject nations to their superior kings and conquerors. As to the country from which they came, opinions vary greatly; but their following the guidance of a star, and their name of Magians, seem to point to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, where astronomy was early cultivated by the Chaldæans, and where the old Zend religion of Zoroaster had been established by the Persians. That religion, remaining pure from the grosser forms of idolatry, preserved the hope of a great deliverer, who should reform the world and establish a reign of peace. That some tradition, influenced possibly by the Jews of the Dispersion, went so far as to make this deliverer a "King of the Jews," seems a fair inference from the direct form of their inquiry for him. As to the sign which guided them, the chief difficulties have arisen from the attempt to find a natural explanation; for the plain narrative of St. Matthew evidently represents it as a miracle vouchsafed for the occasion. The ingenious conjecture of certain astronomers, that the appearance of the star was caused by a remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, is now exploded. The approach of the two planets was not at all near enough for them to be mistaken for a single star; nor could habitual observers of the heavens fail to recognize the positions of such well-known bodies. Besides, their "standing over the place where the young child was," so as to define the spot on the surface of the earth, is utterly inconceivable. It only remains for us to be content with the obvious explanation, that some new luminary, whether meteoric or celestial, was made to appear, in a manner distinct enough to the eyes of practised astronomers, expressly to guide the sages on their way. Ages before, a prophet from the same regions had predicted the Messiah by the sign of "the star that should arise out of Jacob;" and, while these sages watched the heavens with the reverence of worshippers, it pleased God to use their own ideas as the source of new light, just as Paul declared to the Athenians the "Unknown God," whom they ignorantly worshipped.

Their arrival and inquiries threw Jerusalem into commotion. With his usual craft, Herod summoned the Sanhedrim, and learned that

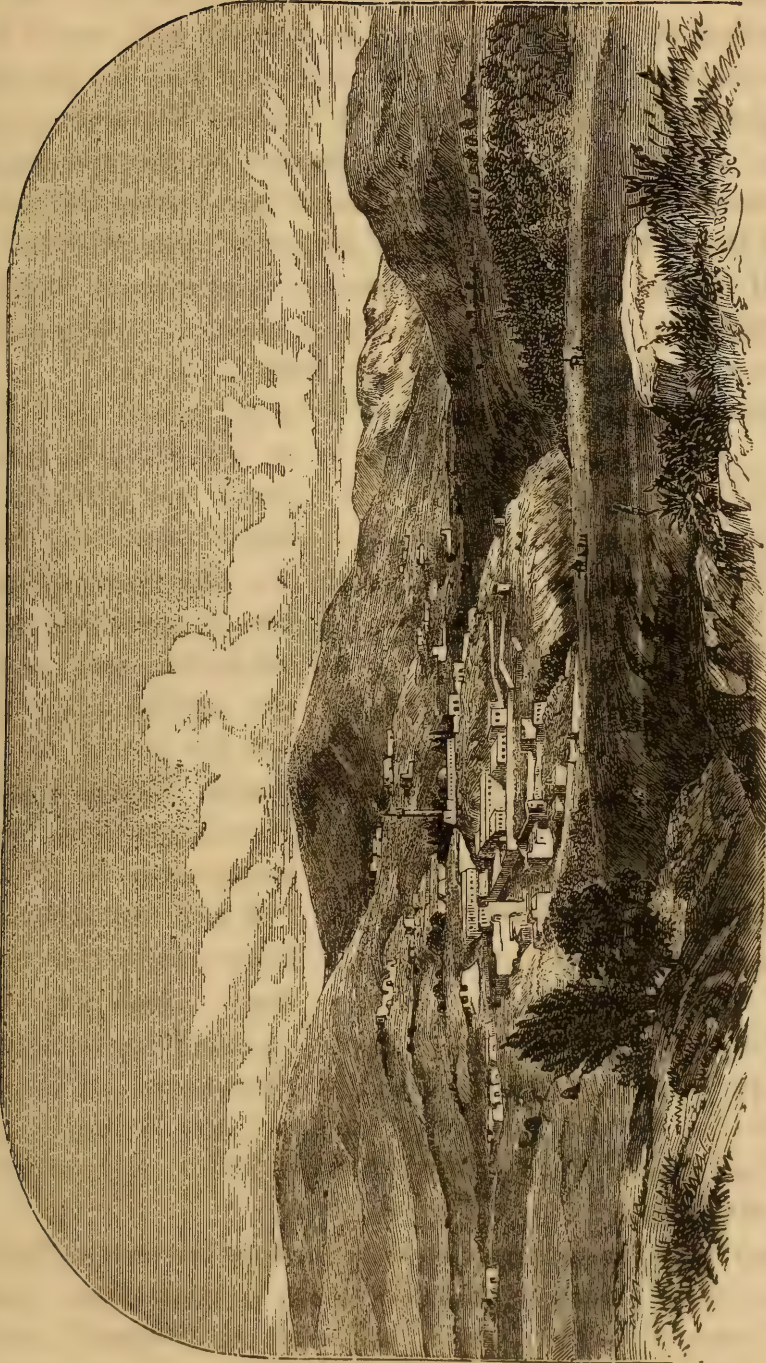
the Messiah was to be born at Bethlehem. Having inquired from the Magians the time of the star's appearance, as a guide to that of the child's birth, he professed his desire to worship the new-born king, and sent them on to discover his abode. The star again guided them over the five miles from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, and at length stood still above the house where Jesus was. They paid him their willing homage, and presented their costly gifts, the first-fruits of the wealth and wisdom of the Gentile world.

The offerings which they brought have been regarded as symbolical: the gold was tribute to a king, the frankincense was for the use of a priest, and the myrrh was a holy preparing for the tomb; but, in a more general view, these were at any rate the offerings made by worshippers, and in that light must the Magi be regarded. By means of a dream, a form of divination which they were wont to follow with implicit faith, though it is not probable that the reason was revealed to them, they were warned by God not to return to Herod, and they departed into their own country by another route, perhaps by Hebron and round the southern end of the Dead Sea. Their evasion increased the fears and rage of Herod, who was now racked by the tortures of his last illness. He who had sacrificed wife and sons to the safety of his crown, resolved to make sure of the destruction of the unknown infant by a general massacre of all the male children in Bethlehem and its territory under two years old.

B. C. 4. The angel of God was again sent to Joseph, to direct him to carry Jesus and his mother into Egypt, where they remained in safety while the mothers of Bethlehem realized the mournful picture long before drawn by Jeremiah under the image of Rachel, whose sepulchre was at their gates, weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted, because they were not. The abode of Jesus in Egypt formed a step by which the course of his life was assimilated to that of his people's history, and so fulfilled, in its highest sense, the saying of the prophet Hosea, "Out of Egypt have I called my son." The death of Herod, shortly before the Passover of the same year, was the signal for their return to Palestine, at the command of the angel to Joseph in a dream. But, on entering Judæa, they learned that the people had been disappointed of the succession of Herod Antipas, and that the throne was occupied by Archelaus, who was likely to tread in his father's steps. So they turned aside by the coast road to Galilee, and returned to their own city of Nazareth, whose name, odious to the Jews of Judah, gave Jesus and his disciples their first appellation of NAZARENES, as the prophets had foretold.

Here, in the retirement of his father's lowly abode, we lose sight of Jesus for twelve years. We are only told that "the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him." It is clear from the next event recorded in his history, that these words imply not only a growth in moral and spiritual excellence, but a conscious preparation for his ministry by communion with his divine Father and by diligent study of the Scriptures. His public ministry did not begin with a sudden impulse, but was prepared for by his whole life. The consciousness of his divine nature and power grew and ripened and strengthened until the time of his showing unto Israel. The very silence of the evangelists, however, leads to some important inferences respecting our Saviour's training in boyhood and in youth. As Neander has observed—"His education for a teacher was not due to any of the theological schools then existing in Judæa;" and thus was he the better prepared to stand forth, in perfect independence, as the antagonist and rebuker alike of the dead ritualism and hypocritical casuistry of the Pharisees and Scribes, and the negative coldness of the Sadducees. And while the rigid purity which he taught might suggest something of an outward resemblance to the Essenes, he had no real connection with that ascetic body, to deaden his sympathies with humanity at large. Herein was the contrast with his forerunner, which he himself traces—"John came neither eating nor drinking: the Son of Man came eating and drinking."

Ever since the Captivity, the great festivals, like the other April 9,
A. D. S. institutions of the law, had been observed with regularity, and even the women went up to Jerusalem once a year to keep the Passover. Such was the custom of our Saviour's parents; and when he reached the age of twelve, he accompanied them to the feast. When Joseph and Mary left Jerusalem, he remained behind, his absence being only discovered after the caravan had gone a day's journey. His sorrowing parents found him in the Temple, the centre of a circle of the professed teachers of the law, astonishing all who heard him, both by his replies to them and by his own questions. There is nothing here to imply a contentious spirit; but, in the sincere effort to obtain instruction, he could not but show the fruits of his profound study of the Scriptures, and the power of the Spirit that had "filled him with wisdom." This "spiritual discernment," by which he opened the true meaning of God's Word, was the "understanding" which astonished the "natural men," who had long been bound down to the mere letter.



NAZARETH.

This interview with the Jewish Rabbis is the first of several discussions in which we may trace our Lord's independence of the teaching of the schools. "Had Jesus been trained in the Jewish seminaries, his opponents would doubtless have reproached him with the arrogance of setting up for master where he himself had been a pupil. But, on the contrary, we find that they censured him for attempting to explain the Scriptures without having enjoyed the advantages of the schools. His first appearance as a teacher in the synagogue at Nazareth caused even greater surprise, as he was known there, not as one learned in the law, but rather as a carpenter's son, who had perhaps himself worked at his father's trade. The general impression of his discourses everywhere was, that they contained totally different materials from those furnished by the theological schools."

His celebrated reply to his mother—"Why did ye seek me? Knew



JESUS DISPUTING WITH THE DOCTORS.

ye not that, I must be about my Father's business?" not only reveals his full consciousness of his divine mission, and his zeal to enter upon it at the earliest opportunity; but his use of the word *Father* derives a peculiar significance from the remonstrance of Mary—"Behold thy *father* and I have sought thee sorrowing." And yet, though

thus conscious of a higher source of his being, and a higher authority for his actions, he again "fulfilled all the righteousness" of filial duty, and proved that he had learned at this early age the hardest of all lessons, to wait God's time when we seem to be not only wasting our own, but losing opportunities of serving him.

The gospel narrative here passes over another interval of eighteen years, from Christ's 12th year to his 30th, with the brief record—"He went down with his parents, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart. And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man." That he shared all the outward circumstances of Joseph's lowly lot, is clear from the taunt of his fellow-citizens of Nazareth and the neighborhood—"Is not this the carpenter's son?" That he

worked at his father's bench, may be inferred not only from the circumstances of the case, but also from the laudable custom of the Jews, to bring up their sons in some trade and handicraft. Joseph appears to have died at some time between the visit of Jesus to the Temple in his twelfth year and his entrance upon his ministry. Mary had a sister also called Mary, the wife of Alphæus or Cleopas. Her husband appears likewise to have died before the ministry of our Lord commenced; and the two widowed sisters, with their families, apparently lived together at Nazareth.

That the "Son of the Highest" was born in an humble station, and that the Creator of the world labored as a workman, established from the first his sympathy with all conditions of humanity without distinction of rank and occupation, and marked the beginning of the influence of Christianity on the civil and social relations of mankind. In that lowly condition, too, he would see an abundant measure of the suffering which he came to relieve, and enough of the sin from which all suffering springs, to supply the want of its consciousness in his own sinless nature. For the experience of sin in the world into which he had come was needful to prepare him for the great work of saving his people from their sins.

The later incident of his invitation, with his mother, to the marriage at Cana, as well as the social character of his public life, imply that the whole family lived in cheerful friendly intercourse with the people of their own and the surrounding villages, and that Jesus was no recluse. So much we may gather respecting his outer life. The mysteries of his intellectual, moral, and spiritual progress during that critical period, in which he passed from boyhood to the full maturity of man, are too deep for human imagination, and can only be seen in the fruit borne in his ministry. But there is the great fact, of the deepest significance for us, that "Jesus *increased* in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man." Here is one of those traits of Christ's *perfect humanity*, which have perhaps been too little regarded by those who have had to defend the great doctrine of his true divinity. "It behoved him *in all things* to be made like to his brethren." This truth is obvious in regard to his physical growth; but it is no less true of his mind and soul. Neither did the mysterious union of the Godhead with his human nature exempt him from learning to know the will of God by patient study, and to do it by discipline and self-denial; nor did that complacent regard of the eternal Father for the co-eternal Son, which was especially exhibited on his consent to save mankind—"Lo! I come to do thy will, O God"—preclude that

growth in favor, with God as well as man, which was the natural reward of his true growth in virtue and in knowledge. The many proofs that this progress still went on during all his life are crowned by the last scene of trial, in which he recognized the possibility of a conflict between the will of God and his self-will as man, and agonized in prayer to achieve the victory: "Father! not MY WILL, but THINE, be done."

Such considerations are most important, not only as giving us a truer view of our Saviour's nature, but as showing that he has the perfect sympathy of experience with our moral, ay, and intellectual conflicts, and that his human virtues, however transcendant in degree, are in kind real examples, which we may imitate by the means he used, because "as he is, so are we in this world."

CHAPTER XXX.

OUR SAVIOUR'S EARLY MINISTRY—FROM THE PREACHING OF JOHN THE BAPTIST
TO CHRIST'S FIRST PASSOVER.

[A. D. 26-27.]

THE preceding narrative left both Jesus and his appointed forerunner awaiting "the time of their showing to Israel," the former in the circle of his family, the latter leading a wild, ascetic life in the wilderness about Engedi. Meanwhile, the state of the Holy Land was enough to show that "the fulness of time was come" for the appearance of the preacher of repentance as the herald of the kingdom of heaven. "The sceptre had departed from Judah" at the deposition of Archelaus, the son of Herod (A. D. 7); and Judæa was governed by a Roman procurator under the prefect of Syria. The degradation of seeing a heathen power on the ruins of the throne of David was embittered by the oppression of the *publicans* (*portitores*), generally Jews—collectors who exacted far more than they had to pay over to the farmers of the revenue.* The people were ripe for rebellion; and a sect arose, under Judas, the Gaulonite, denying the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar.

Such was the state of things in Judæa when JOHN THE A. D. 26. BAPTIST appeared in public, at the epoch which St. Luke carefully marks by a concurrence of chronological data. It was in the 15th year of Tiberius, A. D. 26 (reckoning from his association

* The Greek word (*τελωναι*) translated "Publicans," describes the *portitores*, or inferior officers employed as collectors of the Roman revenue. But the Latin word *Publicani*, from which the English of the A.V. has been taken, was applied to a higher order of men. The Roman senate farmed the *vectigalia* (direct taxes) and the *portoria* (customs, including the *octroi* on goods carried into or out of cities) to capitalists who undertook to pay a given sum into the treasury (*publicum*), and hence received the name of *publicani*. Contracts of this kind fell naturally into the hands of the *equites*, as the richest class of Romans. In the provinces were managing directors; and under them were the *portitores*, the actual custom-house officers. The latter were commonly natives of the province in which they were stationed. The word *τελωναι*, which etymologically might have been used of the *publicani* properly so called, was used popularly, and in the New Testament exclusively, of the *portitores*.

The system was essentially a vicious one. The *publicani* encouraged their

with Augustus in the empire in A. D. 12), when Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa, Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee, Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis, and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene. Annas and Caiaphas are both named as high-priests; in fact, Annas was deposed by Valerius Gratus in A. D. 14, and was succeeded after a time by his son-in-law, Caiaphas or Joseph. In the subsequent narrative we find both acting together, with a sort of joint authority, as heads of the Jewish people. The frequent changes in the high-priesthood at this time formed an irritating feature of the Roman policy.

At this time of general commotion and expectation, the prophetic word of God came to John in the wilderness of Judæa, and he came forward as a preacher. Though he laid no claim to miraculous powers, there was everything about him to excite attention. A rare, and probably solitary specimen of the ancient Nazarites, like Samson and Samuel, commanding admiration by his life of ascetic retirement, he had assumed also the prophet's mantle of camel's hair, fastened to the body by a girdle, a dress which of itself recalled the person of Elijah. Being, in fact, the greatest, as he was the last prophet, nay, the greatest man of the Old Covenant, he merged all claims to personal dignity in his one office as the forerunner of Messiah, foretold by the prophet Isaiah. He almost sinks his personality in his character of a herald:—"I am the *voice* of one crying in the wilderness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,' as saith the prophet Esaias." So intimate was the relation of John's mission to the advent of the Christ, that St. Mark pronounces John's preaching in the wilderness as predicted by the prophets, "the *beginning* of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God."

To this character all his preaching was perfectly adapted. The

agents, the *portitores*, in the most vexatious or fraudulent exactions. They overcharged whenever they had an opportunity (Luke iii. 13). They brought false charges of smuggling in the hope of extorting hush-money (Luke xix. 8). The employment brought out all the besetting vices of the Jewish character. The strong feeling of many Jews as to the absolute unlawfulness of paying tribute at all made matters worse. The Scribes who discussed the question (Matt. xxii. 15) for the most part answered in the negative. In addition to their other faults, accordingly, the Publicans of the New Testament were regarded as traitors and apostates, defiled by their frequent intercourse with the heathen, willing tools of the oppressor. They were classed with sinners (Matt. ix. 11, xi. 19), with harlots (Matt. xxi. 31, 32), with the heathen (Matt. xviii. 17). To eat and drink "with Publicans," seems to the Pharisaic mind incompatible with the character of a recognized Rabbi (Matt. ix. 11). They spoke in their scorn of our Lord as the friend of Publicans (Matt. xi. 19).

prophet Malachi had long since described the work that must be done in the hearts of men before they could receive the coming Saviour; and now that John proclaimed "the kingdom of heaven is at hand," he preached "repentance for the remission of sins," as the condition not only of entrance into that kingdom, but of exemption from utter destruction from the presence of the great One who was coming. He showed that aspect of the Gospel, on which Christ also insisted, that, together with the proffer of mercy, it involves a final decision, according as that mercy is accepted or refused.

The outward sign which marked those who became his disciples, the rite from which he obtained his characteristic name, the *Baptist*, taught most impressively the putting away the evils by which the whole life of the people was corrupted. It is an old controversy whether the baptism of John was a new institution, or an imitation of the baptism of proselytes as practised by the Jews. But at all events there is no record of such a rite, conducted in the name of, and with reference to a particular person, before the ministry of John.

Each class among the multitudes who flocked from Jerusalem and all Judæa to hear him, and receive his baptism, was taught the lesson of repentance in the form they most required:—the *publicans* to practise honesty and moderation; the *soldiers* to abstain from violence, false accusations, and wrongful exactions from a subject people; the *selfish* to share their abundance with the poor; while the rival sects of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, who claimed the exclusive privileges of the covenant with Abraham, were sternly denounced as a "generation of vipers," warned that God could raise up true children to Abraham from the very stones of the desert, and summoned to prove their repentance by some good fruits before the sentence already uttered was executed, to cut them down as barren trees, fit only to be cast into the fire. All that he said and did inflamed the expectation, to which his only answer was by proclaiming the coming of his far greater successor.

These exhortations produced little effect on the two leading sects. Of the Pharisees and teachers of the law we are distinctly told that "they frustrated the counsel of God against themselves, being not baptized of him." It was otherwise with the mass of the people, and especially with the Publicans. By accepting the baptism of John, they gave, at the very beginning of the Gospel dispensation, an illustration of the great principle so often taught by Christ, that the sinner, conscious of his guilt, is better prepared to enter the kingdom of heaven by repentance, than self-righteous men who think they

need no repentance. The career of John seems to have been very brief; and it has been asked how such great influence could have been attained in a short time. But his was a powerful nature, which soon took possession of those who came within its reach; and his success becomes less surprising if we assume, with some commentators, that the preaching took place in a Sabbatical year. Speaking generally, John had baptized "all the people," and so had "made ready a people prepared for the Lord," when the time came for him to crown his ministry by the baptism of Jesus himself. The time that had elapsed from the commencement of his ministry to this event may be safely reckoned at six months, namely, the difference between the ages of John and Jesus, assuming that the former, like the latter, began his ministry at the regular Levitical age of thirty. During this period, his predictions of the Messiah grew more and more frequent: the "herald" became more distinctly the "evangelist."

A. D. 27. At length Jesus, being about the age of thirty, came forth from his retirement at Nazareth and travelled to the Jordan, where John was then baptizing, to submit himself to the initiatory rite. There is something, at first sight, almost unaccountable in this step. That he who "knew no sin" should thus seem to "arise and wash away his sins;" that he who truly "needed no repentance," and was himself the Spiritual King, should accept at the hands of the preacher of repentance the rite of initiation into his own kingdom! And so it seemed to John, who at first opposed his wish, exclaiming, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" The answer solves the mystery:—"Suffer it now,"—in this present dispensation of my humiliation—"for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." He had come in the "likeness of sinful flesh," though it was a *likeness* only. "He was *made sin* for us," though in himself he "knew no sin." And he felt it to be as much his part to "condemn sin in the flesh," by renouncing it through the water of baptism, as by expiating it by his blood upon the cross; and so he set the example of entrance into his kingdom by the path of meek repentance, and of solemn obligation to a holy life. His conscience, free from all sense of guilt, must have felt it hard to descend into the water; but this first suffering had its reward in the glory that at once followed. This first act of submission to his Father's will called forth the first public tokens of his Father's acceptance of the sacrifice, and approving love toward himself. As he stepped past the water's edge, he knelt down to pray, devoting his whole

being to the work to which he had been consecrated by his baptism. At that moment a double sign was vouchsafed from heaven to the eyes and ears of the multitude, among whom Jesus had hitherto appeared as one of themselves. The sky was seen to open, and the Spirit of God descended upon him in a bodily shape, like a dove, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." The former act was another baptism, which exceeded the commission of John, endowing Jesus with the power of God, and given to him to be conferred in turn upon his disciples; while the voice was that direct attestation from God himself, which the Jewish teachers recognized by the name of the *Bath-Col* (daughter of the voice), and which was twice again repeated in the course of his ministry.

Though he had thus fulfilled the main object of his ministry, which was "that Christ should be made manifest to Israel," John still continued the work of preparing the people to receive him. Meanwhile Jesus was withdrawn again from the thousands of eyes that were watching what would follow, to undergo that trial which was to fit him to sympathize with his tempted brethren.



LAZARUS AT THE RICH MAN'S GATE.

"Though he were a Son," as he had just been proclaimed from heaven, "yet learned he obedience by the things that he suffered; and being thus made perfect, he became the author of eternal salvation unto all them that obey him." It was immediately after his baptism, by the very first impulse of the Spirit which had then descended on him, that Jesus was driven into the wilderness, to undergo in solitude not only the great moral trial of his humanity, but the second great trial of human nature itself. The forty days spent by our Saviour in the wilderness bear a striking resemblance to the forty days' retirement of Moses on Mount Sinai, and the forty days spent by Elijah at Horeb; and this likeness between the Mediator of the New Covenant and the Mediator and Reformer of the Old becomes the more significant from the subsequent appearance of Moses and Elijah with Jesus on the Mount of Transfiguration. The parallel

must not, however, be pressed to the inference that our Saviour was led so far as the peninsula of Sinai; the scene of his temptation was probably in the wilderness of Judæa, the wild beasts of which are mentioned by St. Mark.

It is impossible for us to form a complete conception of our Lord's temptation, since temptation with us is always associated with the possibility of sin, whereas Christ's trial was that of one who could not possibly have fallen. But while we must be content with an incomplete conception, we must avoid the wrong conceptions that are often substituted for it.

The three temptations are addressed to the three forms in which the disease of sin makes its appearance on the soul—to the solace of sense, and the love of praise, and the desire of gain. But there is one element common to them all—they are attempts to call up a wilful and wayward spirit in contrast to a patient self-denying one.

In the first temptation the Redeemer is an-hungered, and when the devil bids him, if he be the Son of God, command that the stones may be made bread, there would seem to be no great sin in this use of divine power to overcome the pressing human want. Our Lord's answer is required to show us where the essence of the temptation lay. He takes the words of Moses to the children of Israel, which mean, not that men must dispense with bread, and feed only on the study of the divine word, but that our meat and drink, our food and raiment, are all the work of the creating hand of God; and that a sense of *dependence on God* is the duty of man. He tells the tempter that as the sons of Israel, standing in the wilderness, were forced to humble themselves and to wait upon the hand of God for the bread from heaven which he gave them, so the Son of Man, fainting in the wilderness from hunger, will be humble, and will wait upon his Father in heaven for the word that shall bring him food, and will not be hasty to deliver himself from that dependent state, but will wait patiently for the gifts of his goodness.

In the second temptation, it is not probable that they left the wilderness, but that Satan was allowed to suggest to our Lord's mind the place and the marvel that could be wrought there. They stood, as has been suggested, on the lofty porch that overhung the valley of Kedron, where the steep side of the valley was added to the height of the Temple, and made a depth that the eye could scarcely have borne to look down upon. "Cast thyself down"—perform in the Holy City, in a public place, a wonder that will at once make all men confess that none but the Son of God could perform it. A

passage from the 91st Psalm is quoted to give a color to the argument. Our Lord replies by an allusion to another text, that carries us back again to the Israelites wandering in the wilderness: "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as ye tempted him in Massah." Their conduct is more fully described by the Psalmist as a tempting of God: "They tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust; yea, they spake against God: they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold he smote the rock that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed. Can he give bread also? Can he provide flesh for his people?" Just parallel was the temptation here. God has protected thee so far, brought thee up, put his seal upon thee by manifest proofs of his favor. Can he do this also? Can he send the angels to buoy thee up in thy descent? Can he make the air thick to sustain, and the earth soft to receive thee? The appropriate answer is, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."

In the third temptation it is not asserted that there is any mountain from which the eyes of common men can see the world and its kingdoms at once displayed; it was with the mental vision of One who knew all things that these kingdoms and their glory were seen. And Satan has now begun to discover, if he knew not from the beginning, that One is here who can become the King over them all. He says, "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." In St. Luke the words are fuller: "All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it:" but these words are the lie of the tempter, which he uses to mislead. "Thou art come to be great—to be a king on the earth; but I am strong, and will resist thee. Thy followers shall be imprisoned and slain; some of them shall fall away through fear; others shall forsake thy cause, loving this present world. Cast in thy lot with me; let thy kingdom be an earthly kingdom, only the greatest of all—a kingdom such as the Jews seek to see established on the throne of David. Worship me by living as the children of this world live, and so honoring me in thy life: then all shall be thine." The Lord knows that the tempter is right in foretelling such trials to him; but, though clouds and darkness hang over the path of his ministry, he must work the work of him that sent him, and not another work: he must worship God and none other. "Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." As regards the order of the temptations, there are internal marks that the account

of St. Matthew assigns them their historical order: St. Luke transposes the two last, for which various reasons are suggested by commentators.

The ministry of angels to Jesus, at the close of the temptation, is the first example (unless we include the cases before his birth) of a feature in his career on which the Apostle Paul lays stress, and in which we see his command of the world of spirits—a command which he has ever used on behalf of his tempted people, sending forth his “spirit-servants” to minister to the heirs of salvation. Nor should we omit to notice that Satan departed from him only “for a season.” The great decisive battle of obedience to God and resistance to sin had been gained; but the enemy would not confess a final defeat. This was pre-eminently *the temptation*; but our Lord himself described his course as a scene of *continued temptation*; and he had yet to secure the victory by that last agony in which “the prince of the world came, but still found nothing in him.” And so with his people, “they that endure *to the end shall be saved*.”

It would seem that the baptism of Jesus, and his mysterious disappearance, had brought the alarm of the rulers at Jerusalem to a climax; and they sent priests and Levites to require John to tell them plainly who he was. They appear to have been perplexed between his mission and that of the coming “greater one,” who had been just shown and then withdrawn. To the successive inquiries—“Art thou the Christ?” “Art thou Elias?” “Art thou that prophet?”—one greater even than Elias, whom the Jews expected to be raised again from the dead as the forerunner of the Messiah—he gave a direct negative, again repeating the description of his work in the words of Isaiah.

At length there came a day, when he was able to reply to their challenge of his right to baptize at all, if he had none of these claims, by telling them of ONE *then standing among them*, though they knew him not, as whose forerunner he himself baptized with water unto repentance. For Jesus had now returned from the scene of his temptation; and, on the following day, John seized an opportunity to point him out in those memorable words, which describe him as the substance of the types of the law, and the one true sacrifice for the salvation of all the world—“Behold the LAMB OF GOD, *which taketh away the sin of the world!*” This, he added, was the SON OF GOD, who had been marked by the descent of the Spirit, who should confer on them the higher baptism of the Holy Ghost, and whose revelation to Israel was the one object of his own ministry. This

open proclamation of the Christ had no immediate and visible result. The astonished people probably went away to meditate on all these wonders, while the process of conversion to Christ began, in God's own quiet course, with a few individuals, who had been prepared to come to him by John's teaching.

A. D. 27. It was on the following day that John, surprised perhaps that his words of yesterday had led to no greater result, repeated them in a more private way to two of his disciples, as they saw Jesus walking by them. It was soon after the hour of the evening sacrifice, that they heard him say, for the second time, "Behold the Lamb of God;" and this time the words came to them with the power of the Spirit. They followed Jesus, and became the two first of his disciples. And here we have the record of the very first of "those gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth" in the character of the Teacher and Saviour of his people. Turning round, and seeing them following, not daring to overtake and address him, he said, "What seek ye?" His first words were an unbounded encouragement to prayer. Their effect shows that they were uttered with that mingled kindness and authority which could proceed from no other lips; for, at once addressing him by the title of a Jewish teacher, they asked to be admitted to his private converse: "Rabbi! (Master) where dwellest thou?" He invited them to his abode, and they spent the rest of the day in hearing words which convinced them that he was the Messiah, and which led one of them, ANDREW, to seek his own brother SIMON that same evening, and bring him to Jesus. Simon was received with a salutation which proved that Jesus already knew him, and with a new surname, at once descriptive of his character, and symbolical of the truth, that Christ is the rock on which his Church is founded. This name was, in the vernacular, CEPHAS, answering to the Greek PETER, and signifying a stone or rock. That the other of the two first disciples of our Lord was JOHN, can scarcely admit of question. The modest reserve, which keeps back his own name, is consistent with his usual manner of naming himself as "that other disciple," "the disciple whom Jesus loved." The naming of the other earliest disciples, but not of John, combined with the internal evidence of his presence at the scenes related in the first few chapters of his Gospel, puts the matter beyond a question. This early introduction to our Saviour places him at once in that position of a constant and close companion, which gives so remarkable a character to his Gospel. Nor can we refrain from imagining how, while Andrew had no sooner heard enough from Jesus to work

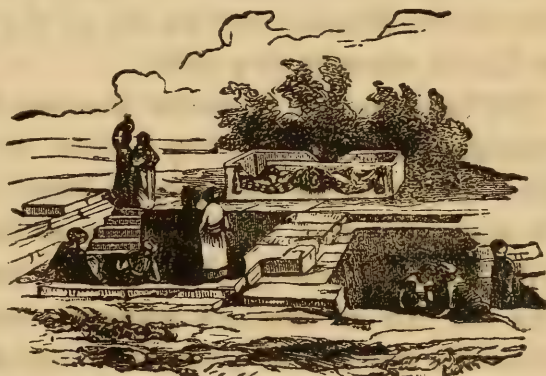
conviction in his mind, he hastened to seek his brother with the news, "We have found the Messiah!"—John remained sitting at the Saviour's feet, and drinking in the first mysteries of his kingdom. Thus was that kingdom inaugurated upon earth, by the secret converse of Jesus with three fishermen, who had come to be baptized by John, in some rude hut reared on the banks of Jordan; but those three already formed the CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

It is very characteristic of the gradual course of Christ's revelation, that he withdrew on the next day, from the crowds assembled about John, to Galilee. But first he called another disciple, PHILIP, a man of Bethsaida, the native place of Andrew and Peter. Philip, like Andrew, sought to share the blessing with a friend. This was NATHANAEL, of Cana in Galilee, the same who is afterward called Bartholomew, whose zeal for the purity of Judaism, unlike that of the mere formalists, was adorned by deep and sincere devotion. His celebrated objection—"Can any good come out of Nazareth?"—betrayed the prejudice even of a Galilean against the despised village of Christ; but all such feelings vanished at once, when Jesus not only accosted him as "an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile," but assured Nathanael that he had seen him in his wonted place of secret prayer, under the shade of a fig-tree, where no human eye could see him. This proof of Christ's omniscience called forth a confession which forms a climax to those made by the other disciples. Andrew and his companion had acknowledged him as their *Master*, and the former had told Peter that they had found the *Christ*; Philip had recognized in *Jesus of Nazareth* the *son of Joseph*, him who had been *foretold by Moses and the prophets*; and now Nathanael gives him the full titles of the Messiah: "Rabbi! Thou art the *Son of God*! Thou art the *King of Israel*!" His faith was rewarded by the promise of higher exhibitions of Christ's glory in the ministry of the angels from heaven.

A. D. 27. The next day but one after the calling of Nathanael, a marriage-feast was held at Cana. There appears to have been a twofold reason for our Saviour's presence. His mother was one of the guests; and it seems probable that Mary had gone from Nazareth, while Jesus went direct to Cana, at the invitation of Nathanael, who was a native of that place, and who would naturally invite his friend Philip, together with his fellow-townsmen Peter and Andrew, and their friend, the remaining and unnamed disciple. That all were present is clearly implied in the statement, "Both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage;" and this is most important

as establishing the fact, that our Saviour's first miracle was wrought in the presence of these "witnesses chosen before," and especially of John, who alone of the four evangelists records the incident.

This unexpected influx of guests, though welcomed with the hospitality of the East, entailed serious inconvenience on the bridegroom's limited resources; for the family seems to have been of the same lowly station as our Lord's. The wine, which it had doubtless required an effort to provide, ran short. Mary, who now appears again, for the first time since those early events, all of which she had "kept in her heart" and "pondered in her mind," thought she saw the opportunity to call forth the divine power of her Son. That this was involved in her words, "They have no wine" (and not, as some say, a hint of the propriety of his withdrawing, with his disciples, which, by the bye, would have been an insult to the host), seems clear from his reply, "Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come!" The original conveys nothing of bluntness by the first word, the same by which Jesus addressed his mother in the very climax of his tenderness upon the cross; but yet the choice of it, instead of "Mother," is a sign of that new relation which appears throughout the whole scene. It is hard to treat



FOUNTAIN OF CANA.

the subject with plainness and yet with reverence; but the difficulty is one of expression rather than of understanding. The man Jesus had, in childhood and youth, been subject to his parents; but such subjection was no longer becoming to Jesus the Christ of God. There seems to have been, in the hint of Mary, something of that error which is carried to extremity by the Mariolaters, when they pray the Virgin to *command* her Son to give them their wishes. It was needful that our Saviour should correct this error, which affected the motive, the object, and the time for the exercise of his miraculous power. "What is it to me and thee? Mine hour is not yet come"—is, in effect, a declaration that he must not use his divine powers at the promptings even of a parent, nor for any private object, nor till the fit season, of which the Spirit within him was sole judge. But what is the "hour" that he speaks of as "not yet come?" The special use of this phrase elsewhere, for the great crisis of his work, is apt to

make us forget that its primary sense is more general, "My season or opportunity is not yet come." But that interpretation is too narrow, which makes it refer to the wine not being yet exhausted. It is a rebuke of the impatience, which would not wait his time, though followed by the condescension of performing the miracle asked for, as the first example of those which should follow in due season. Mary received the rebuke without discouragement; and, as the friend of the family, she commands the servants to hold themselves at his disposal.

The details of the miracle are too familiar to need relation; but we must not omit to notice the points in which it forms a type of all Christ's miracles:—"This did Jesus, *as the beginning of his miracles*;" not only the first in time, but the inauguration of the great principle of all his miracles, at once to "make manifest his glory" and to cause "his disciples to believe on him." We may observe, in passing, that these words dispose, once for all, of the many childish legends about our Lord's miracles as a child.

Nor must we fail to notice that our Saviour made this first public "manifestation of his glory" while he was satisfying the claims of social duty, and in this respect also "made like unto his brethren." We have seen him in the bosom of the family, now we behold him in the circle of society, blessing both, and fulfilling the laws of both, even the law of innocent pleasure; and interposing, by his divine power at a moment of pressure, to supply a want that was not one of the mere necessities of life. "The Son of Man came eating and drinking."

In the fact that his first feast was a marriage feast, we see him sanctifying the divine ordinance of marriage, nay, even the festivities connected with it. This marked sanction, thus early in his course, may be regarded as a substitute for his own literal conformity to his brethren in the marriage state. It exhibited his perfect sympathy with a condition of life which his peculiar lot forbade his accepting: his only bride is the whole Church, which shares his love and life in glory; but no mortal bosom might divide the burden of his humiliation upon earth.

The marriage at Cana concludes what may be called the more private opening of our Saviour's ministry. "He came unto his own,"—first in the narrow circle of the few friends connected with his family; and all that follows justifies our applying to this narrow circle the statement, that "his own received him not;" and St. John expressly states that "neither did his brethren believe on him," when



ANCIENT BANQUET.

they taunted him with the comparative privacy of his miracles. Even his mother's faith seems thus far to have had in it more of nature than of grace ; and, for the rest, his five disciples were his only converts. With them, and his mother, and his brethren, he retired to Capernaum, on the west shore of the Lake of Galilee, a city which he more than once selected for his residence in preference to Nazareth. This abode of the first disciples with Jesus at Capernaum marks the intimate personal nature of their connection with him, and implies the incessant opportunities which that intercourse afforded for their learning of him the truths of which they were to be witnesses. It must not be confounded with that first *public* appearance at Capernaum which succeeds his baptism in the order of the first three Evangelists. "They continued there not many days ;" for a reason which presently appears ; "the Jews' passover was at hand." This notice fixes the marriage at Cana to a time not long before the Passover ; an epoch from which we can reckon back, within pretty narrow limits of error, to our Saviour's temptation and his baptism, making in all about three months from the time when "he began to be about thirty years of age."

CHAPTER XXXI.

FIRST YEAR OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY—FROM HIS FIRST PASSOVER TO HIS SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM, PROBABLY AT THE PASSOVER.

[A. D. 27-28.]

THAT Christ should begin his public ministry at Jerusalem was equally in accordance with the fitness of the case, and with the expectations raised by prophecy:—"Jehovah, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to *his temple*." Nor was there any reason so suitable for his appearance there, as the Feast of Passover, which presented the most striking type of him, and at which the Jews were gathered, not only from all the land, but from the countries of the Dispersion. Hence the Passovers A. D. 27. during our Saviour's ministry are most important epochs, and, indeed, they furnish the only general chronological data for its course. But we are met, in the outset, by the strange fact that, with one exception, these Passovers are mentioned only by St. John. All the Evangelists relate the events of that last great Passover, to which Jesus went up to suffer as the true Paschal Lamb. But, with this exception, the first three Evangelists confine their narrative to our Lord's ministry in Galilee, though not without incidental allusions to his visits to Judæa. Immediately after his baptism, they record the beginning of his ministry in Galilee; and the word "returned," in Matthew and Luke, might be taken for his first return from the banks of the Jordan, but for the note of time, and the motive of the journey, supplied by Matthew and Mark, "when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison." This agrees with the beginning of St. John's fourth chapter, and interposes all the events recorded in his first three chapters. In the same way, the visits to Judæa mentioned in John v. and vii. are passed over by the other Evangelists, who, however, imply, on various occasions, the not unfrequent exercise of Christ's ministry in Jerusalem* and Judæa. And this is

* SCENE OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

MATTHEW, MARK, and LUKE record only our Lord's doings in Galilee; if we put aside a few days before the Passion, we find that they never mention his visiting Jerusalem. John, on the other hand, while he records some acts in Galilee, devotes the chief part of his Gospel to the transactions in Judæa. But

accounted for by two facts, which must never be lost sight of in studying the Gospels, that *the first three Evangelists wrote from Galilean sources of information*, and that *the Gospel of St. John was supplemental to theirs*.

In these two facts we have the key to the diversities between the

when the supplemental character of John's Gospel is borne in mind, there is little difficulty in explaining this. The three Evangelists do not profess to give a chronology of the ministry, but rather a picture of it: notes of time are not frequent in their narrative. And as they chiefly confined themselves to Galilee, where the Redeemer's chief acts were done, they might naturally omit to mention the feasts, which, being passed by our Lord at Jerusalem, added nothing to the materials for his Galilean ministry. John, on the other hand, writing later, and giving an account of the Redeemer's life which is still less complete as a history (for more than one-half of the fourth Gospel is occupied with the last three months of the ministry, and seven chapters out of twenty-one are filled with the account of the few days of the Passion), vindicates his historical claim by supplying several precise notes of time. In the occurrences after the baptism of Jesus, days and even hours are specified (John i. 29, 35, 39, 43, ii. 1); the first miracle is mentioned, and the time at which it was wrought (John ii. 1-11). He mentions not only the Passover (John ii. 13-23; vi. 4; xiii. 1, and, perhaps, v. 1), but also the Feast of Tabernacles (John vii. 2) and of Dedication (John x. 22): and thus it is ordered that the Evangelist who goes over the least part of the ground of our Lord's ministry is yet the same who fixes for us its duration, and enables us to arrange the facts of the rest more exactly in their historical places. It is true that the three Gospels record chiefly the occurrences in Galilee; but there is evidence in them that miracles were wrought in Judæa. Frequent teaching in Jerusalem is implied in the Lord's lamentation over the lost city (Matt. xxiii. 37). The appearance in Galilee of Scribes and Pharisees and others from Jerusalem (Matt. iv. 25, xv. 1) would be best explained on the supposition that their enmity had been excited against him during visits to Jerusalem. The intimacy with the family of Lazarus (Luke x. 38), and the attachment of Joseph of Arimathea to the Lord (Matt. xxvii. 57), would imply, most probably, frequent visits to Jerusalem. But why was Galilee chosen as the principal scene of the ministry? The question is not easy to answer. The Prophet would resort to the Temple of God; the King of the Jews would go to his own royal city; the Teacher of the chosen people would preach in the midst of them. But their hostility prevented it. The Saviour, who, accepting all the infirmities of "the form of a servant," which he had taken, fled in his childhood to Egypt, betakes himself to Galilee to avoid Jewish hatred and machinations, and lays the foundations of his Church amid a people of impure and despised race. To Jerusalem he comes occasionally, to teach, and suffer persecution, and finally to die: "for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke xiii. 33). It was upon the first outbreak of persecution against him that he left Judæa: "When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee" (Matt. iv. 12). And that this persecution aimed at him also we gather from St. John: "When, therefore, the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John . . . he left Judæa and departed into Galilee" (John iv. 1-3). If the light of the Sun of Righteousness shone on the Jews

first three Evangelists and the fourth, respecting both the *scene* and the *duration* of the public ministry of Christ.

Returning to this first Passover of A. D. 27, the first, that is, in our Saviour's ministry, for he had doubtless gone up regularly to Jerusalem since the recorded visit at the age of twelve, we see him at

henceforward from the far-off shores of the Galilean lake, it was because they had refused and abhorred that light.

DURATION OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

It is impossible to determine exactly from the Gospels the number of years during which the Redeemer exercised his ministry before the Passion; but the doubt lies between two and three; for the opinion, adopted from an interpretation of Isaiah lxi. 2, by more than one of the ancients, that it lasted only one year, cannot be borne out (Euseb. iii. 24; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1; Origen, *Princ.* 4, 5). The data are to be drawn from St. John. This Evangelist mentions six feasts, at five of which Jesus was present; the Passover that followed his baptism (John ii. 13); "a feast of the Jews" (ἑορτή without the article, John v. 1); a Passover during which Jesus remained in Galilee (John vi. 4); the Feast of Tabernacles to which the Lord went up privately (John vii. 2); the Feast of Dedication (John x. 22); and, lastly, the Feast of Passover, at which he suffered (John xii., xiii.). There are certainly three Passovers, and it is possible that "a feast" (John v. 1) may be a fourth. Upon this possibility the question turns. Lücke in his Commentary (vol. ii. p. 1), in collecting with great research the various opinions on this point, is unable to arrive at any definite conclusion upon it, and leaves it unsolved. But if this feast is not a Passover, then no Passover is mentioned by John between the first (John ii. 13) and that which is spoken of in the sixth chapter; and the time between those two must be assumed to be a single year only. Now, although the record of John of this period contains but few facts, yet when all the Evangelists are compared, the amount of labor compressed into this single year would be too much for its compass. The time during which Jesus was baptizing (by his disciples) near the Jordan was probably considerable, and lasted till John's imprisonment (John iii. 22-36). The circuit round Galilee (Matt. iv. 23-25) was a missionary journey through a country of considerable population, and containing two hundred towns; and this would occupy some time. But another such journey, of the most comprehensive kind, is undertaken in the same year (Luke viii. 1), in which he "went throughout every city and village." And a third circuit of the same kind, and equally general (Matt. ix. 35-38), would close the same year. Is it at all probable that Jesus, after spending a considerable time in Judæa, would be able to make three circuits of Galilee in the remainder of the year, preaching and doing wonders in the various places to which he came? This would be more likely if the journeys were hurried and partial; but all three are spoken of as though they were the very opposite. It is, to say the least, easier to suppose that the "feast" (John v. 1) was a Passover, dividing the time into two, and throwing two of these circuits into the second year of the ministry; provided there be nothing to make this interpretation improbable in itself. The words are, "After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." These two facts are meant as cause and effect; the feast caused the visit. If so, it was probably one of the

once exercising the highest authority of a prophet and a reformer, by cleansing the Temple. The selfish spirit which had prevailed since the Captivity, in place of the open idolatries of earlier times, had made the very services of the sanctuary the occasion for profaning it. Sheep and oxen and doves were sold within the sacred precincts for the sacrifices, and money-changers traded there upon the convenience of those who came to pay the half-shekel tax for divine worship. Jesus drove them from the temple with an authority of which his "scourge of small cords" was but the sign. The indignation with which he overthrew the tables of the money-changers forms a marked contrast to his gentler command to the sellers of doves to "take these things hence." Still more striking is the contrast between his admonition, "Make not my Father's house an house of merchandise," and his denunciation of the same conduct on his last visit to the temple:—"It is written, my house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations; *but ye have made it a den of thieves.*" Those critics, who

three feasts at which the Jews were expected to appear before God at Jerusalem.* Was it the Passover, the Pentecost, or the Feast of Tabernacles? In the preceding chapter the Passover has been spoken of as "the feast" (ver. 45); and if another feast were meant here the name of it would have been added, as in vii. 2, x. 22. The omission of the article is not decisive, for it occurs in other cases where the Passover is certainly intended (Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6); nor is it clear that the Passover was called *the* feast, as the most eminent, although the Feast of Tabernacles was sometimes so described. All that the omission could prove would be that the Evangelist did not think it needful to describe the feast more precisely. The words in John iv. 35, "There are yet four months and then cometh harvest," would agree with this, for the barley-harvest began on the 16th Nisan, and reckoning back four months would bring this conversation to the beginning of December, *i. e.*, the middle of Kisleu. If it be granted that our Lord is here merely quoting a common form of speech (Alford), still it is more likely that he would use one appropriate to the time at which he was speaking. And if these words were uttered in December, the next of the three great feasts occurring would be the Passover. The shortness of the interval between v. 1 and vi. 4 would afford an objection, if it were not for the scantiness of historical details in the early part of the ministry in St. John: from the other Evangelists it appears that two great journeys might have to be included between these verses. Upon the whole, though there is nothing that amounts to proof, it is probable that there were four Passovers, and consequently that our Lord's ministry lasted somewhat more than three years, the "beginning of miracles" (John ii.) having been wrought before the first Passover. On data of calculation that have already been mentioned, the year of the first of these Passovers was A. U. C. 780 (A. D. 27), and the baptism of our Lord took place either in the beginning of that year or the end of the year preceding. The ministry of John the Baptist began in A. U. C. 779 (A. D. 26).

* This is an argument against the somewhat arbitrary hypothesis that it was the Feast of Purim.

suppose the two narratives to be a confused account of one event, are insensible to the transition, which the renewed and confirmed selfishness of the offenders forced upon our Saviour, from the reformer urging amendment, to the judge passing a final condemnation.

His proceedings were watched by his disciples and the Jews with equal astonishment. The former, reminded of the words of one of those Psalms which most clearly referred to the Messiah, beheld a new proof of his divine authority.* The Jews were sensible of the same inference, but they resisted its admission. Their very demand for a *sign* of his authority proved that they understood the claim. His answer looked forward, at this very commencement of his course, to its highest consummation, while it rebuked them more keenly than ever by predicting their share in the end. This was the first occasion on which the Jews made the demand, which they so often repeated, not of *evidence* to justify belief—this was abundantly supplied by the very spirit of his proceedings, as well as by the miracles which we are presently told that he performed—but of a *supernatural sign* to compel belief; that foolish demand which is made in every age by hearts hardened against moral evidence, and which equally fails to convince them. Jesus replied, as on other occasions, by refusing the demand made in a spirit of defiance, but at the same time intimating that the sign would one day be given, and that to their confusion. For this end their evil spirit toward him was already preparing. They who demanded to know his authority for rebuking their profanation of God's house would be carried on by that evil spirit, not only to courses involving the destruction of that house, but to the destruction of the true temple of which that was but the shrine, the "house not made with hands," which formed in his person the dwelling-place of God. And when their rage had achieved that triumph, he would give them the clearest sign of his authority, by raising up again in three days that edifice, whose glory infinitely surpassed the forty years' work of Herod on Mount Zion. "He spake of the temple of his body." His words had an *apparent* sense, which was all that their carnal minds could see at present; and even this they wilfully perverted by the alteration of one word, in order to make out a charge of blasphemy against him. He said, "*Destroy* this temple"—in the tone of indignant remonstrance, like, "Fill ye up the measure of your fathers." And the very means they used to fulfil his words was by suborning false witnesses to make him say,

* Ps. lxxix. 9. See the whole Psalm for its pre-eminently Messianic character.

“*I will destroy it.*” Hidden beneath this apparent sense, was not only the prediction of the destruction of the temple by the Romans, as the only cure for the pollutions they had brought upon it; but the deeper spiritual prophecy of his own death and resurrection, the end of which would be the establishment of the true temple in heaven; where the seer of Patmos beheld no visible temple, “for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it.” Even his disciples did not perceive this meaning till after his resurrection. “They remembered,” as soon as they saw his zeal for his Father’s house, the Scripture which marked this as a character of the Christ; but it needed reflection after the event, to call to their remembrance the true import of his life and sayings; and it is *that* remembrance, recalled by the Holy Spirit, that St. John has recorded for our learning. It is another indication of the progressive character of their faith, that only then “did they believe the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said.”

These deeds of authority, and the miracles which Jesus performed at the Passover, gained him for the first time many converts—converts at least in outward profession. But here we meet with one of the most striking and affecting records in his whole history. “Many *believed* (or *trusted*) in his name; but Jesus did not *trust* himself to them.” It is difficult to express the antithesis involved in the repetition of the word, which our version wholly loses. But it is not difficult to read the lesson of the *reserve* with which Christ treated these first converts of his public ministry. A reason is given, which both explains his conduct and testifies to his omniscient power of discerning the hearts of men. He saw the elements of instability in some, and of hypocrisy and, perhaps, even treachery in others, which would surely bring disgrace on his cause; and he would not own them, or attach himself to them, in such a manner as to imperil that cause through them. Probably these converts, in their carnal and selfish zeal, began with the mistake which was afterward repeated by so many of his followers, by looking for an independent kingdom; and he would not commit himself to them as king of the Jews.

But there were a few in whom he did place confidence. The type of these is the ruler Nicodemus, a man by no means free from the prejudices of his nation and his order, but showing the first elements of true faith in his hearty recognition of the divine authority attested by the miracles of Christ. This conviction, which many of his fellow-rulers shared, he had the honesty to avow:—“Rabbi, *we* know that thou art a teacher sent from God;” and, though there was something

of proud reserve, as well as of moral cowardice, in the manner of his coming to Christ, his sincerity contrasted very favorably with the hollow demonstrations which Jesus had rejected. To him the Lord unfolded for the first time the deepest mysteries of his kingdom: the need of regeneration to enter it; the death of the Son of Man and only-begotten Son of God for the salvation of all who should believe in him; and the condemnation of the world for its wilful unbelief. In this discourse the Three Persons of the Trinity are all revealed in their working for man's redemption: the Father loving the world so as even to give his Son to die for man; the Son coming down from heaven to be lifted up on the cross, and ascending to heaven again; and the Spirit renewing the hearts of those who should enter the kingdom of heaven. The detailed exposition of our Lord's discourses however, does not fall within the plan of this work.

Our Lord's discernment of the premature and unstable professions of the many who believed on him would be a sufficient reason for his retirement from Jerusalem to the country districts of Judæa, where he gradually, but surely, gathered converts, who were baptized, not by himself, but by his disciples. His converts soon exceeded those of John, who still continued to baptize, and who was now at Ænon, near Salim, a spot which numerous streamlets make very convenient for an encampment. The people were now perplexed by something like an appearance of rivalry between the two new teachers; and one of the Jews, who had engaged in a controversy upon purifying with John's disciples, came to him to ask, seemingly in a somewhat taunting spirit, how it was that he, to whom he had borne witness near the Jordan, was apparently superseding him in his ministry. John took the occasion to bear to Christ a final testimony, no less remarkable for its explicit statements of Gospel truth than for its profound humility and self-renunciation. Reminding both parties to the controversy that he had always insisted on the superiority of Christ to himself, as being the very purpose of his mission, he marks this as the divinely appointed order:—"HE *must* increase, I must decrease." And to this law he not merely submits, but derives from it unbounded satisfaction. Likening himself to the bridegroom's friend (or *paranymp*) at a wedding, rejoicing at the bridegroom's voice, while Christ rejoiced over his pure spouse, the Church about to be redeemed, he declares, "This my joy therefore is fulfilled." Though himself destined to remain outside of the Christian Church, he concludes his testimony by pointing to his disciples and all his hearers the way within it. The limits of his own mission, strictly defined from the first, were now reached;

and he sends them, for the measureless gifts of God's Spirit, to Him who had come from heaven and was above all, promising everlasting life if they believed on the Son, and denouncing the abiding wrath of God on unbelievers.

Having thus stood faithful against the greatest temptation, probably, that ever assailed a mere man, the same temptation to which an angel had yielded, of rivalry with the Son of God, John could carry a good conscience into the prison to which he was soon afterward consigned. Thus far we have only seen John preaching and baptizing in the wilderness and near the Jordan; but it would seem that, as he advanced up the river into Galilee, the interest which Herod Antipas always retained in the Jewish religion led him to wish to hear the prophet. John appeared before him in a guise unlike the delicate attire of the courtier, with his wild Nazarite locks, and his prophet's mantle of camel's-hair, such as Elijah had when he showed himself to Ahab. In the court, as in the wilderness, he went straight to the object of his mission, repentance and reformation from positive sin. Herod had married Herodias, the self-divorced wife of his half-brother Philip; and, regardless alike of the king's favor and the woman's vengeance, he said, "It is not lawful for thee to have her!" For this offence, Herod, instigated by Herodias, and casting to the winds all the better feelings that had led him to send for John, added to all the crimes which he had had such an opportunity to renounce, that of shutting up John in prison. How reluctant he was to proceed further, both from respect for John and fear of the people, who held the Baptist for a prophet, and how his conscience troubled him for this step, we shall soon see.

Meanwhile the Pharisees, who may be supposed to have aided Herodias in exciting her husband against John, prepared to attack Jesus in his turn, for they had been alarmed by hearing that he made and baptized more disciples than John. Jesus heard of their plots and of John's imprisonment about the same time; and he resolved to remove from Judæa into Galilee. This may seem a strange step, considering that it was Herod who had imprisoned John. But our Lord's real danger was from the Jews; and in the retired district round the Lake of Galilee, he would be safe from Herod till he gave him some personal offence.

The route which Christ followed is particularly marked by John: "He must needs go through Samaria," that is, the district, not the city. It is by no means to be assumed that this was just the natural route. Even from Jerusalem, travellers often followed the route up

the Jordan, to avoid contact with the hated Samaritans ; and the appearance of a Jewish traveller at Jacob's well was unusual enough to cause surprise. But from our Lord's starting-point, on the Jordan and apparently rather high up its course, the valley of the river was much the nearest road to the Lake of Galilee ; and he went out of his way when he turned to the left through a pass leading into the valley of Shechem. Hence St. John's use of that "*must*," the force of which we had just now to notice. It marks the order in which our Saviour's public mission was fulfilled. Driven from Jerusalem and Judæa, he repaired to the more ancient sanctuary of Israel, where Abraham, Jacob, and Joshua had set up the worship of Johovah. Sitting by the well which tradition cherished as the gift of Jacob, in the valley between mounts Gerizim and Ebal, he expounded to a degraded woman of the half-heathen people of Sychar, who yet boasted to be the true



THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.

children of the patriarchs, his own great gift of living water in the heart, and the spiritual worship which should supersede that both of Jerusalem and Gerizim ; and her eagerness to impart the news to her fellow-townsmen brought to him disciples, who at once received him with that spiritual faith in his true mission which the Jews had wanted : "We have heard him ourselves, and know that this is

indeed the CHRIST, the Saviour of the world."

Having stayed two days at Sychar, Jesus proceeded into Galilee. "For Jesus himself testified," says St. John, "that a prophet hath no honor in his own country." Whatever may be the true meaning of this saying, it must at least be rescued from that degraded sense in which it is so often quoted, as if it were the just complaint of disappointed pride. It was certainly not uttered in this spirit by Him who said, "I receive not honor from men." We think of worldly *honor*, where our Saviour spoke of that *acceptance* of his mission, which alone is true honor to a prophet of God. On his first arrival in Galilee, this honor seemed to be paid to him ; for the report of his miracles at Jerusalem, brought by the Galileans who had gone up to the Passover, secured him a favorable reception ; but it was only in appearance. His marked rejection at his own city of Nazareth, soon proved

that, whether the first application of the words just quoted be to Jerusalem or to Galilee, they were true alike of both. They were, in fact, uttered by our Saviour as the enunciation of a great general principle, and one much higher than the worldly maxim, that familiarity breeds contempt. The saying was a sorrowful statement of the truth, that they to whom the Gospel is brought nearest are the least ready to receive it; that the prophet is rejected, even where he *ought* to be first accepted, "in his own country," where he is best known, as Jesus was already known in Galilee by his miracle in Cana, nay, as he elsewhere adds, "in his *own house*."

This question of interpretation is closely connected with another, which involves one of the greatest difficulties of the Gospel Harmony:—Did our Saviour, upon this return from his first Passover, at once commence his public ministry in Galilee, or did he spend another period in comparative privacy? The former seems the natural inference from the first three Gospels; though it is equally true that, taken alone, they would suggest the still earlier date, immediately upon Christ's baptism. On the other hand, St. John seems to imply that the healing of the nobleman's son was the only great incident of this second visit of Jesus to Galilee; but the supplemental character of his Gospel makes it unsafe to argue from his silence, nor are the words "after this," at the beginning of chap v., a mark of immediate sequence. If the feast of John v. 1 be a Passover, it is almost necessary to place our Lord's first circuit before it; because we can hardly suppose a whole year to have been occupied by the events of John iii. and iv., nor does it seem possible to admit the necessary inference, that two full years of our Lord's ministry passed before he chose his Apostles. If the feast of John v. 1 be the Feast of Tabernacles, we have half a year for those events, and a year and a half for our Lord's ministry in Galilee, up to his last Passover. The question seems incapable of positive decision; but the balance of probability appears to point to the order indicated above.

On entering Galilee from Samaria, Jesus went to Cana, A. D. 28. led apparently by the same connection which had before caused his presence at the marriage there. His return came to the ears of a courtier of Herod Antipas, whose son was at the point of death with a fever. The manner of the courtier's coming to Christ illustrates the spirit in which "the Galileans received him." There seems to have been an expectation that he would be lavish of his miracles for the benefit of his own countrymen, with very little thought of their higher purpose. The courtier appears to have come,

like Naaman to Elisha, thinking that his visit was an honor to the prophet, who would doubtless go back with him at once. The plural form of our Lord's rebuke—"Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe,"—proves it to have been meant for the Galileans in general. They had long known him; his first miracle had been performed at this very town, and they had seen what he had done at Jerusalem; and the evidence of his mission was complete. But they were heedless of its real object, and seemed to think they had a right to any satisfaction of their curiosity. The courtier was too intent on his own distress to have patience for the lesson; but though there was impatience, there was also earnest faith, in his rejoinder,—“Sir, come down ere my child die.” This mixed state of mind our Lord treated with as much wisdom as compassion. Instead of going down with the courtier to Capernaum, he tells *him* to “go his way,” but with the assurance that “his child lived.” That the courtier began to understand the lesson of submission as well as faith, appears from the leisurely mode of his return. It was about noon when the conversation took place; and the moderate journey from Cana to Capernaum could have been accomplished the same evening. But, in spite of the father's impatience, he stays to rest his servants and horses; and when, on the following day, he is met with the joyful tidings, “Thy son liveth,” his first question proves that he was prepared for the event itself, and only anxious to connect it with the Saviour's word; “he inquired of them the *hour* when he began to amend.” The answer sets the seal to the decisive evidence of the miracle, in which, as compared with the first miracle at Cana, we have the new feature, that it was performed at a distance from its object. At Cana, Christ speaks the word, and the father did not fail to mark the time, as it was just noon. At Capernaum, the effect follows at the same instant, the nature of the disease being such as to enable the by-standers to mark the very hour at which “the fever left him.” The servants set out from Capernaum with the news, ignorant of what had passed at Cana, and find their message received as the confirmation of hope, rather than an unlooked-for deliverance from despair. Then did master and servant alike see the deeper grace which lay beneath the gift of healing, the new life to their own souls: “himself believed, and his whole house.” There remains but one wonder unexplained:—that a miracle resting on such evidence, and conveying such lessons, should not produce the like faith in all who read it.

This brief sojourn at Cana, and this great miracle, which the order

of St. John seems to require us to place immediately after the return of Jesus from Jerusalem to Galilee, may be regarded as a preface to the opening of his public ministry in the latter country, which we may place about the beginning of A. D. 28.

"*The word which began from Galilee*, after the baptism which John preached," is the description of our Saviour's ministry by St. Peter. This view agrees so entirely with the order of the first three Evangelists, that, had we possessed their Gospels only, we should scarcely have suspected the interval which is filled up with such momentous events in the Gospel of St. John. The full view of the case, drawn from the comparison of all the four Gospels, seems to be this:—As the first experimental step in Christ's public ministry, he presented himself as the Son of God, the promised Messiah, among those Jews who claimed to be the pure children of Abraham, at the centre of their religious system, the Temple in Jerusalem. Not till they had rejected this special offer of grace to them, and plotted against his life, did he open his wider mission of mercy to the mixed race of the Galileans; and their position in relation to the Jews of Judæa in some sense foreshadows the extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles. Those higher privileges, of which the Judæan Jews boasted, proved the chief obstacle to their reception of Christ as the Saviour of sinners; and so he turned to "*the lost sheep of the house of Israel*." Thus, while his first open revelation as the promised Messiah was made in the Temple of Jerusalem at the Passover, the true beginning of his *Gospel*, in the stricter sense, as "*the word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ*," was first opened by the Galileans. If his public *ministry* began at Jerusalem, his open *preaching* began in Galilee. Perhaps this relation is implied in the peculiar phraseology of St. Luke, that "*Jesus returned, by the power of the Spirit, into Galilee*." This course was in complete accordance with prophecy, which had marked out the very spot in Galilee, where Capernaum stood by the lake, on the borders of Zabulon and Naphthali, as the chief scene of the Messiah's ministry. Nor should we omit to observe the coincidence that, as the captivity of Israel had begun with the Galileans, so to them was first proclaimed the liberty of the Gospel.

From this point the first three Evangelists begin their continuous narratives of our Saviour's life. What precedes this, in each of them, is introductory:—The birth and youth of John and Jesus, the ministry of John, and Christ's baptism and temptation. Of these matters it is not probable that either of the three Evangelists had any direct

personal knowledge. St. Luke, who tells us that he followed those “who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word,” is most full on those first incidents which he could only have learned from the members of the Holy Family. All three give a brief account of the ministry of John the Baptist, received, no doubt, from those of his disciples who followed Christ. Their narrative of the temptation must have been derived by Matthew directly, by Mark and Luke at second-hand, from Him who passed through the conflict. After this, each of the three Gospels makes a pause, such as would be properly marked by the beginning of a new chapter, or even by making all that precedes a separate introduction. Their omission of the events meanwhile recorded by St. John is not surprising. Matthew, himself a native of Capernaum, naturally begins with our Lord’s residence in that city, when, “leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum.” Luke, who, as we have seen, obtained information from the Holy Family, makes Christ’s rejection at Nazareth the first principal event. Mark, writing under the direction of Peter, begins with the call of that apostle and his fellow-fishermen on the shores of the Lake of Galilee. It is needless to discuss the refined question, Why did not St. Mark record those events of which Peter was the witness as well as John at Bethabara (or Bethany), at Cana, at Jerusalem, at Sychar, and again at Cana? Perhaps the extent to which Mark should be viewed as Peter’s organ has been exaggerated. At all events, it is enough that John was an especially fit witness to that period, not only from his constant companionship, but from his deeper insight into his Master’s teaching.

In all that has now been said, the higher authority of the Evangelists, as inspired writers, is left untouched. The whole doctrine of inspiration itself rests on the previous establishment of the character of the sacred writers as well-informed, competent, and honest witnesses. The same Lord, who promised the Spirit to guide his disciples into all the truth, and to bring to their remembrance all his words, chose those disciples to be “eye-witnesses and attendants of the word.” It was from those who had this character that St. Luke claims to have had “a perfect understanding of all things from the very first,” and therefore to be qualified to write of them. And the very Evangelist who records the promise of the Holy Spirit rests his own credibility on his external means of information, as well as on the internal assurance of the Spirit to his truth:—“He that *saw* it bare record, and his record is true: *and he knoweth* that he saith true, that ye might believe.” Inspiration gives an *authority* in addition to their *credibility*.

The epoch thus chosen by the first three Evangelists, as the commencement of our Lord's public ministry, is most emphatically marked by the words of Luke: "Jesus returned *in the power of the Spirit* into Galilee." The time had come, as he himself soon proclaimed at Nazareth, when the Spirit moved him to make a full and plain declaration of his Messiahship and his Gospel. All three Evangelists begin this portion of their narrative with the great fact of his proclamation of "the Gospel of the kingdom." His first words echo those of his forerunner:—"The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe the Gospel." He does not yet announce the kingdom of heaven as *come*, but only its *near approach*, as the call to the preparation of heart needful for entrance within its pale. This is not, at least in its primary sense, the language of expectation for that kingdom of glory, for which the Church still prays; for Christ proclaimed the real advent of the kingdom of grace and life in the hearts of penitent believers:—"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for *theirs is the kingdom of heaven*;"—"The publicans and harlots *enter into the kingdom of heaven* before you" (the Pharisees). But to all else, up to the very close of his ministry, Christ proclaimed the kingdom of heaven only as *nigh*. It only *came* to those who entered it with the preparation on which first John, and then Christ himself, insisted. But this was the great difference in their ministry. John never ceased to point to a far greater One who was coming after him: Christ declared that the fulness of time was come, and the prophecies were fulfilled in himself. The preparation required by John was *repentance* and *reformation*. Christ goes deeper, and besides repentance he demands *faith*,—readiness to believe from the heart the truths he came to teach. This was his claim in the outset of his ministry, reserving for its course the full revelation of those truths and the spiritual exposition of that faith; the laws of the kingdom of heaven. Thus much, however, was clear from the first, that, in proclaiming the new order of things as a *kingdom*, Christ pointed to the fulfilment of the covenant with David, and claimed all the authority of his promised seed.

The news of his preaching soon spread through all the district of northern Galilee. Unlike John, who had lifted up his voice in the wilderness, and waited for converts to come out to him, Jesus went round from village to village, appearing as a worshipper in the synagogues, and availing himself of the customary invitation to speak to the people; and "he was glorified of all."

We are not told *what* or how much he taught—probably the simple

lesson, expounded from the prophets, that "the kingdom of heaven was at hand." How near it was, when he himself was present, was an announcement that he reserved for—or perhaps we should rather say was impelled by the Spirit to make to—the people of his own city. "He came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up." And there, even as he made the first plain announcement of his Messiahship, he encountered the first open opposition, for, as he himself said, "A prophet is not accepted in his own country." Here, as was the custom in all Galilean synagogues, but doubtless with a more eager expectation, he was invited to read the Scriptures and address the people. It was plainly not without some high purpose that he chose the passage of Isaiah: "*The Spirit of Jehovah is upon me*, because he hath *anointed* me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, and to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised; to preach the acceptable year of Jehovah"—the Jubilee of the world. He closed the book, and returned it to the officer of the synagogue who kept the sacred rolls, and sat down. But all eyes remained fixed upon him in an expectation which he satisfied rather than surprised, by announcing himself as the *Christ*, who was thus filled with the Spirit, to preach this Gospel:—"This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears."

At first, the hearers were divided between admiration of the Prophet and offence at his origin, as the son of their humble fellow-townsmen Joseph. But when, foreseeing that they would raise the selfish cry for signs and wonders to glorify his own city, Jesus intimated that he was sent to the Gentiles—such as the Sidonian widow to whom Elijah ministered, and the Syrian leper whom Elisha healed, the Prophet's own countrymen being passed over in both cases—then their wonder turned to rage. They dragged him out of the city, to cast him from the hill upon which it was built but he passed unseen from the midst of them, and so escaped.

Jesus next appeared at Capernaum, on the Lake of Galilee. His residence at this city, which had already witnessed one of his greatest miracles, and perhaps more, is referred to by himself as having raised the place to heaven in privilege, though its unbelief cast it down to hell. Meanwhile the place became the centre from which the "great light," predicted by Isaiah, shone round upon "the people that walked in darkness" and "sat in the region and shadow of death." The tribes of Zabulon and Naphthali, after being seduced into idolatry through their neighborhood to the Phœnicians on the one side,

were among the first who succumbed to the attacks of the Assyrians on the other. Having been carried captive by Tiglath-pileser, their land was repopled in a great degree by a mixture of heathen settlers, and thus the northern part of Galilee acquired both the name and character of "Galilee of the Gentiles."

Our Saviour's chief resort was now the margin of that beautiful lake which is variously called the Sea of Galilee, of Tiberias, and of Gennesareth. This region of beauty was to HIM the scene of constant labor for the souls that sat there in darkness. Days begun in preaching were filled up with the relief of hundreds who were sick, maimed, or tormented with devils; and the ensuing nights were spent in lonely agonies of prayer, or in crossing over the stormy lake. Here Christ is first presented to our view as preaching the word of God to such multitudes, that he was fain to seek a station whence to address them on the lake itself. Two fishing-boats were drawn up on the beach, while their owners were employed in washing their nets. Jesus entered one of them, which was Simon's, as St. Luke simply tells us, without any allusion to his previous call. After teaching the people from a short distance off the coast, Christ bade Simon and his brother Andrew to put out into deep water, and to let down their nets. Now appears the first mark of recognition:—"Master," says Simon, "we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless, *at thy word*, I will let down the net." The cast was followed by such a haul of fish, that the net broke; they called for help to their partners, the owners ~~the of~~ other ship, who were no other than John the son of Zebedee, and his brother James; and the fish so loaded both the ships, that they began to sink. Overcome by these wonders, Peter fell down upon his knees, saying, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord," thus, by direct prayer to Christ, with confession of sin, recognizing for the first time his true divinity.

A. D. 28. What John records was not yet a call to constant attendance on the Master and the ministry of the Word, though enough had passed to designate these first disciples for their future ministry, especially when they baptized Christ's converts, and when he spoke to them of their part in the coming spiritual harvest. Their return to their homes and their callings was an act of duty, and it gave them besides the opportunity of preparing for their final call in that gradual manner which usually marks God's own processes. We see them diligently employed in hard and often fruitless work, and the two of them, who are able to employ hired servants, sharing their father's labors with filial piety. That, amid their worldly business,

they may have somewhat forgotten their higher calling, is in accordance with human nature, and seems almost implied in their occupation about their nets while Jesus was preaching on the shore. With his own exquisite gentleness he recalls them to himself, first by using Peter's boat to address the people from, and then by repaying its use with a generosity which was nevertheless eclipsed by the miracle it involved. So Peter falls down, not to thank the giver for the fish, but to glorify the Lord by a confession that proved himself to be now prepared for the work to which he is forthwith called :—" Fear not ; from henceforth thou shalt catch men." The interpretation of this figure was made by Christ himself, when he compared the kingdom of heaven to a net cast into the sea ; and the lesson was repeated in his last interview with his disciples on the Lake of Galilee, when the fact that, with another miraculous draught of fishes, "*the net did not break,*" intimated that the time was at length come to reward the spiritual labors of these " fishers of men."

Meanwhile they left all, fish, nets, and ship, to become the constant followers of Christ ; and the same course was taken by their partners, James and John, who had returned to the shore, and were busy with their father Zebedee mending their broken nets, when Jesus called them in the words he had used to Peter and Andrew. It is a fine touch in St. Mark's narrative, that their father was not left uncared for : " They left their father Zebedee in the ship with the hired servants."

The following Sabbath was a memorable day at Capernaum. In the midst of the synagogue, where Jesus appeared according to his custom, exciting new astonishment by the power of his teaching, there was one of those unhappy wretches called *Demoniacs*. The state of such persons has been a most fruitful topic of controversy ; but one thing is quite clear, that its reality cannot be denied or explained away, without impugning the whole truth of the Gospels. For they most clearly assume the personal presence of evil spirits in the possessed man, overpowering his will and governing his actions. The unclean spirits are said to " enter in " and " depart out of " the patients. They speak and are spoken to, both while within their victims and after they have come out. They hold converse with Christ in a manner quite unsuitable to the sufferers, but just on the terms we should expect from fallen spirits, still in rebellion against his authority, which yet they are compelled to own. He fixes their very place of abode, after they have left the bodies of their victims. In the face of all these statements, to explain away possession as

epilepsy, or lunacy, is to accuse our Saviour and the Evangelists of a delusion or imposture (and it could scarcely have been the former) as gross as that of the modern "spiritualists." In some cases, bodily or mental disease may have co-existed with the possession, which is, therefore, classed with sicknesses, while at the same time distinguished from lunacy, a distinction which was clearly drawn by the Jews themselves. Nor can it be said that Jesus simply used the *name* that had first been established by an erroneous belief, just as we keep the word *lunacy*. What should we think of a physician, who so used that word as to imply his belief in the thing? who should describe the cure of his patients as the moon ceasing to afflict them? nay, who should solemnly address the moon, and, with the authority of its Creator, bid it leave off hurting the patient? We do not affect to explain the state itself; nor need sceptical philosophers complain of this, till they have explained mental derangement. The limits and mutual reactions of the spiritual, mental, and corporeal faculties in man have as yet baffled all the researches of science. It is enough that we can see in this condition a consequence of the doctrine of a usurped kingdom of evil in the world, under a personal head (διάβολος) with many followers and ministers (δαίμονες, δαιμόνια) who exercise power over fallen man.

"Jesus went about healing all that were oppressed of the devil." In his own temptation he had sternly rebuked Satan's attempt to make him a subject, and now he proved his right to the kingdom by his unbounded power over evil spirits, who confess their own defeat. Nay, even before he exerts his power, they anticipate their doom. They know that that doom is certain, that "their time is short," and that he is both the divine "Lord of Angels" (the Archangel), alike of the holy and the fallen, and "the seed of the woman" who was to "bruise the serpent's head." So, while he taught in the synagogue at Capernaum, the devil cried out, in surprise and terror, "Ha! What have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us?"—as on other occasions, "Art thou come to torment us *before the time*?" But he adds, "I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God;" and this is one of the most remarkable points in our Lord's dealings with the evil spirits, the testimony they bear to him. Hell is before Earth in acknowledging her Lord. Fear has a quicker perception than Love, or even than the sense of need. "The devils also believe and tremble." This confession had been regarded by some as an involuntary utterance of truth or as an act of abject fawning, and by others as an unwilling testimony

extorted by the power of Christ. But the fact that he rejects it concurs with other considerations in suggesting that its real motive was malicious. His acknowledgment by the devils seems to be closely connected with the accusation of the Jews:—"He casteth out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils." But while their confession proved that he was their master, he will not accept their testimony to his spiritual character and mission. He, who had other and greater witness even than John the Baptist, will not use *their* utterances to reveal what is revealed by his own word. So on this, and all similar occasions, he silences, we may say muzzles, the evil spirit, who takes a parting revenge by doing all the harm he could to the man's body, as he had tried to do to our Saviour's reputation. But the same power that cast him out, at once healed the body he had mangled. This example of our Saviour's power over the spiritual world was all the more striking by its contrast to those attempts at exorcism by which the Jews did little more than admit their belief in the reality of possession, and prove the fallacy of their charge against Christ, that his real exorcisms proved him to be in league with evil spirits. The fame of his decisive victory over Satan spread through all the neighboring parts of Galilee.

From the synagogue Christ went to the house of Peter, and healed his wife's mother, who was sick of a fever. The fact of Peter's marriage, which thus comes out incidentally, is alluded to by St. Paul as an argument for his own liberty to marry if he had only thought it expedient. This is one of the many cases, in which the facts recorded in Scripture seem specially designed to anticipate the errors of later ages. This great Sabbath of "doing good" was closed by an evening no less memorable. As soon as the sun had set, the people, who had scrupled to carry the sick to Christ before the Sabbath ended, brought all in the town who were suffering from every form of disease, and among them many demoniacs; and Jesus healed them all, again imposing silence on the evil spirits, when they proclaimed him as the Christ. Thus did he show himself in the character foretold by Isaiah:—"Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses." The memorable Sabbath, the events of which are thus circumstantially recorded, may give us an example of our Lord's labors in his ministry, and show us how he fulfilled his own great saying concerning doing good on the Sabbath days:—"My Father worketh hitherto, *and I work.*"

A. D. 28.

The next morning shows us another aspect of our Saviour's character. Instead of indolent repose after such a day of

labor, he rose up long before the dawn, and went into a solitary place to pray. Besides the impressive example of *early rising and prayer*, we see in this retirement, as in many other cases, the desire to withdraw himself out of the danger of a precipitate demonstration of premature zeal. Accordingly, when his disciples found him, he at once proposed to leave Capernaum for a time, and preach the Gospel in the surrounding cities. So he went throughout all Galilee, teaching in the synagogues and healing the sick and possessed. But it was not Galilee alone that reaped the benefit. The fame of his teaching and his miracles drew multitudes from the neighboring parts of Syria, from the whole of Decapolis, and the region beyond the Jordan and the lake, and even from Jerusalem and Judæa.

This was *Christ's First Circuit through Galilee*. Its course is conjectured by Gresswell to have been, upon the whole, as follows:—

“First, along the western side of the Jordan, northward, which would disseminate the fame of Jesus in Decapolis; secondly, along the confines of the tetrarchy of Philip, westward, which would make him known throughout Syria; thirdly, by the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, southward; and, lastly, along the verge of Samaria, and the western region of the Lake of Galilee—the nearest points to Judæa proper and to Peræa—until it returned to Capernaum.” Such a



LEPERS WORSHIPPING CHRIST.

circuit must have occupied some months; but, perhaps, it is needlessly enlarged, in order to bring Jesus near the parts from which his followers came. It would rather seem, notwithstanding the indefinite phrase, “all Galilee,” that this first circuit had a narrower scope. After the man cured of leprosy had spread his fame abroad, he avoided such great publicity by retiring into the desert; and it was *there* that “they came to him from every quarter.” Nor do the meagre details of this circuit seem consistent with a great extent or a long duration. Its only recorded incident is the miracle just referred to, by which Christ showed his power over a disease incurable in its virulence, and excluding the sufferer from the society of his fellows as well as the ordinances of religion; one which, for all these reasons, has ever been considered a type of inveterate sin. In healing the leper by a *touch*, our Saviour not only showed his power but claimed

a right that belonged only to the priest, and asserted his own exemption from ceremonial defilement. In saying, "I will, be thou clean," he assumed a still higher prerogative, and pointed to a more thorough purification of the whole nature; while, in sending the man to the priest, and bidding him offer the sacrifice appointed by Moses, he at once showed his own reverence for the law, and made his very enemies witnesses to the cure. The scene of this miracle was "a certain city," the name of which is not mentioned, but which seems to have been Christ's abode for some time. But, in consequence of the multitudes who were attracted by the fame of the miracle, which the healed leper "blazed abroad" contrary to our Lord's injunction, he withdrew into the wilderness, and, perhaps, we may see in this circumstance a premature termination of the circuit. St. Mark alone gives any hint of its duration by the indefinite phrase, that Christ returned to Capernaum "after [some] days."

The return of Jesus to Capernaum was followed by one of the most important incidents of his ministry. We have seen that followers flocked to him even from Jerusalem and Judæa. Among these, as well as from the cities of Galilee, there were many Pharisees and teachers of the law, who came to watch him. In their presence, Jesus performed his great miracle of curing the bedridden paralytic; but not till he had first said to him, "Thy sins be forgiven thee!" The Jews saw the full extent of the prerogative thus claimed. Malignant as was their spirit, in charging him with blasphemy, their reasoning was perfectly right:—"Who can forgive sins, but *God alone?*" And even before replying, Christ proved his divine knowledge by discerning in their hearts the objection which horror suspended on their tongues. Then he makes good his claim by words as well as deeds. The force of his argument is often lost by overlooking the proper emphasis, "Which is easier, to *say*, Thy sins be forgiven thee, or to *say*, Rise up and walk?" The mere *word* proves nothing in either case; but when the *act* followed upon the latter command, it proved the power that attended the former. The helpless patient, rising up at the word of Christ, and carrying his bed to his own house, was a living proof that He who had dared also to utter to him the words of absolution had really "power upon earth to forgive sins." The force of the argument was at once felt by the people, who saw brought to their own doors a power which was the prerogative of the God of heaven; and "they glorified him, who had given such a power to man." The Pharisees and Doctors would carry back to Jerusalem the news that Jesus of Nazareth had now

openly proclaimed his kingdom over the most sacred domain of man's spiritual life, as a sinner seeking forgiveness from his offended God.

The call of Levi or MATTHEW, also at Capernaum, from the very booth where as a publican (*portitor*) he was collecting taxes, is placed by Mark and Luke directly after the healing of the paralytic; and there seems no sufficient reason for separating from it the feast given by Matthew, at which the presence of many publicans and sinners gave our Lord occasion to teach the offended Pharisees, that he had not come to call the righteous—those who fancied themselves such—but sinners, to repentance. At the same banquet Jesus answered the charge made against his disciples for not fasting, and taught, by the parable of the new wine in old bottles, and the new cloth sewn into an old garment, the impossibility of confining the spiritual power of his kingdom within the dead letter of forms and traditions. If, following the order of Matthew, we place after this the cure of the woman with an issue of blood, the restoration to life of the daughter of Jairus, the giving of sight to two blind men, and the casting a devil out of a dumb man, we have, in this first stage of our Lord's Galilean ministry, examples of nearly all his chief miracles. In each species of miracle we may trace some particular infirmity, the fruit and type of a marked sin, not necessarily in the individual sufferer, but in human nature. *Disease*, in general, is the result of sin, and the type of moral disorder; the *demoniac*, of *passion*; the *leper*, of *pollution*; the *paralytic*, of helpless *prostration*; the loss of *sight*, and *speech*, and *hearing*, are emblems of the loss of spiritual sense by the wilful shutting out of spiritual objects; and the whole train of evils is crowned by *death*, the wages of sin. Nor, in considering the various forms of our Lord's miracles, should we fail to notice the varied exhibitions of faith in those who came to him for relief; for it was in exciting and rewarding such faith that the moral power of his miracles was chiefly shown.

Thus, in the course of a year, had Jesus, after giving the Jews assembled at the Passover the first great opportunity which they lost, gathered in the first-fruits of spiritual harvest from the rejected soil of Samaria, and—revealed the light of the Gospel amid the darkness of Galilee of the Gentiles, when, according to the most probable interpretation of John v. 1, the return of the Passover called him up for the second time to Jerusalem.

A. D. 28. “After this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.” The chronological difficulty involved in this passage is discussed elsewhere; and though the question seems

incapable of absolute settlement, we may adopt the probability, that the "Feast" was the Passover (A. D. 28), as furnishing a definite, though not quite certain, order for the narrative. But the difficulty does not at all affect the importance of the ensuing transactions at Jerusalem, as giving occasion for the first of our Saviour's great discourses, in controversy with the unbelieving Jews. In such discourses we first see the great principle, afterward so conspicuous in the history of the Church, that controversy is called forth by opposition and heresy, and then by controversy doctrine is established. And the office of recording this aspect of our Lord's ministry fell to John, not only as his most constant companion and the most intimate sharer of his thoughts, but as the apostle who survived till the heresies, which are more than once glanced at in the New Testament, had acquired such force as to be thus rebuked. The occasion was the miracle which Christ wrought on the palsied cripple at the pool which was fitly called BETHESDA (*the house of mercy*), which was near the sheep-gate on the northeast side of the Temple. It is said that the waters of this tank were connected with those of the pool of Siloam by subterraneous channels, through which there were sudden flushes that made the water bubble up in commotion. At such seasons the water was supposed to have healing virtues; confined, however, to the first who stepped down into the tank, round which porticoes were built, to shelter the multitudes of sick and cripples, who came to take their chance. The doubts that have been cast upon the prodigy do not in the least detract from the use made of it by Christ. On the contrary, the supposition of its being a delusion sets the truth of his miracle in a more striking light, as being the reality of that power which was there vainly sought. In any case, the miracle itself displayed the power, which Jesus claimed in the subsequent discourse, of exercising authority both over the laws of nature and the positive institutions of religion. The case chosen by our Lord was among the most hopeless of all that lay in the House of Mercy. The cripple had been paralyzed for thirty-eight years, the very period that his forefathers had wandered in the wilderness; and the burden of his infirmities was aggravated by the consciousness that they were the natural reward of his sins. Thus he was a fit type of the people, in whom Jesus fulfilled the words of Isaiah, "Himself took our infirmities, and bare our sicknesses." Jesus healed him, not by helping him to the waters, nor by any other visible agency, but by the very command to use the powers that had been so long suspended: "Rise, take up thy bed, and walk!" Some commentators

see in this act a sort of humiliation for the sin which had prostrated the sufferer. At all events, it involved other important consequences; for the offence which was loudly expressed by the Jews gave occasion to the first of those great doctrinal discourses of our Lord, which form so marked a feature of the Gospel of St. John.

"On the same day was the Sabbath;" and the Jews at once accused the man of Sabbath-breaking. They had, indeed, the letter of the law on their side; for carrying a burden was a "servile work," and this very act had been especially denounced by the prophets. But yet the man's simple answer involved a decisive argument:—"He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed and walk." It is the same argument afterward urged on just such another occasion: "How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?"

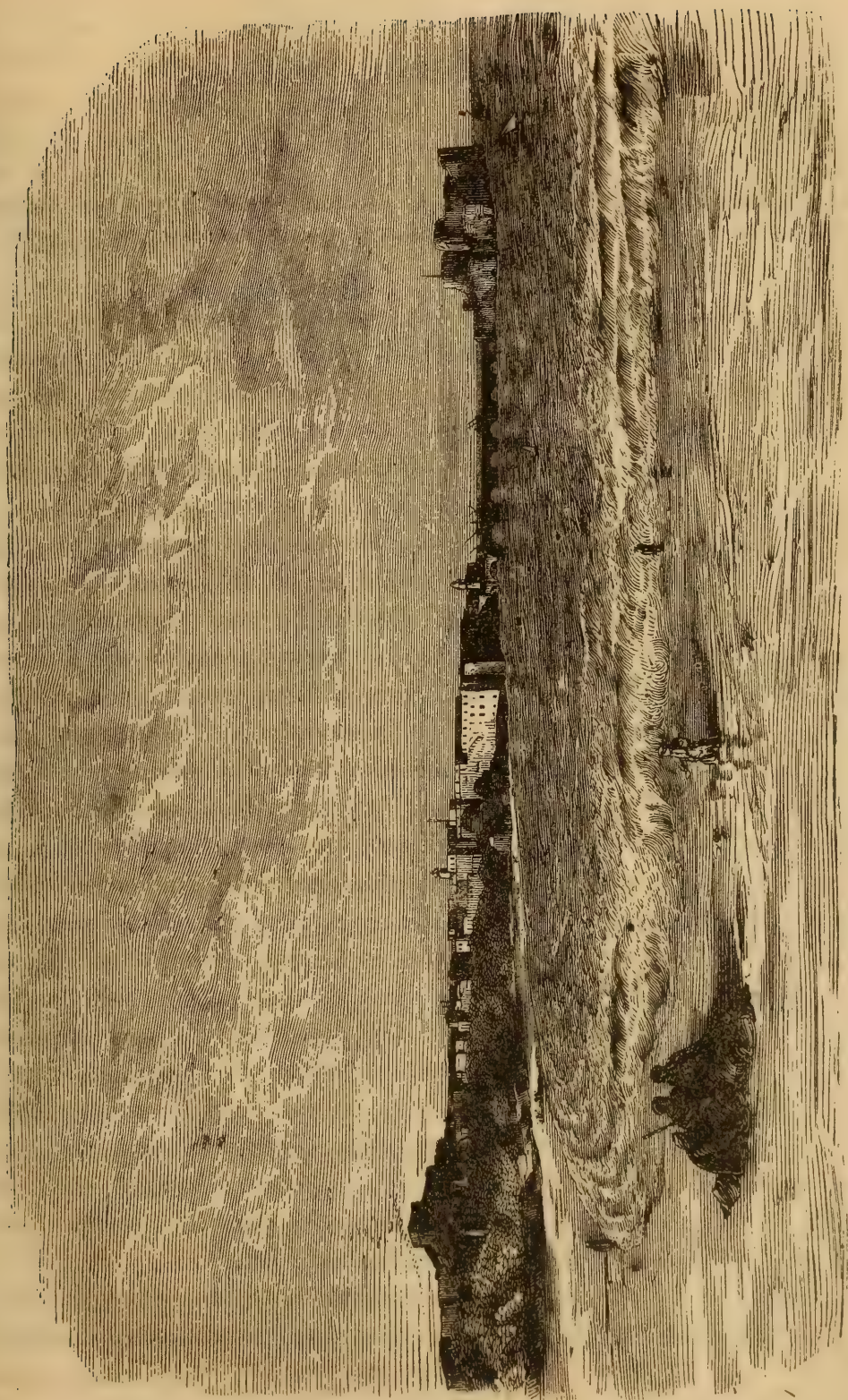
Our Lord himself enforced the argument, in defending himself against the Jews, who would have put him to death as a Sabbath-breaker. Virtually denying their jurisdiction, he asserted his own supremacy over the Sabbath, and by implication over every positive law, by the proof just given of his authority over the laws of nature, and on no less a ground than his own supreme divinity, as equal with the Father:—"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." These words involve the whole spirit of Christ's teaching in regard to the Sabbath. When God finished his work of creation, his Sabbatic rest was not inaction. He works continually, in his providence and his grace, in the work of sustaining his creatures, and especially in restoring them from their fall, and creating them anew to spiritual life. Thus has God "done good" hitherto, throughout the Sabbatic cycle of the ages. In this work, as in the material creation, the Word of God is the partaker and the true agent. So when he was made flesh, he made the same use of his earthly Sabbaths, and employed them in alleviating the burdens of the nature he had assumed. Thus "the Son of Man" was constituted "Lord of the Sabbath." In that character he proclaimed the great principles—"The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath;"—"I will have mercy rather than sacrifice;"—and he added the practical law, which once received in its spirit would leave little room for casuistry, "Wherefore it is *lawful*"—not simply *allowable*, as an exception, but *right*, as the very essence of the institution—"It is lawful TO DO GOOD on the Sabbath days." Not once only, but again and again, he illustrated these principles by such cases as that of the beast of burden fallen into a pit; he acted upon them, both in his ordinary work as a teacher, the highest form of "doing good," and by working miracles especially

on this day, and maintained them in repeated arguments against the Jews.

The other assertion involved in our Saviour's words was as clear to the understanding of the Jews as it was hateful to their prejudices. "Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God." Instead of disowning the inference, our Saviour joins issue upon its truth. Pointing to his works as a proof of the perfect unity of power between his Father and himself, he claims the highest attribute of God, the power to confer spiritual life, and he declares, as a practical appeal to his opponents, that *now* was the season for its exercise. Their indignation at this new blasphemy is met, as on other occasions, by the remonstrance, "Marvel not at this," as the preface to new wonders, for this power to give spiritual life, arising from the divine life which the Son had in himself, would soon be proved by his power to awake the dead, and to call them before his own judgment-seat. For to him alone was committed the divine attribute of judgment, because with him alone were the eternal principles of justice.

The latter part of the discourse relates to the evidence of these claims. The recent testimony of John, added to the teaching of Moses and all the Scriptures, left the Jews without excuse for their unbelief, which Jesus traces back to the depravity of their will. But he appeals to higher testimony still, his own witness of himself, confirmed by the witness of the works which the Father had given him to do. But, in presenting these great truths and this convincing evidence, Jesus addresses the rulers of the Jews, not as disciples to be instructed and convinced, but as enemies to be put to shame by the truth they hated; and to all the other proofs of his omniscience, he adds his knowledge of their ingrained aversion to God's truth.

This discourse may serve as an example of those which occupy so large a proportion of the Gospel of St. John, especially the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters. The precise points in controversy, and the illustrations employed by Christ, vary with the several occasions; but in all he appears claiming a dignity and authority no less than divine; in all he convicts the Jews, and especially their rulers, from their own most cherished principles, of obstinate unbelief in rejecting his divine authority. Meanwhile, he had no sooner borne the first of these great testimonies against the Jewish rulers, than he withdrew himself from their plots against his life, and returned from this Pass-over, where he had once more experienced and rebuked the unbelief of the Jews, to the scene of his more hopeful labors in Galilee.



SIDON.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SEQUEL OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY IN GALILEE, FROM AFTER HIS SECOND PASSOVER, IN A. D. 28, TO NEAR THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, A. D. 29.

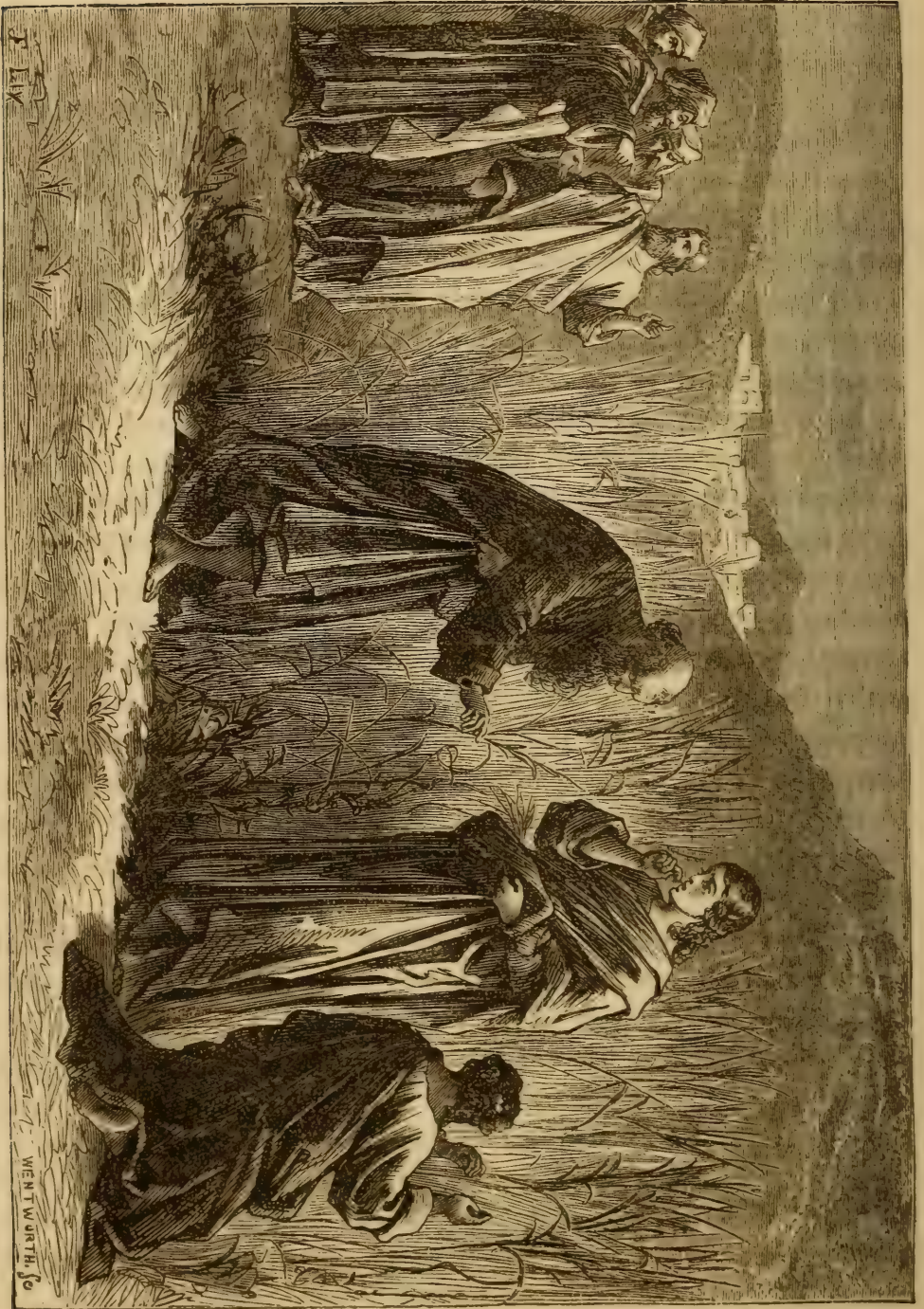
NCE more we behold Jesus returning from the city of his father David, where he had proved himself the promised spiritual king, rejected and persecuted with a spite that was literally deadly. Though his retirement from Jerusalem removed him beyond the immediate danger that the rulers might have found means to take his life, either in a tumult or by persuading the Roman procurator, he was still pursued by their hostility. During this second period of his Galilean ministry, we often see how closely he was watched by the emissaries of the Jewish rulers. On his very journey he was followed by the same charge which had formed their pretext for plotting against his life at Jerusalem. The innocent act of his hungry disciples, which was sanctioned by a merciful law, of plucking and eating the ripe ears, as they walked through the corn-fields on the Sabbath, was construed into Sabbath-breaking. At least, the view that the Feast of John v. was a Passover, compared with the order of the other Evangelists, may justify us in regarding the controversy that arose out of the act of the disciples as having occurred on the way back from Jerusalem to Galilee. At all events, the fact of the corn being ripe points to the time of the Passover; though it would depend on the species of the grain, whether this was immediately before the Passover, when the barely-harvest began, or later, when the wheat was ripe. With this question another is connected, concerning the phrase "the second-first Sabbath," of which the most probable interpretation is that of Wieseler, that it was the "first Sabbath of the second year after the Sabbatic year."

In reply to the charge of Sabbath-breaking made by the Pharisees against the disciples, Jesus reminds them that David, whose example they are not likely to challenge, ate the sacred shew-bread in the tabernacle, which it was not lawful to eat. The priests might partake of it, but not a stranger. David, on the principle that mercy was better than sacrifice, took it and gave it to the young men that were

with him that they might not perish for hunger. In order further to show that a literal mechanical observance of the law of the Sabbath would lead to absurdities, Jesus reminds them that this law is perpetually set aside on account of another: "The priests profane the Sabbath and are blameless." The work of sacrifice, the placing of the shew-bread, go on upon the Sabbath, and *labor* even on that day may be done by priests, and may please God. It was the root of the Pharisees' fault that they thought sacrifice better than mercy, ritual exactness more than love: "If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath day." These last words are inseparable from the meaning of our Lord's answer. In pleading the example of David, the king and prophet, and of the priests in the temple, the Lord tacitly implies the greatness of his own position. He is indeed Prophet, Priest, and King; and had he been none of these, the argument would have been not merely incomplete, but misleading. It is undeniable that the law of the Sabbath was very strict. Against labors as small as that of winnowing the corn a severe penalty was set. Our Lord quotes cases where the law is superseded or set aside, because he is One who has power to do the same. And the rise of a new law is implied in those words which St. Mark alone has recorded: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The law upon the Sabbath was made in love to men, to preserve for them a due measure of rest, to keep room for the worship of God. The Son of Man has power to re-adjust this law, if its work is done, or if men are fit to receive a higher.

The lesson then given was repeated on the following Sabbath, when Christ healed a man with a withered hand in the synagogue (probably at Capernaum), and silenced the Jews, who were watching to see if he would perform the miracle, by the argument applied by themselves in their own affairs, that it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath days. The application to their consciences was all the keener, as, while he was doing good and saving life, they were doing evil and seeking to destroy his; and, stung to madness by his discernment of their secret thoughts, they began to plot against him with the adherents of Herod Antipas, the political party called Herodians, thus endangering his security even in Galilee.

Upon this, Jesus withdrew to some retired spot on the shores of the lake of Galilee; but even here he was followed by a multitude from all parts of the Holy Land, and even beyond its borders, from



THE DISCIPLES PLUCKING CORN.

Idumæa on the south, to Tyre and Sidon on the north. As they thronged the shores of the lake, Jesus addressed them from a small vessel, which he desired his disciples to provide. He healed their diseases and cast out unclean spirits, charging both the patients and the demons not to make him known. In these acts of mercy, extended to many who were aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and yet withdrawn so carefully from all public parade, Matthew sees the fulfilment of Isaiah's great prophecy of the Messiah as the merciful judge of Gentiles as well as Jews:—the chosen and beloved servant of God, yet so meek that he would not strive or cry for his rights, nor lift up the voice of self-assertion among the haunts of men;—so merciful that he would not break the bruised reed as useless, nor quench the smoking lamp-wick as hopeless; and yet so powerful, by this very might of gentleness, that his just judgments should finally be crowned with universal victory, and his name command the faith of all the nations.

In this assembly on the shores of the lake of Galilee, we see at length all the elements of the visible Church of Christ separated from the world; and, if among those who had followed him into these solitudes, there were secret unbelievers, or opponents, or even traitors, we need be the less surprised, as their type was found even among those whom he himself chose for his ministers and companions. So now he proceeds to provide for his Church the teachers who were to guide them, and the doctrines which they were to teach and the people to receive; the former by appointing the Twelve Apostles, the latter by the discourse known as the *Sermon on the Mount*. Not that his appointments were, in either case, complete or final. Much was left to be ordered and revealed in the future, by his own teaching, by the free action of spiritual life in his people, and especially by the direction of the Holy Spirit, poured out after he had left the earth. The ministers whom he now appointed were those needed to bear witness to his own deeds and words; the truths he taught were those essential to the very entrance into his kingdom.

A. D. 28. Our Saviour's whole position at this period of his ministry not only suggested, but may even be said to have *claimed* some such public exposition of his doctrine as we find in the *Sermon on the Mount*. His mission had been unfolded step by step, till it lay fully open to the inquiries of his disciples and the objections of his foes; and the time had come to rebuke malignant cavils, to correct erroneous expectations, and to satisfy humble and earnest inquiries. The multitudes who had followed him to the shores of the lake were

in a condition not unlike those whom Moses had led out into the wilderness. They had seen and heard enough to prepare them to hear the law of God from his own lips ; and they are assembled before a mount, whose very name marks it as far more glorious than Sinai, the *Mount of Beatitudes*. But, in this case, as in that, a solemn pause precedes the utterance of the divine word. The Mediator himself is called to close and secret communion with God, while the people have an interval of awful expectation. Alone, like Moses, Jesus “went up into the mountain to pray, and continued all night in prayer to God.”

At break of day he called to him his disciples. That this term signifies a select body, chosen by himself from the mass of his followers, is clear from the words of Mark, “He calleth *whom he would*, and they came unto him.” Out of this number he chose *twelve*, whom he named APOSTLES, and ordained them, “that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach, and to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils.” For these works they afterward received a special commission from him, and performed them, as his emissaries, during his ministry on earth. After his ascension, it became their chief mission to bear witness to Christ’s resurrection, as the crowning fact of his course, and by this evidence to call both Jews and Gentiles to believe the Gospel. For this their constant personal intercourse with Christ was the first qualification ; and therefore Peter speaks of them as “witnesses chosen before of God, even us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead.” So, when the vacant place of Judas had to be filled up, his successor was chosen, according to the rule laid down by Peter, “out of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, to be a witness with us of his resurrection.” To this rule the case of St. Paul is only an apparent exception. His want of fellowship with Jesus upon earth was supplied by those special revelations, to which he appeals in proof of his apostolic mission—“Am I not an apostle? Have not *I seen Christ?*”—“Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ *by the will of God* ;”—“an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.” The marks of the apostolic office, then, were these :—personal intercourse with Christ ; appointment by himself ; the gift of the Holy Spirit, breathed upon them by Christ and more openly conferred, according to his promise, on the day of Pentecost, giving them power to work miracles and to speak in foreign tongues ; to which was added the power to confer that gift on others.



JESUS TEACHING ON THE MOUNT.

The union of those signs distinguished the Apostles from every other class of ministers. The number of the Apostles, corresponding to that of the twelve tribes of Israel, is clearly symbolical of their primary mission to the Jews.

Among the disciples chosen to this office, we find, as might have been expected, those who had been the first to follow Christ, and who had already received from him a special call. Though the call of all alike proceeded from their Master's grace, we cannot fail to notice those personal qualifications which he himself condescended to own and use in his service: the firm faith of Peter (the *Rock*); the energy of the sons of Zebedee, whom he surnamed Boanerges (*Sons of Thunder*), united in John with that spirit of love which made him the beloved *disciple*; the fraternal and friendly affection of Andrew and Philip; the devotion and guileless sincerity of Nathanael; the self-sacrifice of Matthew; the practical godliness of James, and the firm resolve of his brother Judas to "contend earnestly for the faith once deliver to the saints;" and, at the opposite extremity of the moral scale, that love of the world, which made Judas Iscariot an awful example, that even one of those chosen by Christ to live with him and hear his word could yet betray his Master, and prove to have been all along "a son of perdition"—for "he knew from the beginning, who should betray him."

We have seen the conversion and call of seven of the Apostles. The rest (except perhaps Judas Iscariot) were also Galileans, and had probably joined the Master during his circuit of Galilee. The following are their names and order, as given by the three Evangelists (besides the list of the *Eleven* in Acts i. 13):

MATTHEW.	MARK.	LUKE.
1. Simon Peter, and	1. Simon Peter.	1. Simon Peter, and
2. Andrew, his brother.	2. James, and } surnamed	2. Andrew, his brother.
3. James, and } sons of	3. John, } Boanerges.	3. James, and
4. John, } Zebedee.	4. Andrew.	4. John.
5. Philip, and	5. Philip.	5. Philip, and
6. Bartholomew	6. Bartholomew	6. Bartholomew.
7. Thomas, and	7. Matthew.	7. Matthew, and
8. Matthew, the publican.	8. Thomas.	8. Thomas.
9. James the son of Alphæus.	9. James, the son Alphæus.	9. James the son of Alphæus.
10. Lebbaeus, surnamed Thaddæus.	10. Thaddæus.	10. Simon Zelotes.
11. Simon, the Canaanite.	11. Simon, the Canaanite.	11. Judas, the brother of James.*
12. Judas Iscariot, "who also betrayed Him."	12. Judas Iscariot, "who also betrayed Him."	12. Judas Iscariot, "which was also the traitor."

* The difficult question as to who were the brethren of our Lord has given rise to much controversy. They are first mentioned in Matt. xiii. 55: "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James and Joses, and Judas and Simon? and his sisters, are they not all with us?" The natural conclusion would seem to be that Jesus had four brothers of the above names, as well as sisters. But by comparing Matt. xxvii. 56, and Mark xv. 40,

In the form of the list, especially in Matthew and Luke, it is remarkable how much the names go in pairs. This circumstance confirms the assumption that Bartholomew is the Nathanael of St. John, who was brought to Jesus by Philip.

The close connection between the appointment of the Apostles and

with John xix. 25, we find that the Virgin Mary had a sister named like herself, Mary, who was the wife of Clopas, and who had two sons, James the Little, and Joses. By referring to Matt. xiii. 55, and Mark vi. 3, we find that a James and a Joses, with two other brethren called Jude and Simon, and at least three sisters, were living with the Virgin Mary at Nazareth. By referring to Luke vi. 16, and Acts i. 13, we find that there were two brethren named James and Jude among the Apostles. It would certainly be natural to think that we had here but one family of four brothers and three or more sisters, the children of Clopas and Mary, nephews and nieces of the Virgin Mary. There are difficulties, however, in the way of this conclusion. For, 1, the four brethren in Matt. xiii. 55 are described as *brothers* (ἀδελφοί) of Jesus, not as his *cousins*; 2, they are found living as at their home with the Virgin Mary, which seems unnatural if she were their aunt, their mother being, as we know, still alive; 3, the James of Luke vi. 15 is described as the son not of Clopas, but of Alphæus; 4, the "brethren of the Lord" (who are plainly James, Joses, Jude, and Simon) appear to be excluded from the Apostolic band by their declared unbelief in his Messiahship (John vii. 3-5), and by being formally distinguished from the disciples by the Gospel-writers (Matt. xii. 48; Mark iii. 33; John ii. 12; Acts i. 14); 5, James and Jude are not designated as the Lord's brethren in the list of the Apostles; 6, Mary is designated as the mother of James and Joses, whereas she would have been called mother of James and Jude, had James and Jude been Apostles, and Joses not an Apostle (Matt. xxvii. 46).

These are the six chief objections which may be made to the hypothesis of there being but one family of brethren named James, Joses, Jude and Simon. The following answers may be given:

Objection 1.—"They are called *brethren*." But there can be no doubt that ἀδελφοί frequently signifies not "brothers," but cousins or other near relations; and the translation of the word by "brothers" in Matt. xiii. 55 would produce very grave difficulties. For, first, it introduces two sets of four first cousins, bearing the same names of James, Joses, Jude, and Simon, who appear upon the stage without any thing to show which is the son of Clopas, and which his cousin; and secondly, it drives us to take our choice between three doubtful and improbable hypotheses as to the parentage of this second set of James, Joses, Jude, and Simon. There are three such hypotheses:—(a.) The Eastern hypothesis, that they were the children of Joseph by a former wife. (b.) The Helvidian hypothesis, that James, Joses, Jude and Simon, and the three sisters, were children of Joseph and Mary. This hypothesis also creates two sets of cousins with the same names, and it seems to be scarcely compatible with our Lord's recommending his mother to the care of St. John at his own death; for if, as has been suggested, though with great improbability, her sons might at that time have been unbelievers, Jesus would have known that that unbelief was only to continue for a few days. (c.) The Levirate hypothesis may be passed by. It was a mere attempt made in the eleventh century to reconcile the Greek and Latin traditions by sup-

the Sermon on the Mount is seen in the statement of St. Luke, that Jesus "came down *with them*" to address "the company of his disciples and the great multitude of people out of all Judæa and Jerusalem, and from the seacoast of Tyre and Sidon." As those twelve chosen ministers stood with him on the Mount of Beatitudes in the

posing that Joseph and Clopas were brothers, and that Joseph raised up seed to his dead brother.

Objection. 2.—"The four brothers and their sisters are always found living and moving about with the Virgin Mary." If they were the children of Clopas, the Virgin Mary was their aunt. Her own husband would appear without doubt to have died at some time between A. D. 8 and A. D. 26. Nor have we any reason for believing Clopas to have been alive during our Lord's ministry. What difficulty is there in supposing that the two widowed sisters should have lived together, the more so as one of them had but one son, and he was often taken from her by his ministerial duties? And would it not be most natural that two families of first cousins thus living together should be popularly looked upon as one family, and spoken of as brothers and sisters instead of cousins? It is noticeable that St. Mary is nowhere called the mother of the four brothers.

Objection 3.—"James the Apostle is said to be the son of Alphæus, not of Clopas." But Alphæus and Clopas are the same name rendered into the Greek language in two different but ordinary and recognized ways, from the Aramaic word. (Compare the two forms Clovis and Aloysius.)

Objection 4.—Dean Alford considers John vii 5, compared with vi. 67-70, to decide that none of the brothers of the Lord were of the number of the Twelve. If this verse, as he states, makes the "crowning difficulty" to the hypothesis of the identity of James the son of Alphæus, the Apostle, with James the brother of the Lord, the difficulties are not too formidable to be overcome. Many of the disciples having left Jesus, St. Peter bursts out in the name of the Twelve with a warm expression of faith and love; and after that—very likely (see Greswell's *Harmony*) full six months afterward—the Evangelist states that "neither did His brethren believe on Him." Does it follow from hence that all his brethren disbelieved? Let us compare other passages in Scripture. St. Matthew and St. Mark state that the thieves railed on our Lord upon the cross. Are we therefore to disbelieve St. Luke, who says that one of the thieves was penitent, and did not rail? (Luke xxiii. 39, 40.) St. Luke and St. John say that the soldiers offered vinegar. Are we to believe that all did so? or, as St. Matthew and St. Mark tell us, that only one did it? (Luke xxiii. 36; John xix. 29; Mark xv. 36; Matt. xxvii. 48.) St. Matthew tells us that "his disciples" had indignation when Mary poured the ointment on the Lord's head. Are we to suppose this true of all? or of Judas Iscariot, and perhaps some others, according to John xii. 4, and Mark xiv. 4? It is not at all necessary to suppose that St. John is here speaking of all the brethren. If Joses, Simon, and the three sisters disbelieved, it would be quite sufficient ground for the statement of the Evangelist. The same may be said of Matt. xii. 47, Mark iii. 32, where it is reported to Him that his mother and his brethren, designated by St. Mark (iii. 21) as *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, were standing without. Nor does it necessarily follow that the disbelief of the brethren was of such a nature that James and Jude, Apostles though they were, and vouched for half a year before by the warm-tempered Peter, could have had no share in it. It might

morning glow that shone upon the lake, they resembled the heads of the twelve tribes, who were called up with Moses to hear the law given upon Sinai. The discourse which follows was spoken first *to them*, as the manual of their instructions, the code of the new kingdom of which they were the new ministers, the outline of the truths they were to teach. It is addressed also to *the disciples* in general, in that and every age, proclaiming the spirit of the new dispensation, to which they profess to have submitted, the truths they have to learn, the obligations they have to fulfil, the tests by which they must be tried, the characters they must bear, if they are indeed the disciples of Jesus. It was uttered to the disciples in the hearing of all the people.

The Sermon on the Mount carried to the minds of the hearers the conviction that Jesus was, to say the least, far above all their ordinary teachers; "for he taught them as *one having authority*, and *not as the scribes*," and he was followed by a new concourse of disciples, as he returned into Capernaum. Here he healed the servant of the Roman centurion, who seems to have been a Jewish proselyte, and whose faith, greater than was found in Israel, called forth the contrast, often afterward repeated, between the multitudes of Gentiles who should sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven, and "the children of the kingdom," who should be "cast out into outer darkness." At the gate of Nain, near Capernaum, he repeated by a single word the miracle, which Elisha had only performed with reiterated and agonizing prayers, of restoring the life of an only son to his widowed mother.

About this time we have the last notice of JOHN THE A. D. 28. BAPTIST before his death. He was still shut up in his prison, which, Josephus tells us, was at Machærus in Peræa, a fortress

have been similar to that feeling of unfaithful restlessness which perhaps moved St. John Baptist to send his disciples to make their inquiry of the Lord (see Grotius *in loc.*, and Lardner, vi. p. 497. Lond. 1788). With regard to John ii. 12, Acts i. 14, we may say that "his brethren" are no more excluded from the disciples in the first passage, and from the Apostles in the second, by being mentioned parallel with them, than "the other Apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas" (1 Cor. ix. 5), excludes Peter from the Apostolic band.

Objection. 5.—"If the title of brethren of the Lord had belonged to James and Jude, they would have been designated by it in the list of the Apostles." The omission of a title is so slight a ground for an argument that we may pass this by.

Objection 6.—That Mary the wife of Clopas should be designated by the title of Mary the mother of James and Joses, to the exclusion of Jude, if James and Jude were Apostles, appears to Dean Alford extremely improbable. There is no improbability in it, if Joses was, as would seem likely, an elder brother of Jude, and next in order to James.

celebrated in the history of the Asmonæans and Herodians. Here his disciples came to tell him of the deeds of Christ. We cannot suppose that John himself had had a moment's doubt of the truth he himself had first proclaimed, that Jesus was the Messiah. On a former occasion, he had said enough to clear up all uncertainty and remove all jealousy from the minds of his disciples; but, less instructed and less magnanimous than their master, they still need a further lesson; and for this John sends two of them to Christ. They found him in the act of healing many of their diseases, casting out unclean spirits, and preaching the Gospel to the poor. His only reply is to bid them report to John what they had seen and heard, which he would doubtless tell them were the signs of the Messiah foretold by the prophets, and he adds a gentle rebuke to their slowness of belief. With this message he sends them back to John, whose life was soon after terminated. Nothing but the death of the Baptist would satisfy the resentment of Herodias. Though foiled once, she continued to watch her opportunity, which at length arrived. A court festival was kept at Machærus in honor of the king's birthday. After supper, the daughter of Herodias came in and danced before the company, and so charmed was the tetrarch by her grace, that he promised with an oath to give her whatever she should ask. Salome, prompted by her abandoned mother, demanded the head of John the Baptist. The promise had been given in the hearing of his distinguished guests, and so Herod, though loth to be made the instrument of so bloody a work, gave instructions to an officer of his guard, who went and executed John in the prison, and his head was brought to feast the eyes of the adulteress whose sins he had denounced.

Meanwhile Jesus, turning to the people, vindicates John from any suspicion of wavering or time-serving that his message might have raised, and bears testimony to his true character as "a prophet, yea, more than a prophet." They had gone forth to the wilderness to see him, and what had they beheld? No pliant reed, that would bend before the wind of adversity: no dainty courtier, to fear a king's frown or a queen's hatred. No! he was the very Elijah predicted by the prophets as the Messiah's herald; but their childish folly, never knowing what to ask for or expect, vented itself in discontent and unbelief alike against the stern asceticism of John and the winning love of Jesus. "But Wisdom is justified of all her children." And now the time was already come for Christ to reveal himself as a *judge*, to those who would not accept him as a Saviour. The cities of Galilee most favored by his ministry—Chorazin, Bethsaida, and



COAST OF TYRE AND SIDON.

especially Capernaum—are doomed to a far heavier judgment than Tyre and Sidon, Sodom and Gomorrah. Such words, uttered now over Galilee, as afterward over Judæa and Jerusalem, show the wounded sympathies of the human friend, as well as the just indignation of the divine Judge; and Jesus finds his only consolation in thankful acknowledgment of the Father's wisdom in hiding the mysteries of the kingdom from those wise in their own conceit, and revealing them to babes. None may attempt to penetrate the mystery of this humble submission of the Son, in his character of Mediator, to the Father's will; but it has a practical aspect, which Christ himself proceeds to enforce, as an example to all who labor under the burdens and weariness of the world, to come to him and learn the like spirit of meekness and humility, as the only means of finding rest to their souls. "For *my* yoke"—this of meek submission to God—"is easy, and my burden is light."

Abundant as were the proofs that Jesus was the *Messiah*, the *Christ*, he had not yet been actually *anointed*. This act of consecration was at length performed, not by the high-priest in the temple court, amid the acclamations of "God save the King," as Zadok and Nathan had anointed Solomon, but at a banquet in the house of a Pharisee named Simon, who had scorned to render to Jesus even the common offices of hospitality. There, as Jesus was reclining at the table, a degraded woman stole behind his couch, washing with her tears of penitence the feet for which Simon had offered no water, and having wiped them with the hair of her head, she kissed them in token of homage, and anointed them with some choice unguent from an alabaster box, the purchase doubtless of her evil gains. The Pharisee's indignation at her presence was almost forgotten in his satisfaction at Christ's want of discernment and apparent degradation. "This man," thought he to himself, "if he had been a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman this is that toucheth him, for she is a sinner." Our Lord replies to the unuttered thought by a parable which leads Simon to confess that they love most who have had most forgiven; and then, turning to the woman, with all the authority of the Anointed of Jehovah, he declares the forgiveness of her many sins for her much love, and dismisses her in peace; while the Pharisees only dare to murmur within their hearts, "Who is this that forgiveth sins also?"

No reader, with a mind unmystified by tradition, could fail to understand the delicacy which keeps the Evangelist silent about this woman's name. The assumption—most unfortunately countenanced



CHRIST EATING BREAD WITH THE PUBLICANS.

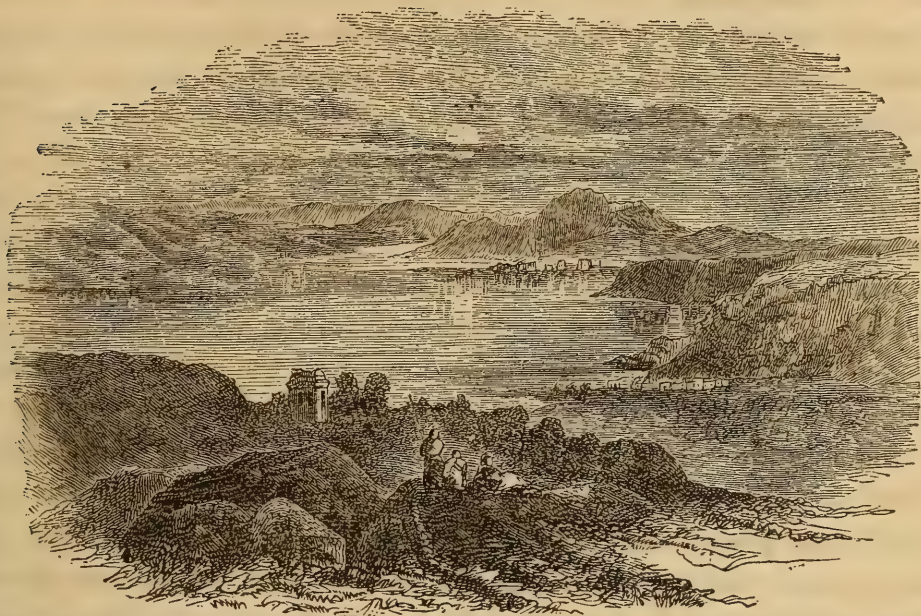
by the heading of the chapter in our version—that she was Mary Magdalene, is only based on our finding Mary presently afterward mentioned among the women who ministered to Jesus, and as one out of whom he had cast seven devils. This phrase must here, as in every other passage, be taken literally, not figuratively for sins; and thus it implies an intensity of demoniacal possession utterly incompatible with a life of profligacy. Argument is, however, almost wasted on an error which has no evidence on its side, except that mere sequence of the narrative, which would just as well prove Joanna, or Susanna, or any one of the “many others,” to have been the pardoned sinner. The loss of any countenance to the legends and works of art which have sprung from the mistake is the less to be regretted, as their influence is at least questionable; while the great moral of our Lord’s unbounded mercy, even to those sinners for whom the world has none, needs no aid from those who even go so far as to stain the purity of the family of Bethany by identifying *that* Mary at once with Mary Magdalene and the sinner.

That repetition of the act by Mary, the sister of Lazarus, which forms the pretext for this last assumption, had a purpose and spirit altogether different, though there was a certain natural resemblance in the manner of performing it. Each showed sacrifice in the precious gift she brought; but with the one it was an offering of penitence, with the other of pure devotion. The “sinner” anointed Christ as the “Prince and Saviour, who gave repentance to Israel and remission of sin:” Mary, whom Jesus had long since loved, gave the funeral unction to the body of her dear friend, in prospect of his death.

A. D. 28. Jesus now made a *Second Circuit of Galilee*, attended by the Twelve Apostles, and by certain women who, having been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, proved their gratitude by ministering to him of their substance. Such ministry, the chief social comfort of our Lord’s lonely life, followed him to his death and burial; and some of these devoted women were

“Last at the cross, and earliest at the tomb.”

Such was Mary, surnamed Magdalene, from her native village of Magdala, who is now mentioned for the first time, in association with Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod’s steward, and Susanna, and many others. The chief events of this circuit were, the healing of a blind and dumb demoniac, followed by a controversy with the Pharisees, who charged Jesus with casting out devils by the power of Beelzebub;



SEA OF GALILEE, FROM THE NORTHWEST COAST; WITH MAGDALA AND
TIBERIAS.

the reproof of the Pharisees for seeking a sign, in which Jonah's three days' confinement in the fish is made a type of our Lord's burial; the visit of our Lord's mother and brethren, which called forth the declaration, that his true disciples are his nearest relatives; the stern denunciation of the Pharisees, and the solemn warnings to all the people concerning faithfulness and watchfulness, enforced by the use he makes of the fate of Pilate's victims and those crushed by the tower of Siloam, as well as by the parable of the barren fig-tree; the great parable of the *Sower*, and the other parables concerning the kingdom of heaven. The same evening on which these parables were spoken, Jesus dismissed the multitudes that followed him, and took ship to cross to the east side of the lake. On the voyage he performed the miracle which he afterward repeated, stilling a raging storm by his word, and thus again showing himself to the affrighted disciples as Lord of the most ungovernable powers of nature. To them the miracle was the more striking from their daily occupation among those waters.

The country of Gadara (or Gergasa), on the east side of the lake, was now the scene of one of Christ's greatest miracles, the healing of the man possessed by a legion of devils, who were permitted to punish the illegal cupidity of the country people by entering and destroying their swine. The Gadarenes, caring more for their swine than for their souls, entreated him to leave their country, and he recrossed the

lake to Capernaum, where the people were awaiting him. The features of the country strikingly illustrate the circumstances of the narrative. Gadara stood on a partially isolated hill at the northwestern extremity of the mountains of Gilead, about sixteen miles from Tiberias, where lie the extensive and remarkable ruins of *Um Keis*. It occupies the crest of a ridge between two wadys; and as this crest declines in elevation towards the east as well as the west, the situation is strong and commanding. Christ came across the lake from Capernaum, and landed at the southeastern corner, where the steep lofty bank of the eastern plateau breaks down into the plain of the Jordan. The demoniacs met him a short distance from the shore; on the side of the adjoining declivity the "great herd of swine" were feeding; when the demons went among them, the whole herd rushed down that "steep place" into the lake and perished; the keepers ran up to the city and told the news, and the excited population came down in haste, and "besought Jesus that he would depart out of their coasts." Another thing is worthy of notice. The most interesting remains of Gadara are its *tombs*, which dot the cliffs for a considerable distance round the city. They are excavated in the limestone rock, and consist of chambers of various dimensions, some more than 20 feet square, with recesses in the sides for bodies. The present inhabitants of *Um Keis* are all *troglydites*, "dwelling in tombs," like the Demoniacs of old; and occasionally they are almost as dangerous to the unprotected traveller.

About this time we must place Christ's second rejection at Nazareth, if, indeed, it was different from the first. The great extent of this circuit, during which "he went through every city and village," makes it probable that the end of the year 28 should be placed about its termination, if not earlier, leaving the three months before the Passover of B. C. 29 for the third circuit.

A. D. 29. After this, Jesus made a *Third Circuit of Galilee*, as extensive as the former:—"He went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people." Jesus was followed by multitudes that were at last beyond the reach of his single powers. According to the image used by an old prophet, he saw them scattered abroad like sheep without a shepherd, and worn out with their efforts to come to him, and he had compassion on them. What he had first told his disciples at Sychar had now come true on a far larger scale; the spiritual harvest was too great for the laborers; and so, after bidding them to pray the Lord

of the harvest to send forth more laborers, he gives them their first commission to begin their work. He sent them out by two and two, giving them power to cast out devils and heal diseases, and to preach the kingdom of God. They were, in fact, to be his representatives, carrying the Gospel to those who could not, or only with great difficulty, attend on his own ministry. He gave them a charge, containing much that would prepare them for their future ministry; but some things suited only to their present mission, especially the prohibition to enter the country of the Gentiles or cities of the Samaritans. This restriction doubtless referred, not only to the gradual process by which the Gospel was diffused, but also to the limited conceptions of the Apostles themselves, who could not yet have preached it except to the Jews. The charge that he gave them, while containing much that applied specially to their present condition, embraces also the great principles by which his ministers are to be guided in every age. Their success was an earnest to themselves, and an example to all their successors, of his constant presence with his servants. "They went through the towns preaching the Gospel and healing everywhere." "They cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them."

The return of the Apostles coincided with some strange news, which was brought to Jesus from the court of Herod Antipas. We have seen how Herod had imprisoned John the Baptist for protesting against his unlawful marriage with Herodias; and how at last, amid the revelry of a birthday feast, the wanton wiles of Herodias's daughter had obtained the prophet's execution. And now that Herod heard of the miracles and success of Christ, his alarmed conscience imagined John risen from the dead, and he desired to see Jesus. Our Lord would neither incur danger before his time, nor gratify the king's curiosity; and he seems to have had another motive for retirement, in the elation of his disciples at their success. So he withdrew with them by ship into a lonely place. But the people, who saw his departure, hastened on foot from all the cities round the lake; and soon the multitudes not only left him and the disciples no time even to eat, but began to be in want of food themselves.

At this point the Gospel of John connects itself once more with the other three; and we obtain from it the note of time which has been long wanting. "The Passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh." This must, in all probability, be reckoned as the *Third Passover* during our Lord's ministry; for, even if the "feast of the Jews," in John v., be not the Passover, the intervention of a second Passover

is implied in the scene where the disciples plucked and ate the ears of corn. The reason given by John for Christ's absence from this Passover is rendered the more cogent from what we have seen of Herod's state of mind; and there seems every reason to believe that our Lord's presence at Jerusalem would have brought on that very conjuncture of Herod, Pilate, and the Jewish rulers, which occurred a year later, when *His time was come*. The season gives a double significance to the miracle by which Christ fed the people in the desert, while their brethren at Jerusalem were eating the unleavened bread of human manufacture, and also to the subsequent discourse in which Jesus revealed himself as the true bread of life that had come down from heaven.

That discourse forms a marked epoch in his ministry. It is very affecting to observe how, the more Christ multiplied miracles before his Galilean followers, the further were they from receiving his spiritual teaching. The personal benefits they had now so long been in the habit of receiving came to be every thing to them; and the witness which the works bore to Christ was only valued as exciting selfish hopes in them. It was to see and to profit by more miracles, that they ran after him round the lake; and this last wonder of his feeding five thousand men, besides women and children, with five barley-loaves and two small fishes, leaving twelve baskets of fragments to be gathered up, while it convinced them that he was the prophet predicted by Moses, excited proud hopes of independence instead of humble faith in him, and they were ready to take him by force and make him king. On this first mention of such a design, we may well consider what it involved. It was no offer of a peaceful succession, made by a united people. With Judæa governed by a Roman procurator, and Galilee held by Herod at the pleasure of the emperor—with factions among the Jews themselves ready to support the Idumæan dynasty, and even to cry out, "We have no king but Cæsar,"—His consent would have been the signal for a war such as burst out under Nero. And here we may doubtless see one of those occasions on which Jesus himself was tempted, though without sin. The people of Galilee repeated the offer which Satan had made on the Mount of Temptation; and from Satan it came this time also, though made through them. History furnishes its memorable examples, how hard such an offer is to refuse; and that there was a real conflict in our Saviour's mind is proved by his departing alone into a mountain to pray. But first, while he sent away the people, the disciples, who, we may be quite sure, were ready to take the same

part, were directed, not without great reluctance, to recross the lake to Bethsaida.

The night fell, and Jesus watched the lonely vessel, tossed about by the waves and adverse wind, an emblem of the love and vigilance which attends his people in the voyage of life. As the night reached its darkest, and the storm its highest, they thought, doubtless almost with despair, of their rescue from the like peril when Jesus was with them in the ship; but they had to learn that he helps when the time seems all but past, and the means exhausted. It was only in the fourth watch of the night that he came to them, walking on the waves; and even then he made as though he would have passed them; but their cry of fresh terror at the supposed apparition was answered by the cheering announcement of his presence. Then, as so often happens at an unhopèd deliverance, presumption succeeded to despair; and Peter, the representative of this feeling among the Apostles, was saved by Jesus from perishing in the waves on which he had had the rashness, but not the faith, to walk. How much they needed such lessons we learn from the statement of Mark, that, even while confessing Him to be the Son of God, *"their heart was hardened"* to the true meaning of the miracles of the loaves. We cannot, therefore, wonder at the same error among the people, who sought Jesus, as he himself says, not because they had seen the miracles, but because they had eaten of the loaves. Meanwhile, as soon as Jesus was received by the disciples into the ship, its voyage came to an end at "the land of Gennesaret," the fertile plain upon the western shore, which gave to the lake one of its names, and in which Capernaum stood. From all the cities or villages of that fair region, the wonted crowds flocked to Jesus as soon as they heard of his landing, bringing their sick and afflicted; and numbers were healed by merely touching the border of his gar-



PETER SAVED BY JESUS.

ment as he passed by. He was found at Capernaum by the people who had been left on the other side of the lake, and who had recrossed it in boats on the following day. Then followed the controversy, in which, notwithstanding what they had just seen, they required some new sign to match that of the manna in the wilderness. In reply, he teaches them the doctrine that spiritual life can only be received by spiritually eating his flesh and drinking his blood. This called forth the full hostility of the carnal mind to spiritual truth, even among his disciples. Many of them said, "This is a hard saying; who can hear it?" not so much hard to understand as to receive with heartfelt sympathy. And now he plainly told them, from his own superhuman knowledge, that there were unbelievers among them; and many of his disciples finally forsook him. Then the twelve, by the mouth of Peter, answer his appeal, "Will ye also go away?" by the solemn profession of their faith in him, as Christ, the Son of God, and the only teacher of eternal life; but Jesus warns even them that "one of them had a devil," alluding thus plainly, for the first time, to the treason of Judas Iscariot. The defection of the great body of Christ's disciples, leaving only the Twelve in constant attendance upon him, marks the last period of his Galilean ministry as a season of special intercourse with them, in preparation for their apostolic work.

Among the followers of Jesus during these transactions we have repeated mention of "the Jews," a term which, in the records of his controversial teachings, generally denotes the leaders of the two great parties, and more especially the Pharisees and Scribes, for the Sadducees seem as yet to have regarded the new teacher with scornful indifference. Many of these came from Jerusalem and Judæa, expressly to watch him; and their hatred must have been inflamed afresh by such teaching as that just related. The words of St. John imply that a new conspiracy against Jesus was formed by the rulers at this Passover, for which reason he remained in Galilee six months longer, till the Feast of Tabernacles. Disappointed by his absence, more of the Scribes and Pharisees went to meet him on his own ground; and their fault-finding gave him the opportunity of denouncing the vain traditions by which they annulled the spirit of the law, while adding to its burdensome obligations.

But they had probably another object besides controversy, to stir up Herod against Jesus, who, therefore, withdrew for a time out of Herod's jurisdiction, first into the region of Tyre and Sidon, and afterward to the Decapolis. His stay in Phœnicia was marked by

that condescension to the prayer of the Syro-Phœnician woman (a native of the country, but of Græek education, the counterpart to the woman of Sarepta in the time of Elijah), which was the first case of his performing a miracle for, and recognizing the faith of, an actual heathen; for the centurion already mentioned was a proselyte. Passing round the north side of the Lake of Galilee to the Decapolis, Jesus healed a deaf and dumb man, with many others, and again repeated the miracle of feeding the multitudes that followed him,—4000 men, besides women and children,—with seven loaves and a few small fishes, seven baskets full of fragments being taken up. Crossing the lake to Magdala (or rather Magadan), in the district of Dalmanutha, he again encountered the Pharisees, this time in league with the Sadducees and Herodians, who asked and were refused a “sign,” some great wonder wrought expressly for them, to prove that he was the Christ. He answers them as he had answered a similar request before: “the sign of the prophet Jonas” was all that they should have. His resurrection after a death of three days should be the great sign, and yet in another sense no sign should be given them, for they should neither see it nor believe it. The unnatural alliance between Pharisee and Sadducee is worthy of remark. The zealots of tradition and the political partisans of Herod joined together for once with a common object of hatred. After they had departed, Jesus crossed the lake with his disciples, and, combining, perhaps, for the use of the disciples the remembrance of the feeding of the four thousand with that of the conversation they had just heard, warned them to “beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod.” So little, however, were the disciples prepared for this, that they mistook it for a reproof for having brought only one loaf with them. They had forgotten the five thousand and the four thousand, or they would have known that where He was, natural bread could not fail them. It was needful to explain to them that the leaven of the Pharisees was the doctrine of those who had made the Word of God of none effect by traditions which appearing to promote religion really destroyed it, and the leaven of the Sadducees was the doctrine of those who, under the show of superior enlightenment, removed the foundations of the fear of God by denying the future state. He used the same figure on another occasion, explaining that by “the leaven of the Pharisees” he meant hypocrisy; that of the Sadducees and Herodians was an ungodly worldly policy.

A. D. 29. From the eastern side of the Lake of Tiberias, Jesus went with his disciples up the course of the Jordan, staying

at Bethsaida, where he healed a blind man, to Cæsarea Philippi, near the sources of the river. This city, at the very extremity of the Holy Land, marking the northernmost limit of our Saviour's travels, was the scene of some of the most memorable events in his course; events that were designed to prepare the disciples for the consummation now rapidly approaching. We have seen, and we might, had the plan of this work permitted detailed exposition, have traced much more minutely, the gradual development of the faith of the disciples in their Lord. Now the time was come for a full and intelligent profession of their faith. Having first asked them about the various opinions that the people entertained of him, some saying that he was John the Baptist, others that he was Elijah, and others that he was Jeremiah or one of the old prophets risen again, he makes the direct appeal to them:—"But whom say ye that I am?" Without waiting to consult the rest, Peter answers, "Thou art the CHRIST, the Son of the living God." This formula was not uttered now for the first time; but on no former occasion does it seem to have expressed a conviction so deep and spiritual. It calls forth a blessing upon Simon, as having spoken by the express revelation of God; and then is added that great saying concerning the foundation of Christ's Church, which has been perverted into the corner-stone of the Romish faith. Its true interpretation is to be found in the Hebrew custom of giving significant names, not solely, or even chiefly, to describe qualities in the persons who bore them, but to commemorate truths in which they were concerned. It is simply absurd to insist on finding in the words, "Thou art *Peter*," the necessary antecedent to "on *this rock* will I build my Church." The true connection is this:—"Thou art rightly called Peter, for thou hast uttered a confession which embodies the foundation of Christian truth, the divine nature and the true Messiahship of Jesus Christ; and *upon this rock* will I build my Church." The concurrent testimony, both of prophecy and of the New Testament, points to Christ himself as the ROCK, and the only foundation of his Church; and surely it must be his strength, and not Peter's, which forms a basis too steadfast for the powers of destruction ("the gates of Hades") to prevail against! But still, in a secondary sense, the Apostles are spoken of, together with the Prophets, as the foundation on which the Church is built, but in subordination to "Jesus Christ, the chief corner-stone;" and in this sense Peter himself was one of the first stones of the edifice, of which he himself calls all believers "living stones." His position in the Church is then illustrated by another figure, which has been equally

perverted; as if the servant who has charge of the keys of a house were almost on a level with the master himself. The event furnished the simple and natural interpretation, when, on the day of Pentecost, Peter was the first to admit a multitude of the believing Jews, and afterward, in the house of Cornelius, a number of Gentile proselytes, into the Christian Church. He did both as the organ of the other Apostles, who shared his action in the first case, and confirmed it in the second; for to them Christ afterward gave the same privilege that he now gave to Peter. The only distinction between him and the other Apostles is a priority in time, corresponding to the priority of his confession of Christ. As to the power of "binding and loosing," which is more fully expressed after our Saviour's resurrection as the retention and remission of sins, its signification is a question too purely theological to be discussed here.

And now, after commanding his disciples not yet to divulge the great truth they had confessed, he reveals to them the greater mystery of his death and resurrection; but so little, even yet, were they prepared for such an issue of his course, that Peter, the very Apostle who had just been foremost in the confession of Christ, now took upon himself to remonstrate and protest, "Be it far from thee, Lord; this shall not be unto thee!" In these words Jesus sees another assault of Satan, using Peter's prejudices as a temptation to renounce His great work, and He rebukes *him* with the same stern authority as in their former conflict, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" Then, turning to his disciples, he warns them that they must all pass through the same temptation, and make the same choice between the world and himself, a choice on which depended the salvation or loss of their own souls. They must decide to suffer with him upon earth, if they would reign with him hereafter. For he would surely come in the glory of God and with the holy angels, to reward every man according to his works, and then he would be ashamed of those who were now ashamed of him. Nay! so certain was all this, and to them of such supreme moment, that *some of them* would in that day taste of eternal death; another of the allusions which we have already seen our Saviour make to the character of Judas.

Having thus received a foretaste of "the sufferings of Christ," the minds of the disciples were soon relieved by a glimpse of "the glory that should follow." Just a week after the above discourse, Jesus took with him Peter, James, and John, the three disciples who were also to be the witnesses of his agony at Gethsemane, to behold a vision of his heavenly glory. The scene is traditionally identified with

Mount Tabor, but this cannot have been the place: all we can infer from the Gospel narrative is, that it was a high mountain near to Cæsarea Philippi. His first object was prayer; and as he prayed, his face and raiment were transfigured to the same glorious majesty and brilliant whiteness in which he appeared to John long afterward at Patmos. With him were seen in glory Moses and Elijah, the law-giver and reformer of the Old Covenant; and their converse with him concerning "his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem" showed to the disciples the harmony of the Law and the Prophets with the Gospel in regarding Christ's sufferings as the prelude to his glory; and that that glory would be shared by his followers, was intimated by the glory in which Moses and Elijah themselves appeared. Nor was there wanting a sensible proof of the presence of God the Father; but instead of the "blackness, and darkness, and tempest," amid which God had revealed himself both to Moses and Elijah upon Mount Sinai, it was a *bright cloud* out of which a voice came, saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him." The disciples, who had given way, while the Master was praying, to a supernatural drowsiness like that which overcame them at Gethsemane, awoke just in time for Peter to express the fond desire to remain amid such bliss, when the voice was heard from the cloud, the vision vanished, and they were left alone with Jesus. As they came down from the mountain, he charged them not to tell what they had seen, till after his resurrection; and he explained, in reply to their inquiries about the coming of Elijah, before the Messiah, that Elijah had already come in the person of John the Baptist, and had been persecuted by those very Scribes who had taught men to expect him, and so the Son of Man would also suffer.

The three disciples descended with Jesus to the world beneath, in a double sense; for a most humiliating scene was enacting in their absence. The remaining Apostles had attempted to heal a frightful case of demoniacal possession; and their failure had subjected them to the scornful objections of the Scribes, and the unbelief of the people. After rebuking that unbelief, and bringing the father of the sufferer, who had expressed it, to cry with tears, "Lord, I believe: help thou my unbelief," Jesus cast out the furious demon; and then told his disciples, in private, the secret of their failure, because of their unbelief, and the unbounded power of faith: "This kind goeth not out, but by prayer and fasting." Once more, soon after this, Jesus foretold to the disciples his betrayal and death, and his resurrection the third day after; but they were unwilling to accept the plain meaning of his words, and afraid to ask him for an explanation.

Jesus now returned with the Twelve, for the last time, to the shores of the Lake of Galilee. At Capernaum he released Peter by a miracle from his difficulty about the tribute-money, the "didrachm," which corresponds in value to the half-shekel, and seems therefore to have been the poll-tax of that amount, which was paid for the Temple-service. The piece of money, a "stater," which Peter found in the fish's mouth, was equal to a shekel, and therefore the precise amount of the tax for his Master and himself. The exemption which Jesus claimed, though he waived it lest he should offend the Jews, may be regarded as an assertion of his divinity.

From the great lessons they had so lately received, the Apostles seem as yet to have derived only a vague idea that their Master's kingdom was at hand, and that they must not lose its advantages to themselves. The contest which arose among them for precedence gave an occasion for our Saviour's teaching, by the pattern of a little child whom he set in the midst of them, the great lessons of humility, brotherly love, forgiveness and forbearance; to which he added that of reverent regard for children, just because they hold out to us an example of the state of innocence from which we have fallen, and which must be regained, by repentance and conversion, before we can enter the kingdom of heaven. And thus the last lesson which our Lord taught in Galilee re-echoes the first with which he opened the Sermon on the Mount. Indeed, the whole discourse, which is reported most fully by St. Matthew, forms a most impressive climax to the teaching which was so begun. Christ's own example, in coming to seek and save the lost, is held forth as the great motive to compassionate love and mutual forgiveness. The power of binding and loosing is now extended to all the Apostles; his presence is promised in all their assemblies; and his Father's answer to all their prayers. Once more the solemn warning is repeated, concerning resistance to sin, and decision between the Master and the world; and the note of future judgment, already struck in the Sermon on the Mount, concludes the whole; but for the gentle final words recorded by St. Mark:—"Have peace one with another."

Immediately after this the first two Evangelists mention the final departure of Jesus from Galilee into that part of Peræa which belonged to the province of Judæa. But, in fact, the interval between the departure from Galilee, and the retirement into Peræa, is to be filled up by Christ's visit to the Feast of Tabernacles, and many other important incidents which are related by Luke and John.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY; FROM THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, A. D. 29, TO HIS FOURTH PASSOVER, A. D. 30.

HIS Lord's ministry in Galilee had lasted probably for a year and a half, without a visit to Jerusalem, when the approach of the Feast of Tabernacles called for a decision whether he would go up to it. The tone of his recent discourses proved that his work in Galilee was done. The hollow, selfish, and worldly motives of the great bulk of his followers had been exposed, and his few sincere disciples had received some training for their work, and had been taught to expect the issue of his course. A. D. 29. It only remained to give the Jews at Jerusalem one more opportunity for repentance and faith, and then the time would come for him to be offered. The general expectation, with which at this juncture his course was watched, shows itself in the challenge of his brethren, who were as yet not full believers in him, to put his claims to a more open proof by showing himself in Judæa. But, with the answer that his time was not yet come, he bade them go up to the feast without him, while he remained in Galilee for some days, and then went up "as it were in secret."

This secrecy seems to refer to his travelling by way of Samaria, instead of by the more frequented route through Peræa, which, though longer, was usually taken by the Jews of Judæa and Galilee, to avoid intercourse with the Samaritans. The choice of this route, and the previous delay, may have been intended to disconcert some plan for seizing him on the journey; as we afterward find that his sudden appearance in the midst of the feast made his arrest impracticable. It also gave one more day of grace to the Samaritans; but for the most part in vain, as we see in the case of the first villages, to which Christ sent forward messengers, but the people would not receive him, as he was on his way to Jerusalem. The sons of Zebedee, who would have called down fire from heaven, as Elijah did, to punish the insult, were checked by the rebuke:—"Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." To various persons who met him, offering to become his disciples, but pleading some excuse for delay, he taught the neces-

sity of leaving all, to follow him. During his progress through Samaria, he sent forth seventy disciples, two and two, to go before him, preaching the Gospel in every place that he designed to visit. This differed in several points from the previous commission of the Apostles. The number of the Seventy, and the scene of their mission, Samaria, alike indicated that the time was at hand for preaching the Gospel to the heathen; whereas the number of the Apostles corresponded to the twelve tribes of Israel, to whom their commission also restricted them; nor had the Seventy received the special training of the Twelve. Some have also seen a significance in the sending forth of the Twelve at the season of the Passover, the beginning of the harvest, and of the Seventy at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, the end of all the labors of the year. In other respects, their instructions were the same; and they may be regarded as, in spirit, those which should ever guide Christ's ministers. Few in comparison to the spiritual harvest, they were bidden to go forth praying the Lord of the harvest to send more laborers; exposed to the malice of men, like lambs among wolves, they were to preserve their meekness, and to rely on his protection who had sent them. They must neither make provision for the journey nor stay to exchange salutations by the way; but on entering any house, they were to pronounce *Peace* upon it, and peace should abide there if they were worthily received, or return to them if they were rejected. In the same house they were to remain, eating and drinking what was set before them, "for"—said Christ, laying down the principle afterward so fully developed by St. Paul—"the laborer is worth his wages." They were to deal in like manner with the cities they visited; remaining in those that received them, but, where they were rejected, wiping off the very dust from their feet as a witness against the city. This sentence gives occasion to Jesus to repeat the doom of Woe! upon the favored cities of Galilee, on which he had now finally turned his back—Chorazin, Bethsaida, and especially Capernaum. He concludes with the assurance that the reception, whether of obedience or contempt, given to *them* would be regarded as given to himself.

Meanwhile his movements and character were the great subject of discussion at Jerusalem. While all were asking, "Where is he?" some said, "He is a good man;" others, "Nay, but he deceiveth the people." But all spoke privately, for fear of the rulers. It was about the middle of the feast when he appeared, teaching in the Temple. To the expressions of wonder at the learning shown by a Galilean peasant, he replied by declaring his doctrine to be not his

own, but His that sent him, promising too that whoever desired to do God's will should be taught these truths. He denounced the conspiracy against his life on the old charge of having broken the Sabbath by the miracle performed on his previous visit to Jerusalem. His boldness and impunity raised the question, whether the rulers knew that he was indeed the Christ; but still the people were perplexed by his humble and apparently well-known origin, so opposed to the mystery with which they expected the Christ to come. His miracles, however, which it was felt that the Christ himself could not surpass, gained many converts; and the Pharisees and chief priests at length sent officers to apprehend him. As they watched their opportunity, Jesus continued to discourse in language more and more perplexing to his adversaries, till, on the last and greatest day of the feast, when the ceremony was performed of fetching water from the well of Siloam, and pouring it on the altar, while the priest sang the words, "With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation," he proclaimed himself the giver of the water of life, meaning thereby the Holy Spirit. Upon this the controversy among the people grew warmer. Some said that he was the expected prophet; some that he was the Christ; while others again objected his Galilean origin, pleading that Christ was to come of the seed of David, and from the town of Bethlehem. His more vehement opponents wished to apprehend him, but neither they nor the officers risked the attempt. Nay, carried away themselves by the power of his teaching, the officers returned to their employers with the words, "Never man spake like this man." As the rulers began to vent curses on all his followers, Nicodemus, the secret disciple, who was one of their number, ventured to remind them that the law forbade the condemning of a man unheard; but he only brought suspicion and taunts upon himself, for taking the part of a *Galilean*. This eventful day was concluded by the dispersion of the people to their homes, while Jesus retired to the Mount of Olives.

A. D. 29. On his reappearance in the Temple, the next morning, a subtle snare was laid for him. The Pharisees and Scribes brought to him a woman taken in adultery, and, quoting the law of Moses, that such should be stoned, asked for his judgment of the case, "But what sayest thou?" Either, they thought, he must decide against the law, and appear at once a blasphemer of Moses and a partisan of gross sin, or incur popular odium by condemning the culprit to death. But Christ well knew how to repel such attacks by an appeal to higher principles, which at once justified his conduct

and condemned his assailants. The same law which adjudged the guilty to death required the witnesses to cast the first stones, in token of their abhorrence of the crime. But who dared do this, if conscious that his guilt was the same? And such was the prevalent corruption, that all the accusers were in this case. So, without answering them, he stooped down and wrote in the sand of the Temple court, what we are not told, but we may imagine passages of Scripture which would carry conviction to the most hardened among them; and then rising up, he says, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her," and continued his writing. They slunk away, from the eldest to the youngest; and as no accuser was left, Jesus dismissed the woman with the words, "Neither do I condemn thee: go and sin no more,"—an absolution from punishment, which she might, by penitence and amendment, convert into the full pardon of her sin. Two plain inferences from this transaction deserve notice. The tacit confession of gross sin by the Scribes and Pharisees does away with the idea that they were honest though mistaken enthusiasts for what they deemed truth and righteousness; and the fact that Christ does not disclaim the authority to judge the case—nay, assumes it in his last words—gives another proof of his divinity.

Then follows another controversy with the Jews, whose reiterated objection, that Jesus bare witness to himself, is met by the reply that the Father bore witness with him. Whatever there may seem to be of narrow technicality in the allusion to the law which required two witnesses, belongs solely to their objection, which he repels on their own ground. As their opposition became the more obstinate, he the more plainly traced it to their corrupt nature, in bondage to sin; and in reply to their claim of freedom, as the children of Abraham, he denounced them as children of the devil, because they did his works, especially in seeking to kill Christ; while he not only proclaimed himself before Abraham in dignity and glory, but assumed to himself the great title of the self-existent Jehovah—"Before Abraham was, I AM." At this they took up stones, to stone him as a blasphemer; but he, who patiently suffered when he was condemned even by the show of law, conveyed himself by his miraculous power out of the midst of the excited rabble, and so left the Temple.

He seems, however, not yet to have left the city itself; for the order of St. John's Gospel hardly permits of our referring to any other time than this the great miracle of healing a man blind from his birth, which furnishes a critical example of a miracle tried by every possible test. The act itself was prefaced by a rebuke of the hasty judgment

of the disciples, curious to know whether the man's blindness was to be ascribed to his parents' sin or to his own. Jesus, on the other hand, saw in him only a fit object for the divine work, which he hastened to perform while it was yet time, alluding to the approaching end of his course in the memorable saying:—"I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day; *the night cometh, when no man can work.*" Then, giving a high meaning to the miracle by declaring himself the *Light of the World*, he spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle, with which having anointed the man's eyes, he sent him to wash them at the pool, outside the city, which bore the appropriate name of SILOAM, that is, *Sent*. In this proceeding we have, united with the divine power by which the miracle was wrought, the indication of his command over natural means, and an act to be performed by the sufferer himself (as in the case of Naaman) which at once tested his faith, and called the attention of those who beheld him going to the pool with besmeared eyes, and returning with all the joy of restored sight. Many of these had long seen the blind man begging at his accustomed seat, and at first they doubted if it were he, or another like him. Soon agreed that it was he, they learned from him the manner of the miracle which, he said, had been wrought upon his sight by "a man called Jesus," of whom he could not tell where he was,—so plain it is that Christ was a stranger to the man. The wandering neighbors brought him before the Pharisees, whose jealous enmity again, as in the miracle at Bethesda, found a pretext in the fact that *it was the Sabbath day*. The man answered their questions with the same simple story that he had told to his neighbors. The growth of conviction among themselves, already hinted at in the doubt—"Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?"—was now shown in an open division of opinion: some repeated the old objection, "This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day;" while others rejoined with the unanswerable plea, "How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?" They could only agree in throwing the *onus* of the decision on the poor man, who declared at once that he believed Jesus to be a prophet. They now tried to throw doubt on the reality of his former state; and thereby only brought out decisive evidence. The caution of his parents, who would not say that their son had been healed by Christ, for fear of excommunication, added weight to their plain testimony that he had been born blind. Their next attempt to extort from the man himself, under the solemn sanction of an oath, a confession that he had been leagued in an imposture with a man whom they knew to be a sinner, was discon-



THE GOOD SHEPHERD.

certed by the answer, "Whether he be a sinner or no, I know not: one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see." As their importunities turned to revilings, he boldly reproved his judges for their unbelief, and, in his simple faith, declared the great principle—"If this man were not of God, he could do nothing." Exasperated at being thus taught by one whom their prejudice regarded as born in sin, they cast him out of the synagogue. But his excommunication only made the man's faith in Christ complete, and called forth from Jesus the sentence upon the Pharisees that *they* were the truly blind, given up to judicial blindness, the more intense because it was wilful:—"If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth."

Upon this follows the parable in which he represents himself as the Good Shepherd, who knows his own sheep, and preserves to life eternal those given to him by his Father, by laying down his own life for them, while the hireling (the type of the Jewish rulers) only thinks of saving his own life by flight. And in speaking of the great voluntary sacrifice he was about to complete, he at once asserted his own divine power, foretold his resurrection, and rebuked the impotence of their murderous malice:—"Therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father." At all this, the division about him among the people became still more vehement, some saying that he had a devil and was mad, others that both his words and deeds disproved the charge.

From these transactions at the Feast of Tabernacles, St. John passes at once over a period of two months, of which more will be said presently, to the *Feast of the Dedication*, in the winter; at which, as Jesus was walking in the portico of the Temple, named after Solomon, he was pressed by the Jews to relieve them from all doubt, and to tell them plainly whether he was the Christ. He replied by reminding them of what he had told them before, and of the works he had done; and, recurring to the parable concerning his sheep, he accounts for their obstinate unbelief because they were none of his, and re-asserts more plainly than ever his equality with the Father. Once more they took up stones, to stone him as a blasphemer; but he vindicated his claims from the Scriptures and from his works; and when they tried to take him, he again escaped, and retired to Bethabara beyond the Jordan, the place where John had baptized. There he remained



MARY HATH CHOSEN THAT GOOD PART.

for some time, and many were lead to believe in him by comparing his miracles with John's predictions. From this place of retirement Jesus was summoned to Bethany by the tidings of the illness of Lazarus; and, after raising him from the dead, our Lord again retired to "a country near the wilderness, to a city called Ephraim," where he remained with his disciples till the approach of his last Passover. Six days before the Passover, he is again at Bethany; and here the narrative of St. John falls in again with the other three Gospels.

Now these brief notices by St. John cover a period of about six months—two from the Feast of Tabernacles to the Feast of Dedication, and four from the latter to the Passover—concerning which St. Matthew and St. Mark are almost silent; but on turning to St. Luke, we find it necessary to place in this interval that large section which contains some of the most striking parables and most impressive discourses recorded in his Gospel. The three Evangelists all notice the departure of Christ from Galilee for Judæa; and the two former then pass on, with only one incident between, to the events which Luke places just before our Lord's final return to Jerusalem, concluding with the healing of the blind men at Jericho, in which we have a concurrence of place as well as time.

The two months between the Feast of Tabernacles and that of the Dedication seem to have been spent partly in Jerusalem and partly in its neighborhood, especially in that happy home at *Bethany*, the house of Lazarus, and his sisters Martha and Mary. Even here there were differences of character; but Christ knew how to use and improve them. The zealous, active Martha, who seems to have been the elder sister, was the first to receive Jesus into the house, where her gentle sister Mary sat at his feet and heard his word. Busied with the cares of hospitality, in which she desired to show such a guest unusual honor, Martha appealed to Jesus to command her sister's help. But he assured her that all her anxiety was superfluous, compared to the *one thing* which alone is needful, and Mary had chosen that good part, which would be hers forever, when all cares about the body should have ceased. Though Martha needed the lesson, as she afterward needed a rebuke to that impatience which often goes with zeal, we must not misunderstand the narrative, as if she were altogether in the wrong. Her zeal was honored in its turn; and she had an equal share with her brother and sister in the Lord's affection.

A. D. 30. The highest proof of this affection was furnished by that which is at the same time the greatest of our Saviour's miracles. Driven, as we have seen, from Jerusalem by renewed plots



CHRIST RAISING LAZARUS.

against his life at the Feast of the Dedication, he retired beyond the Jordan, to the place where John first baptized, and remained there for some time receiving many new disciples. He seems to have been still at Bethabara, when he received tidings of what he knew to be the mortal illness of his beloved friend Lazarus. It would be folly to attempt to relate, in other words, that most pathetic of all the records that human language has ever embodied. Our Lord gave the crowning testimony of his own works to his supreme power over life and death, by restoring life to a body upon which corruption had laid its hold; and he taught the full significance of the miracle by the words; —“I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.”

The miracle was witnessed by many of the Jews, who had come out of Jerusalem to Bethany (the distance being only two miles) to console the bereaved sisters. Even the deep distress of Jesus at his friend's death had given some of them occasion to express their unbelieving cavils; and, while some were convinced by the miracle, others went away to give information to the Pharisees. A council was at once summoned; and the discordant religious views of the different sects were overcome by the common alarm, lest Christ's success should provoke the jealousy of Rome, and bring down destruction on the nation. Caiaphas, the high-priest, the leader of the rulers, took up the argument of political expediency, and proposed that one man should be given up to death as a substitute for the whole people. These words expressed a meaning far deeper than he himself understood; and his suggestion of a sacrifice to save the people from the anger of Cæsar was in fact a prophecy, which the Holy Spirit uttered through him as the head of the nation, of the atonement which the death of Christ should make for the sins of all the world and the common salvation of all God's people. From that hour the death of Jesus was resolved on; and the only hindrance to its accomplishment was God's purpose that the sacrifice should be offered at the Passover. To this end Jesus withdrew to Ephraim in the wilderness, and remained there with his disciples. Thence he seems to have withdrawn beyond the Jordan, perhaps to place himself within Herod's jurisdiction; for he was clearly in Peræa when he commenced that final movement toward Jerusalem, which forms the turning-point in the narrative by St. Luke.

As he proceeded leisurely through Peræa toward Jerusalem, teaching in the villages on the way, he was warned of Herod's designs on

his life. The information was given by the Pharisees, evidently with the view of hastening our Lord's return within their own reach—"Get thee out, and depart hence: for Herod will kill thee"—and his answer involved a keen rebuke of their treacherous affectation of regard for his safety. He bids them go themselves to tell Herod that His time was indeed at hand, but that his course was not to be shortened by the wiles of "that fox." His death was to be accomplished by the open violence of his own countrymen at Jerusalem, where former prophets had been slain, "for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem!" And then, apostrophizing the city, to which his face was now turned, he uttered that exquisitely pathetic lamentation, which he afterward repeated in sight of its walls. His ministry had led him thither at least four times, and this visit was to be his last, the last visit of any prophet; and thenceforth the place which God had chosen for his house would be left desolate, and they should see him no more, till the day when, in a sense yet to be accomplished, they should say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

To this progress through Peræa should probably be referred those most impressive parables and lessons which occupy the 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th chapters of St. Luke, the last few of which, as already observed, bring this Gospel again into connection with those of Matthew and Mark. As bearing upon the course of our Saviour's history, we should especially notice the warning which he gives his disciples, now for the third time, and in greater detail than before, of his passion, death, and resurrection; and his answer to the ambitious request of the sons of Zebedee, which taught that all must suffer with him before they reign with him.

He now crossed the Jordan, and advanced toward Jerusalem by the high road through Jericho. That city was the scene of the healing of two blind men, who saluted Jesus as the Son of David, and of the conversion of the publican Zacchæus. At length, while the Jews, who had already assembled at Jerusalem to purify themselves before the Passover, were wondering whether he would come, and the chief priests and Pharisees had commanded his first appearance to be announced to them, that he might be apprehended, he arrived at Bethany six days before the Passover, that is, on *Friday* the 8th of Nisan, the eve of the Sabbath. The Sabbath was spent at Bethany; and to the evening succeeding it we should probably refer (though the matter has been much disputed) the supper in the house of Simon the leper, at which Martha served, while Lazarus sat at table, and at which Mary anointed Christ in preparation for his burial. His

presence there was soon known at Jerusalem, and many of the Jews went out with the double motive of seeing Jesus, and Lazarus whom he had raised from the dead. The living proof of the miracle converted into believers many who had gone from curiosity. At this the Pharisees were doubly enraged; and, perhaps, history records no example of infatuation equal to their resolve to put Lazarus as well as Jesus to death. This Sabbath was the ninth of Nisan, which in that year corresponded to March 31st of the Julian Calendar. The intervention of the Sabbath delayed the execution of the design till the following week, when Jesus at length "offered himself" publicly in the spirit of the prophecy: "Lo! I come, to do thy will, O God."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE PASSION OF OUR LORD, FROM PALM SUNDAY TO EASTER EVE, APRIL 1ST
TO APRIL 7TH, A. D. 30.

THE great events of the succeeding eight days, including the "Passion Week," and "Easter Day," must be viewed as one connected series; and the Evangelists enable us to trace the incidents of each day. In denoting the days for clearness' sake, by their present names, it must be remembered that the corresponding Jewish days began from sunset on the preceding evening. St. Luke gives us this general description of our Lord's proceedings on the first three days of the week:—"In the A. D. 30. day-time he was teaching in the temple, and at night he went out and abode in the Mount of Olives."

Palm Sunday, the 10th of Nisan (April 1st).—This was the day on which the lamb for the Passover was selected, to be kept up till the time of slaying it. In fulfilment of the type, as himself the Lamb of God, chosen before the foundation of the world but now made manifest, and anticipating the plans of his enemies to seize him, Christ prepared to present himself in the Temple at Jerusalem. But he came to the people also in another character, as the promised son of David, their rightful king and judge. In a most wondrous manner did he unite the assertion of his high claims with the meekness of the victim; while he abstained from giving any just offence to the Roman powers. The prophet Zechariah had both foretold the manner and explained the meaning of this the great advent of the Messiah:—"Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy KING cometh unto thee: He is *just*, and *having salvation*; *lowly*, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass." But there was none of the elaborate preparation which marks a royal entrance. Two disciples, sent forward from Bethany to Bethphage, a village higher up on the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, found an ass tied up to a door at the meeting of two roads, with her colt, on which no man had yet ridden, and they had only to say to the owner, "The Lord hath need of them," to obtain them. Whether the owner was a disciple, or whether his

mind was bowed at the moment to the Lord's will, is not explained. The only trappings of the ass were the coarse garments of the disciples, doubtless travel-stained and worn; and so Jesus mounted the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives with far less of outward pomp than even David when he returned from exile. But he met with a reception apparently as joyful and as worthy of a restored monarch. The multitude who had come to the feast, hearing of his approach, and moved by the crowning miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus, went forth to meet him, bearing in their hands the fronds of the palm-tree, the well-known sign of victory, and spreading their garments beneath his feet. As he began to descend the Mount, in full view of the Temple, all the disciples burst forth into a shout of joy, praising God for all the wondrous works that Christ had done, and the people took up the cry, in the prophetic words of David himself, saying, *Hosanna* to the Son of David, that is, "The Lord preserve the Son of David." They blessed him as the King of Israel, head of the kingdom of their father David, coming in the name of Jehovah, and repeated the welcome with which the angels had heralded his birth. For the moment, the Pharisees thought that all their plots were frustrated, and said to each other, "Perceive ye how we prevail nothing? Behold, the world is gone after him." Some of them took courage to address him in an affected protest against the enthusiasm which endangered all concerned—"Master, rebuke thy disciples!" And he answered, "I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out!"

In all this scene, there is more of the king than of the victim; and this was in truth the first part of its complex character. We know, what was as yet hidden even from the disciples, that the eternal purpose of God for man's redemption demanded Christ's death before his triumph; and we dare not pry into the mystery of any possible alternative. But to the Jewish people the alternative was now distinctly offered, for the last time, between the acceptance and the rejection of their spiritual king, and, even amid their shouts of triumph, the evil choice was made by the malice of the priests and the fickleness of the people. Reverting to the type of the Paschal Lamb; as it was selected from the best of the flock, without spot or blemish, so the people's praises marked out Christ, on this 10th of Nisan, as the faultless Lamb of God. And he well knew the issue; and so, pausing in his triumphal progress as he drew near to the city, he once more bewailed its rejection of the day of grace, and predicted its destruction.



CHRIST WEeping OVER JERUSALEM.

Entering into Jerusalem and the Temple, he still met with the same reception, the people crying, "This is Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee!" and coming to him in the Temple to be healed. What most incensed the chief priests and Scribes was to hear the *children* crying in the Temple, "Hosanna to the Son of David;" and, as before, they asked him to silence them; but he only reminded them of David's words, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise." In the evening he returned to Bethany.

Monday, the 11th of Nisan (April 2d).—Having on the preceding days shown himself in the Temple as King in Zion, amid the acclamations of the people, Jesus now proceeded to the practical exertion of his authority by cleansing the Temple, as he had already done at the commencement of his ministry. There is, however, a striking difference between the two scenes, in the greater severity which he now used. Instead of the command to the dove-sellers, "Take these things hence," he overthrew their seats as well as the tables of the money-changers. While there was a hope of reformation, he had been content with the language of remonstrance, "Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise;" but now that the offenders had resumed a traffic doubtless as dishonest as it was unlawful, he takes up the stern language of the judge, not without a hint that the privileges they abused should be extended to strangers, who would use them better: "It is written, My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer; but ye have made it *a den of thieves*." He continued teaching in the Temple, the chief priests not daring to lay hands on him amid the attentive crowds.

On the same day a striking incident had occurred, on his way from Bethany to Jerusalem in the morning. Eager to "be about his Father's work," and not to disappoint the people who "came early in the morning to hear him in the Temple," he left Bethany before the hour of breakfast, which in the East is late in the morning; and, being hungry, he looked for some figs on one of the trees, which grew among the olives on the Mount, as is indicated by the name of Bethphage (the *House of Figs*). This particular tree seems to have been distinguished by a show of leaves unusual for so early a period of the season, which gave the hope that there might perhaps be fruit among them; but he found none, "for the time of figs was not yet." So he uttered the doom against it, "Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward forever." The sentence took effect at once, and on the following morning the fig-tree was found dead.

This is eminently a case in which the objections of a short-sighted

infidelity carry with them their own refutation ; for even the lowest view of Christ's character, as confessedly among the best of men, is inconsistent with such an explosion of unreasonable anger as cursing a tree for not bearing fruit before its time ; nor could we understand God's hearing such a prayer ! But in truth, he saw in that luxuriant but barren fig-tree a fit *type* of the Jewish people, with the fair outward show of religion that they had preserved since the Captivity, but with no fruit fit for their Lord's use. The figure was the more appropriate in that very point which has been ignorantly converted into an objection. "The time of figs was not yet ;" but neither properly was it the time of leaves. The fruit of the fig-tree is formed before the leaves open ; and when they are fully expanded, ripe fruit ought to be found behind them. So the tree was a fit type of that premature outward show of devotion with which he was even now welcomed by the people, the fruit of whose "Hosannas" would soon be "Crucify him !" and it was on such a deceitful show that his sentence really fell. In any case, let us remember that he was the Lord of the creation ; and this, his only miracle of destruction, furnished a most emphatic warning to the people who had often been described as trees of the Lord's planting, but as often warned that they would be rooted up, if they bare no fruit worthy of repentance.

Tuesday, the 12th of Nisan (April 3d), is memorable as A. D. 30. the last day of our Lord's public teaching ; and the story of it comprises an epitome of his controversies with his enemies, his most solemn lessons to his disciples and the people, and his prophecies and warnings concerning the end of the Mosaic dispensation and of the world itself and his own final coming as the Judge of men.

On the walk from Bethany to Jerusalem, the surprise of the disciples at seeing the fig-tree already dead led our Saviour to inculcate *faith* as the means of working such wonders and of obtaining the answer to prayer, and *mutual forgiveness* as a condition of prayer being heard by God. On his entrance into the Temple, the chief priests and scribes, somewhat recovered from their astonishment of the previous day, demanded the authority by which he had acted. Their object was doubtless to elicit such a declaration of his divine power, as had already more than once exposed him to the danger of being stoned as a blasphemer. Jesus met the question by another, which, while it implied the answer, confounded their scheme. He asked them to tell him, first, whether the baptism of John was from heaven or of man. If they confessed the former, they stood convicted

as unbelievers; but, if they maintained the latter, they themselves would be exposed to the fury of the common people, who all held John to be a prophet. So they were put to silence; and Jesus pointed the moral of the scene by the parable of the *Two Sons and the Vineyard*. Still more striking pictures were given of their guilt in his rejection, and of God's purpose to transfer to others the privileges they had forfeited, by the parables of the *Wicked Husbandmen* and of the *Wedding Garment*.

Some effort must now be made to check the influence of all these discourses on the people; and each party of his enemies tried in turn both to gain a victory over him in argument, and to entrap him out of his own mouth. The first scheme, concerted by the Pharisees with the Herodians, who were friendly to the Roman power, was to convict him of treason to Cæsar. But he pointed to the fact that their money bore the image and superscription of Cæsar as a proof that, by accepting the emperor's protection, they had themselves decided the lawfulness of paying tribute, and he laid down for all such cases the great law, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." So they were put to silence.

The Sadducees made the next attempt, proposing a case which seemed to place the Mosaic law of levirate marriages in conflict with the doctrine of the resurrection, and so tempting Jesus either to join them in denying the doctrine, or to discredit the authority of Moses. After sweeping away the fallacy by declaring the spirituality of the future state, Christ goes on to refute the Sadducean objections to the resurrection out of the Pentateuch itself, which some suppose to have been the only part of the Scriptures that they received. The argument, from the fact of God's declaring himself to Moses as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that "they all live unto God," may seem rather to bear upon the immortality of the soul than the resurrection of the body. But this was the very point of the Sadducean heresy. They acknowledged neither angel nor *disembodied spirit*, and so from their point of view the argument was conclusive.

On learning the discomfiture of their rivals, the Pharisees made a last combined effort for victory. Their own teaching was full of subtle comparisons and minute distinctions between the various commandments of God's law. They might well suppose that they were opening an unbounded field for controversy, and obtaining immense chances of advantage, by proposing the question, "Which is *the great* commandment in the law?" or, as it stands in St. Mark, "Which is the *first commandment of all*?" The reply was at once our Lord's final triumph

over error, and the very central truth of all his doctrine. Heedless of their refinements, he marks that as the first and great commandment which is the sum and root of all the rest, LOVE TO GOD ; created as a principle in the *heart*, imbuing the *soul*—the whole nature of the living man, formed into a sound doctrine by the *mind*, and carried out practically with all his *strength*. It deserves remark, that the *tongue*, which is so often the only instrument of professing love to God, is not here mentioned. To complete the lesson, and to leave no room for perverse distinctions between duties to God and man, our Lord makes the second commandment, “Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,” the necessary result and complement of the first. The lesson was the more impressive and convincing, inasmuch as this double commandment was not, though it might well have been, the Great Teacher’s epitome of the law in his own words, but both its branches were to be found, in so many words, in the law of Moses. So in our Saviour’s private exposition of the same doctrine to his disciples, he taught them that it was no new commandment, though it had a new life, as coming from himself, and as a principle created in their hearts by the Holy Spirit.

This was the last lesson of positive doctrine that our Saviour taught in public. He had begun his ministry by declaring that he came to fulfil the law and the prophets: he closed it by announcing that “Love is the fulfilling of the Law.” Scarcely less interesting than the truth itself is the effect it had on the hearers. The very Scribe who had proposed the question, seeing the harmony of the answer with Scripture, and catching a glimpse of its spiritual meaning which all his learning had never given him before, was the first to confess its truth in words worthy of being adopted as the Christian creed, and with a heartiness which called forth from Jesus the reply, “Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven.” There the sacred story leaves him: but may we not suppose him to be a type of many, who were prepared in heart, at this last hour of Christ’s ministry, for the conversion which passed upon them after his ascension.

Meanwhile our Lord’s reply had finally silenced all the cavillers: “No man after that durst ask him any question.” And now the time was come for him to question them, and to make a last exposure of their destructive system of hypocrisy, as a warning to his disciples and the people. Looking upon the Scribes and Pharisees, who had assembled in the Temple to enjoy their expected triumph, he proposed a question which at once implied his own double claim to the throne of David and of God, and left those who rejected it in either part

without excuse:—How could Christ be at the same time David's Son, and his Lord, seated at the right hand of the throne of God? The only possible answer was that full admission of the spiritual nature of the kingdom of Christ, which would have identified him in all points with Jesus, and rather than confess this, their obstinate silence rejected the last opportunity of offered grace.

Then ensued our Lord's final outpouring of just indignation on the false and profligate teachers who had long led on the people, like the blind leading the blind, to the ruin they were soon to consummate. The woes denounced on the "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," by the voice of God's own Son in his Holy Temple, in the character of a Judge, and as a foretaste of the last judgment, stand in a striking contrast to the blessings uttered on humble disciples from the Mount, just as the crimes that called them down were the very opposite to the virtues there inculcated: saying and not doing,—binding grievous burdens for other men's shoulders, while they would not so much as touch them,—loving all marks of outward honor, even in the house where God only should be honored, and displaying all forms of ostentatious devotion, while their lives were full of rapacity and vice; converting proselytes to the law, only to make them twofold more the children of hell than themselves,—frittering away the most solemn obligations, and at the same time extenuating the greatest crimes, by their false casuistry,—cleansing the outside of cup and dish, which reeked within with abomination that they swallowed as their daily food, "straining out the gnat, and swallowing the camel;"—their hypocrisy could find no fitter image than the whited sepulchres, which they were so fond of garnishing without, while the mass of corruption was still festering within. Ay! and the fact that their chiefest care was bestowed on the sepulchres of those prophets whom their fathers slew, suggested the climax of the denunciation. In their affected care to wash their hands of their fathers' deeds, they confessed themselves the children of those who slew the prophets, and were about to surpass their worst crimes by an act which should bring on them the guilt of all the blood shed under the Old Covenant. At last the utterance of wrath dies away in tones of the greatest pity, as he repeats his lamentation over Jerusalem, and her doom of desolation till his coming.

Our Saviour's praise of the poor widow, who cast two mites—all she had—into the treasury, as having given more than all the sums the rich cast in from their abundance, is the last event of this day in the Temple, according to the first three Evangelists. St. John, who passes over the other incidents of this and the preceding day, relates

the coming of certain Greeks, who were introduced by Philip and Andrew to Jesus, and the declaration of our Lord that the hour was now come for the Son of Man to be glorified, and for the Father's name to be glorified by his death, followed by the approving voice of God from heaven. A brief conversation ensued, after which Jesus departed finally from the Temple, uttering his last words of promise to believers and of warning to those who rejected him; words addressed especially to many of the chief rulers, who believed in secret, but feared to confess him, "for they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God."

But the greatest words of this eventful day were uttered by our Lord to his disciples after he had left Jerusalem. As unconscious of what was passing in his mind as they seem to have been inattentive to his prophecy of its ruin, they had called his attention, as he departed from the Temple, to the magnificence of its buildings; and he had replied that the time was coming when not one stone would be left upon another. The eastern valley was no sooner crossed, than they began to ask him when these things would happen, and what would be the signs of his coming and of the end of the world. The threefold form of this inquiry is an important guide to the momentous discourse which Jesus uttered as he sat upon the slope of Olivet, in full view of the Temple. Here he is seen as the great Prophet of the new dispensation, briefly recounting the warnings long before uttered by Daniel, and yet to be more fully revealed through St. John.

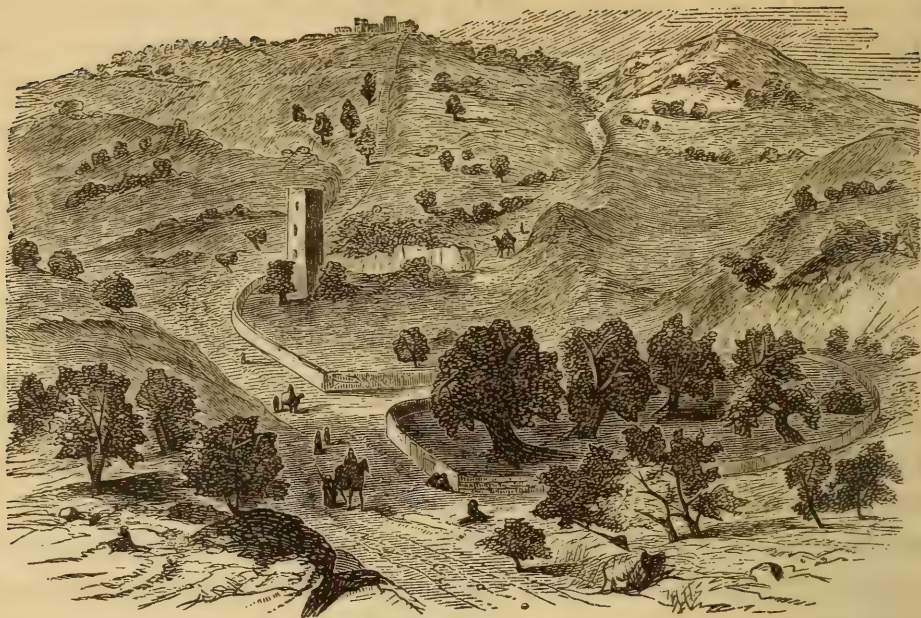
The first part of the discourse describes the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, the destruction of the Temple, and, perhaps, the fearful calamities which attended the final dispersion of the Jews by Hadrian. Equally clear is the reference of the last part, though the point of transition is very difficult to fix, to the scenes preceding and attending the end of the world and the final judgment; and to these a practical application is given by the parables of the faithful and unfaithful Servant, and of the wise and foolish Virgins; while the whole concludes with a plain description of the judgment day.

Meanwhile the rulers and chief priests, with the Scribes and elders of the people, met again at the house of Caiaphas, to consult how they could secure the prey which seemed to have escaped them. The scheme of arresting him in the Temple, or of stirring up either the Roman government or the popular fury, had been foiled by the enthusiasm of the people and of his own prudence and triumph in every argument; and now they still feared that any attempt to appre-

hend him on the feast-day would provoke an insurrection. The only course left was to seize him by treachery in his retirement; and for this an opportunity was unexpectedly offered this very night. Judas Iscariot, whom Jesus had foreknown as the traitor from the first, came to the chief priests, and agreed to place his Master in their hands for the paltry bribe of thirty pieces of silver, the very sum fixed in the law as compensation for the life of a slave. Judas stands alone in sacred history as a man devoted by name, by the voice of the Lord himself, to perdition. How then did he obtain this awful pre-eminence? Simply by love of the world. He is the most marked type of those false disciples who joined Christ in the expectation of an earthly kingdom; and when our Lord's repeated announcements of his sufferings and death showed this to be a vain hope, he prepared to sell himself and his Master to the rulers. He seems to have had that practical talent for business which gains confidence, and was made the treasurer of the little band; and this position became a snare to him. In that character he raised his hypocritical objection to the wastefulness of Mary's act of self-devotion, contemplating the securing the common purse for himself in the approaching end:—"This he said, not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein." The reply of Jesus, implying his knowledge that Judas cared as little for the poor as for him, seems to have set the seal to the traitor's purpose; for Matthew and Mark place his communication to the chief priests immediately after the feast in Bethany. Whether that feast be rightly placed after the Sabbath (on Saturday evening), or on the Tuesday evening, it seems clear from the three Evangelists that the latter was the date of Judas's bargain, two days before the Passover.

Wednesday, the 13th of Nisan (April 4th).—Having, on the previous evening, told his disciples the time of his betrayal, though without naming the traitor, our Lord remained at Bethany till the afternoon of Thursday, and a solemn silence rests over this period of his life. At all events, the lesson is most impressive that, in the very last week of his ministry, after three days of incessant activity, our Lord secured this unbroken interval of holy contemplation, as the fittest preparation for his Passion. The idea, that he may have spent the day in converse with his disciples, seems to be excluded by the silence of St. John, who is so full in his relation of the next day's scenes.

Thursday, the 14th of Nisan (April 5th).—"Then came the day



MOUNT OF OLIVES.

of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed." The exact time appointed in the law for killing the Paschal Lamb was on the 14th of Nisan "between the evenings," or about sunset. As to the exact time, the Rabbis are divided: some interpreting the phrase of the interval between sunset and the end of twilight; others of the interval between the marked decline of the sun toward the horizon and the actual sunset. For many reasons the latter appears to be the correct view; and it seems most probable that the lamb was killed soon after the evening sacrifice (the 9th hour), which, allowing for the time of roasting it, would bring the Paschal Supper to the usual hour of the evening meal, and so within the 14th day. The *Feast of the Passover* itself, in other words the *Feast* or *Days of unleavened bread*, did not properly begin till after sunset and the Paschal meal, so that the 15th of Nisan was the *first day of the Feast*.

But, as all leaven was scrupulously removed about noon on the 14th, in preparation for the feast, it was not unnatural to call this "*the day*," or as Matthew and Mark have it, "*the first day of unleavened bread*." So Josephus, in one place, makes the 14th of Nisan the first day of the feast, which he elsewhere fixes to the 15th; and he assigns *eight* days as its duration. These considerations afford great help in deciding the important question—Was the supper which our Lord ate with his disciples on the Thursday evening the true Paschal Supper, or did the latter fall on the following evening, the same as that of his crucifixion? The truth of the former view could

never have been questioned, had we possessed the first three Gospels only. They expressly call the Supper of the Thursday evening the Passover; and even if St. John does not so call it, no inference can be drawn from his silence, any more than from his not mentioning the institution of the Lord's Supper, considering the supplementary nature of his Gospel.

There are, however, passages in St. John's narrative of our Saviour's Passion, which seem to suggest the inference that the Passover was yet to be eaten on the Friday evening; but all these passages admit of another explanation.* The beautiful idea of making the time

* A general account of the Passover is given in the *Old Testament History*, App pp. 215 foll. It is necessary to repeat here some particulars, in order to show its connection with the last Supper of our Lord.

The manner in which the Paschal feast was kept by the Jews at the time of our Lord differed in many details from that originally prescribed by the rules of Ex. xii. The multitudes that came up to Jerusalem met, as they could find accommodation, family by family, or in groups of friends, with one of their number as the celebrant, or "proclaimer" of the feast. The ceremonies of the feast took place in the following order. (1) The members of the company that were joined for this purpose met in the evening and reclined on couches, this position being now as much a matter of rule as standing had been originally (comp. Matt. xxvi. 20, ἀνέκλιτο; Luke xxii. 14; and John xiii. 23, 25). The head of the household, or celebrant, began by a form of blessing "for the day and for the wine," pronounced over a cup, of which he and the others then drank. The wine was, according to Rabbinic traditions, to be mixed with water; not for any mysterious reason, but because that was regarded as the best way of using the best wine (comp. 2 Macc. xv. 39). (2) All who were present then washed their hands; this also having a special benediction. (3) The table was then set out with the Paschal lamb, unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and the dish known as *Charoseth*, a sauce made of dates, figs, raisins and vinegar, and designed to commemorate the mortar of their bondage in Egypt. (4) The celebrant first, and then the others, dipped a portion of the bitter herbs into the *Charoseth* and ate them. (5) The dishes were then removed, and a cup of wine again brought. Then followed an interval which was allowed theoretically for the questions that might be asked by children or proselytes, who were astonished at such a strange beginning of a feast, and the cup was passed round and drunk at the close of it. (6) The dishes being brought on again, the celebrant repeated the commemorative words which opened what was strictly the Paschal supper, and pronounced a solemn thanksgiving, followed by Ps. cxiii. and cxiv. (7) Then came a second washing of the hands, with a short form of blessing as before, and the celebrant broke one of the two loaves or cakes of unleavened bread, and gave thanks over it. All then took portions of the bread and dipped them, together with the bitter herbs, into the *Charoseth*, and so ate them. (8) After this they ate the flesh of the Paschal lamb, with bread, etc., as they liked; and after another blessing, a third cup, known especially as the "cup of blessing," was handed round. (9) This was succeeded by a fourth cup, and the recital of Ps. cxv.-cxviii., followed by a prayer, and this was accordingly known as the cup of the Hallel, or of the Song.

when "Christ our Passover was slain for us" coincide with the sacrifice of the Paschal Lamb, has influenced many a devout mind; but every such temptation to tamper with historic truth, besides being inadmissible by the laws of evidence, generally involves the retribution of losing some more valuable point. The true view seems to be that our Lord observed this, the greatest sacrifice of the Old Covenant, before he offered the one great sacrifice of the New; and by so doing

(10) There might be, in conclusion, a fifth cup, provided that the "great Hallel" (possibly Ps. cxx.-cxxxvii.) was sung over it.

Comparing the ritual thus gathered from Rabbinic writers with the New Testament, and assuming that it represents substantially the common practice of our Lord's time, and that the meal of which he and his disciples partook was the Passover, we are able to point, though not with absolute certainty, to the points of departure which the old practice presented for the institution of the new. To (1) or (3) or even to (8), we may refer the first words and the first distribution of the cup (Luke xxii. 17, 18); to (4) or (7), the dipping of the sop (ψωμίον) of John xiii. 26; to (7), or to an interval during or after (8) the distribution of the bread (Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24); to (9) or (10) ("after supper," Luke xxii. 20) the thanksgiving, and distribution of the cup, and the hymn with which the whole was ended. It will be noticed that, according to this order of succession, the question whether Judas partook of what, in the language of a later age, would be called the consecrated elements, is most probably to be answered in the negative.

In the preceding account we have assumed that the meal, at which our Lord instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist, was the Paschal supper. But this has been much disputed. If we had nothing to guide us but the three first Gospels, no doubt of the kind could well be raised, though the narratives may not be free from difficulties in themselves. We find them speaking, in accordance with Jewish usage, of the day of the supper as that on which "the Passover must be killed," and as "the first day of unleavened bread" (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7). Each relates that the use of the guest-chamber was secured in the manner usual with those who came from a distance to keep the festival. Each states that "they made ready the Passover," and that, when the evening was come, our Lord, taking the place of the head of the family, sat down with the Twelve. He himself distinctly calls the meal "this Passover" (Luke xxii. 15, 16). After a thanksgiving, he passes round the first cup of wine (Luke xxii. 17), and, when the supper is ended, the usual "cup of blessing" (comp. Luke xxii. 20; 1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 25). A hymn is then sung (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26), which it is reasonable to suppose was the last part of the Hallel.

But on the other hand, if we had no information but that which is to be gathered from St. John's Gospel, we should naturally infer that the evening of the supper was that of the 13th of Nisan, the day preceding that of the Paschal meal. It appears to be spoken of as occurring before the Feast of the Passover (xiii. 1, 2). Some of the disciples suppose that Christ told Judas, while they were at supper, to buy what they "had need of against the feast" (xiii. 29). In the night which follows the supper, the Jews will not enter the Prætorium lest they should be defiled and so not able to "eat the Passover" (xviii. 28). When our Lord is before Pilate, about to be led out to crucifixion, we are told that it was "the

he exactly fulfilled the type. For the Passover was the sign of God's merciful forbearance to his people: their actual deliverance from Egypt, the type of salvation by Christ, took place on the following day. The case has a beautiful analogy to that of the Sabbath. Our Lord rested in the grave on the Jewish Sabbath, before he instituted, by his resurrection, the New Sabbath of holy joy and active benevolence—the Lord's Day. In both cases the "oldness of the letter"

preparation of the Passover" (xix. 14). After the crucifixion, the Jews are solicitous, "because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day, for that Sabbath day was a high day" (xix. 31).

We have to show that the passages in St. John may be fairly interpreted in such a manner as not to interfere with our own conclusion.

1. John xiii. 1, 2. *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς*. The words are of doubtful extent; and we may regard the first verse as incomplete in itself, understanding its purport to be that "Before the Passover, in the prospect of his departure, the Saviour's love was actively called forth toward his followers, and he gave proof of his love to the last."

2. John xiii. 29. It is urged that the things of which they had "need against the feast" might have been the provisions for the Chagigah, perhaps with what else was required for the seven days of unleavened bread. The usual day for sacrificing the Chagigah was the 15th, which was then commencing.

3. John xviii. 28. The Jews refused to enter the Prætorium, lest they should be defiled and so disqualified from eating the Passover. The words may either be taken in a general sense as meaning "that they might go on keeping the Passover," or that *τὸ πάσχα* may be understood specifically to denote the Chagigah.

4. John xix. 14. "The preparation of the Passover" at first sight, would seem as if it must be *the preparation for the Passover* on the 14th. But while there was a regular "preparation" for the Sabbath, there is no mention of any "preparation" for the festivals. It seems to be essentially connected with the Sabbath itself (John xix. 31). The phrase in John xix. 14 may thus be understood as the preparation of the Sabbath which fell in the Passover week. Thus the day of the preparation mentioned in the Gospels might have fallen on the day of holy convocation, the 15th of Nisan.

5. John xix. 31. "That Sabbath day was a high day." Any Sabbath occurring in the Passover week might have been considered "a high day," as deriving an accession of dignity from the festival. But the special dignity of this day may have resulted from its being that on which the Omer was offered, and from which were reckoned the fifty days to Pentecost.

6. The difficulty of supposing that our Lord's apprehension, trial, and crucifixion took place on the day of holy convocation has been strongly urged. But we have better proof than either the Mishna or the Gemara can afford, that the Jews did not hesitate, in the time of the Roman domination, to carry arms and to apprehend a prisoner on a solemn feast-day. We find them at the Feast of Tabernacles, on the "great day of the feast," sending out officers to take our Lord, and rebuking them for not bringing him (John vii. 32-45). St. Peter also was seized during the Passover (Acts xii. 3, 4). And, again, the reason alleged by the rulers for not apprehending Jesus was, not the sanctity of the festival, but

was duly fulfilled, before it was succeeded by "the newness of the spirit." Our Lord first united with the Jews, his brethren after the flesh, in observing the form of the old sacrifice; and then having done with old things, he took the first step in making all things new, by offering himself as the true sacrifice, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." These preliminary difficulties being removed, so as we trust to throw a clearer light on the spirit of this, the most momentous event in the sacred history, we return to the narrative.

As the day advanced, the disciples, well aware of the danger of a return to the city, asked the Master where they should prepare the Passover. He sent Peter and John into the city to a certain man, whom they were to recognize by a sign, and who, at the simple intimation of the Lord's will, showed them a large upper room, furnished and in proper order, where they prepared the feast. Entering the city privately, while the people were similarly engaged in their several households, Jesus sat down with the twelve Apostles to eat the Passover before sunset.

The Evening and Night of Thursday, April 5th: the 14th-15th Nisan.—Following the usual order of the feast, after first assuring the disciples of the ardent desire he had felt to eat with them this his last Passover on earth, and promising its fulfilment in God's Kingdom, he took the first of the four cups of wine mixed with water, which were drunk at the feast, and having given thanks, he bade them divide it among themselves, for that he would not drink wine till the Kingdom of God should come. For this refusal of the cup, which he repeated later in the feast, there seems to have been both a physical and a ceremonial reason. In the same spirit in which he refused the opiate, which was commonly offered before the crucifixion, he would not incur either the danger or the suspicion of his mind being clouded with wine; and he abstained also as the officiating priest, about to lay down his own life in sacrifice.

Even as the cup was passing round, the disciples again raised the old question, which of them should be the greatest in that kingdom of which he had spoken. He decided the controversy by marking the place of the faithful servant as that of the highest honor, according

the fear of an uproar among the multitude which was assembled (Matt. xxvi. 5). In fine, due weight should be given to the antecedent probability that the meal was no other than the regular Passover, and the reasonableness of the contrary view cannot be maintained without some artificial theory, having no foundation either in Scripture or ancient testimony.

to his own example; and promised an ample recompense for their share in his humiliation. Then, rising from the table, before beginning to eat the supper, he at once enforced the lesson, and gave them a proof of his love enduring to the end, by girding himself with a towel and washing their feet, the most humble of all menial services. Viewing it in this light, Peter, with his wonted ardor, refused at first; but, when Jesus told him that this washing was a sign of union to him, he exclaimed, "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." Our Lord's reply taught the distinction between the washing which renews the nature and that which needs daily repetition to cleanse from daily pollution, and he added, "Ye are clean, but not all;" for Judas had been a partaker of the rite.

Resuming his garments, Jesus discoursed further of the example he had now given, and once more hinted at the traitor. For now this bitter sorrow had taken full possession of his mind; and their sitting down again to the feast was followed by the affecting scene of his plainly declaring that the traitor was one of them. In their sorrow and confusion they ask, "Lord, is it I? Is it I?" Judas asks the same question, lest he should seem guilty, but he alone hears the answer, "Thou hast said it." Peter now urges John, who reclined next Jesus at Supper, with his head upon his bosom, to beg the Master to tell them who should be the traitor; and to his request Jesus replies, "He it is to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped it." It seems that John had not time to communicate the answer to the other disciples; for when the sign was followed by the command, given with all the dignity of self-sacrifice, "What thou doest, do quickly," they supposed it only to be some commission given to Judas as the purse-bearer, and they were still, to say the least, in doubt about the traitor. So he went forth to concert his measures with the rulers, under cover of the night, which had now set in.

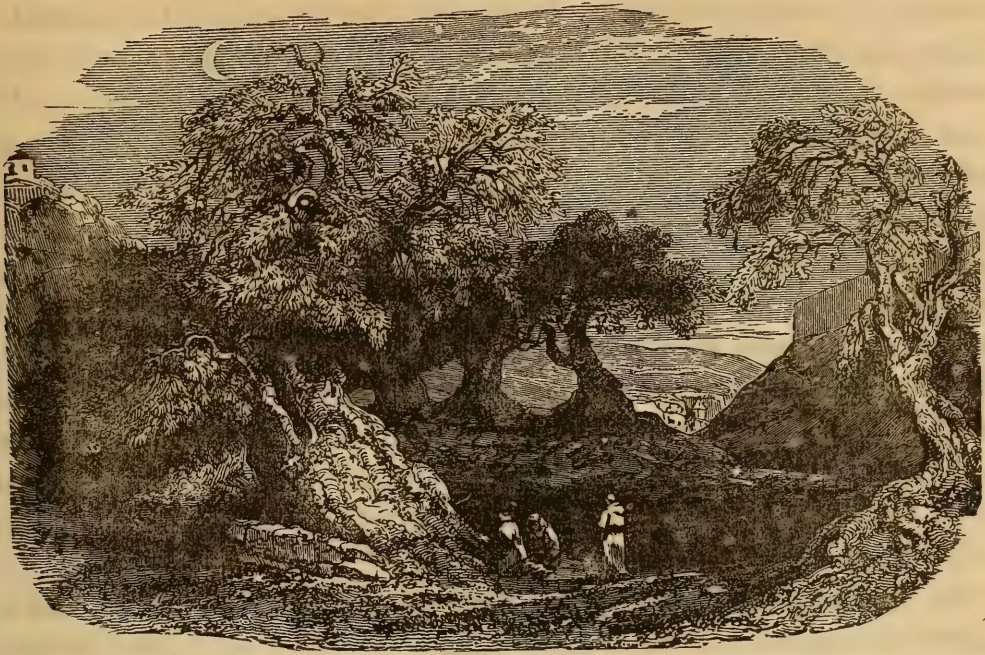
Then Christ announced to those who were left, that the hour was come for the Son of Man to be glorified, and for God to be glorified in him; that he was going before them on a path by which they should soon follow him, but that they were not yet ready; and meanwhile he gave them the new commandment, that they should love one another. The impatient zeal of Peter rebelled at the thought of not following his Master now; and his self-deceiving readiness to lay down his life for Christ's sake was rebuked by the prediction, that he would deny him thrice on that very night before the crowing of the cock; while the other disciples, who might be beginning to think themselves above the weakness of Peter as well as the treachery of

Judas, were warned that they too would abandon him that night and be scattered abroad ; but he appointed to meet them in Galilee after his resurrection.

Either just before or just after this scene, as the supper was drawing to an end, Christ took a loaf of the unleavened bread, and having given thanks, he broke it and gave it them to eat, as the emblem of his body, broken for men. Then, the supper being ended, he took a cup, the *third* of those usually partaken of, and divided it in like manner among them, as the pledge of the New Covenant in his blood, shed for the remission of sins. Thus he instituted the LORD'S SUPPER, to be observed to all future time, in remembrance of him.

Between the end of the meal and the hymns of praise which followed it, there was an interval of most solemn and delightful converse, in which the disciples, bowed down with sorrow at what they had heard, were assured that he would not leave them comfortless, though hated and persecuted by the world, but he would come again to take them to the mansions he now went to prepare for them ; and that meanwhile they would be divinely comforted, enlightened, and inspired for their work by the *Paraclete*, the Holy Spirit of truth. Those exquisite chapters of St. John which contain this discourse conclude with that most solemn and affecting of all the utterances of human language, our Lord's intercessory prayer in presence of his disciples. The momentous scenes transacted in that upper chamber ended with the singing of a hymn, probably the "Great Hallel" (Psalm cxv.—cxviii.), which concluded the ceremony, and then they went out together to the first scene of suffering on the Mount of Olives.

Going down into the ravine which divides Jerusalem from the Mount, they crossed the brook Kedron, and entered the Garden of Gethsemane (the *Oil Press*). A part of the garden still exists between the brook and the foot of the Mount, marked by a few olive-trees, which are old enough to have grown there since our Saviour's time. Here Jesus took apart the same three disciples, Peter, James, and John, who had seen his glory on the Mount of Transfiguration, to be near him during that last agony of temptation, which darkened his soul and convulsed his frame. Leaving them with the charge to watch, for he knew that the traitor was approaching, he retired about a stone's-throw farther, to pray, while his spirit was overwhelmed with terror as he contemplated the sins of mankind that were now laid upon him. His human nature shrank from the burden, which his will to save mankind still resolved to bear. In agonizing prayer



GETHSEMANE.

to his Father, he contemplates for a moment some possible alternative:—"Abba! Father! all things are possible unto thee!"—in the resources of divine omnipotence there might be some other method of saving man—"If it be possible, if thou be willing, take away this cup from me"—in which the torture of the scourge and the cross was the least bitter ingredient; but he leaves all to his Father's will; "nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done!" In no scene of our Lord's life do we behold more clearly the union of his perfect humanity with his divinity. If, at the first view, the former element seems the more conspicuous, we must remember that this was the very crisis of his humiliation, in which, laying aside his divine attributes, "he humbled himself and became obedient to death," bowing down before the Father, as the representative of sinful man. But the very power to do this, the close communion with his Father concerning his will and counsels, and the perfect triumph of resignation over all human weakness, are proofs of his true deity. Encouraged by his example, and strengthened by his Holy Spirit, many a follower of Christ has drunk the cup of suffering and self-denial because it was God's will; but for them that cup has never been mixed with the bitterness of God's wrath. In this fearful conflict Jesus was not left alone. As in his first great temptation, an angel from heaven strengthened him. But his last earthly comfort failed; for, when he came to his disciples, he found them sleeping! The well-deserved

rebuke, directed especially to Peter, who had boasted of his power to follow his Master even to death—"What, could ye not watch with me one hour? Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation!"—is softened by the compassionate excuse, "The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak!" A second and third time he departs to reiterate the same prayer; and returns to find them sunk in sleep so profound that they knew not what to answer him. But the third time he rouses them by announcing the danger against which they should have watched, and says, with an irony which lets them know that the opportunity was now past for rendering the last service he had asked of them:—"Sleep on now, and take your rest: it is enough, the hour is come; behold, the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners!" And now that they are fully awake, he adds, "Rise up, let us go; lo, he that betrayeth me is at hand."

At the same moment, torches were seen among the trees, and a multitude appeared, consisting of officers of the Temple, and others, hastily armed with swords and staves, sent by the chief priests under the guidance of the traitor Judas; for he well knew the garden, where he had spent many an hour with Jesus. The Lord gave himself into their hands in such a manner as to prove how entirely the surrender was his own act. Twice they recoiled from his presence and fell to the ground, before Judas took courage to give the signal to seize him, by the traitor's kiss. At the sight of the officers binding his Master, Peter drew his sword, one of the only two that the disciples had, and struck off the right ear of one of the high priest's servants. Christ rebuked his untimely zeal, in obtruding such puny help upon him who could have commanded the heavenly hosts, and provoking violence from the captors; at the same time healing the servant's ear. Then, turning to the officers, he remonstrated against their show of force as if he were a thief, when they might have taken him any day as he was teaching in the Temple. To both parties he explained that this hour of triumph was granted to them and to the powers of darkness, in order that the Scriptures might be fulfilled.

The disciples were afraid to share or even watch his fate, as he had foretold. "They all forsook him, and fled." The concern of Peter to make good his boast, and the love of John, induced them alone of all the rest to follow at a safe distance. There was indeed one young man, an attendant, it seems, on Jesus or one of the Apostles, who ventured to follow Christ; but, when he was seized by his only garment, he fled, leaving it in the captor's hand. The particular mention of this incident by Mark only, has given rise to the conjecture that it refers to himself.

The divine prisoner was lead first to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of the high-priest, Caiaphas ; perhaps to avoid committing the rulers publicly, till it was decided whether they would risk a public trial. But there seems now to have been no wish to draw back ; and Annas sent him bound to Caiaphas, who had already openly advised his death.

Peter and John still followed at a distance ; but John, having some acquaintance with the high-priest, not only ventured himself into the palace, but spoke to the female servant at the door, who let in Peter. To understand what ensued, the structure of an oriental house should be remembered. The gate gives entrance to an open court-yard, and it was in the middle of this court that the servants and officers made a fire to keep off the chilliness of a spring night. Jesus was led into one of the chambers opening into the court, whence he could see what passed round the fire. Where John was we are not told ; but it seems that, being known to the servants, he was left unmolested, and so became an eye-witness of what followed to the very end ; and hence the vast importance which is assigned to his testimony.

Peter, with characteristic rashness, ventured into the circle round the fire, which was soon joined by the damsel who had given him admittance. She looked at Peter, and recognized him as the disciple of Jesus ; but he rudely denied it. Alarmed and conscience-stricken, he retired to the porch, just in time to hear the first warning note of cock-crow. Soon after, another maid pointed him out to the by-standers, saying, "He was also with Jesus of Nazareth ;" and Peter's fears only led him to a more resolute denial. About an hour later, the evidence against him was completed by a kinsman of Malchus, the servant whose ear he had cut off. This man declared that he had seen him in the garden. Peter's continued denials only furnished fresh proofs to the by-standers by means of his Galilean dialect ; and, thus convicted, he added oaths and curses to the protestation, "I know not the man." At that moment the cock crew again ; Jesus turned and looked on Peter from the room where he was waiting in bonds ; and Peter went out and wept bitterly.

Such was the end of Peter's readiness to lay down his life for his Master's sake. More than thirty years later, he was permitted to follow, as Christ had promised him, in the path of martyrdom ; but now Jesus had to tread that path alone, as his sacrifice alone could atone for sin. His demeanor throughout his trials, first before the Sanhedrim, and then before Pilate, is to be viewed in a threefold aspect—as a man falsely accused, as a religious teacher called to de-

fend the truth of his doctrine, and as the Son of God, arraigned in his humiliation before those who would in the last day stand at his judgment seat. He knew how the trial would end, nay, how it must end, in order that the very purpose of his mission might not fail; but, while he scorns, in dignified silence, to urge the illegality of the procedure and the weakness of the evidence, before judges who had prejudged the case, neither does he utter a word of unseemly bravado or provocation. "In his humiliation, his judgment was taken away, yet he opened not his mouth."

The first interrogation seems to have been made by the high-priest just after Peter's first denial, preparatory to the meeting of the Sanhedrim at dawn. "The high-priest asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine." The former question may have been designed to ascertain, before summoning the Sanhedrim, how far the new leaven had spread among its members; but Jesus betrayed no man. To the other question he only replied by appealing to the evidence of those who had been his hearers, and upon this an officer struck him for contempt of the high-priest. Caiaphas seems then to have retired to summon the Sanhedrim; and Peter's second and third denials occurred in the mean time.

A. D. 30. GOOD FRIDAY, still *the 15th of Nisan (April 6th)*.—At dawn of day the council met, and Jesus was arraigned before them. Their first object was to condemn him as a false prophet and blasphemer, crimes punishable by the Mosaic law with death. We shall presently see how they proposed to execute the sentence. The law required the testimony of two witnesses; and several witnesses were suborned, while others seem to have come forward willingly to court the powers that were in the ascendant; but their testimony was too evidently false to be admitted. When at last two were found to swear to the same point, and to pervert the words he had used about the destruction and resurrection of the temple of his body, into a threat that he would destroy the Temple, they were still at variance with one another.

To all this evidence Jesus made no reply, as indeed none was necessary; till the high-priest reproached him for his silence, and adjured him by the living God to say whether he was the Christ, the Son of God. He might have been the Messiah, and yet not have claimed the divinity implied in the latter title. But he plainly said I AM, and warned them of the time when they should see him sitting in his power at the right hand of God, and coming in the clouds of heaven. This was enough. Rending his clothes—the wonted sign of distress

and horror—the high-priest appealed to the council, who at once condemned Jesus for blasphemy, while the officers covered his face, spat on him, and buffeted him with blows, mocking his prophetic powers by asking him to tell who struck him, and adding many other blasphemies.

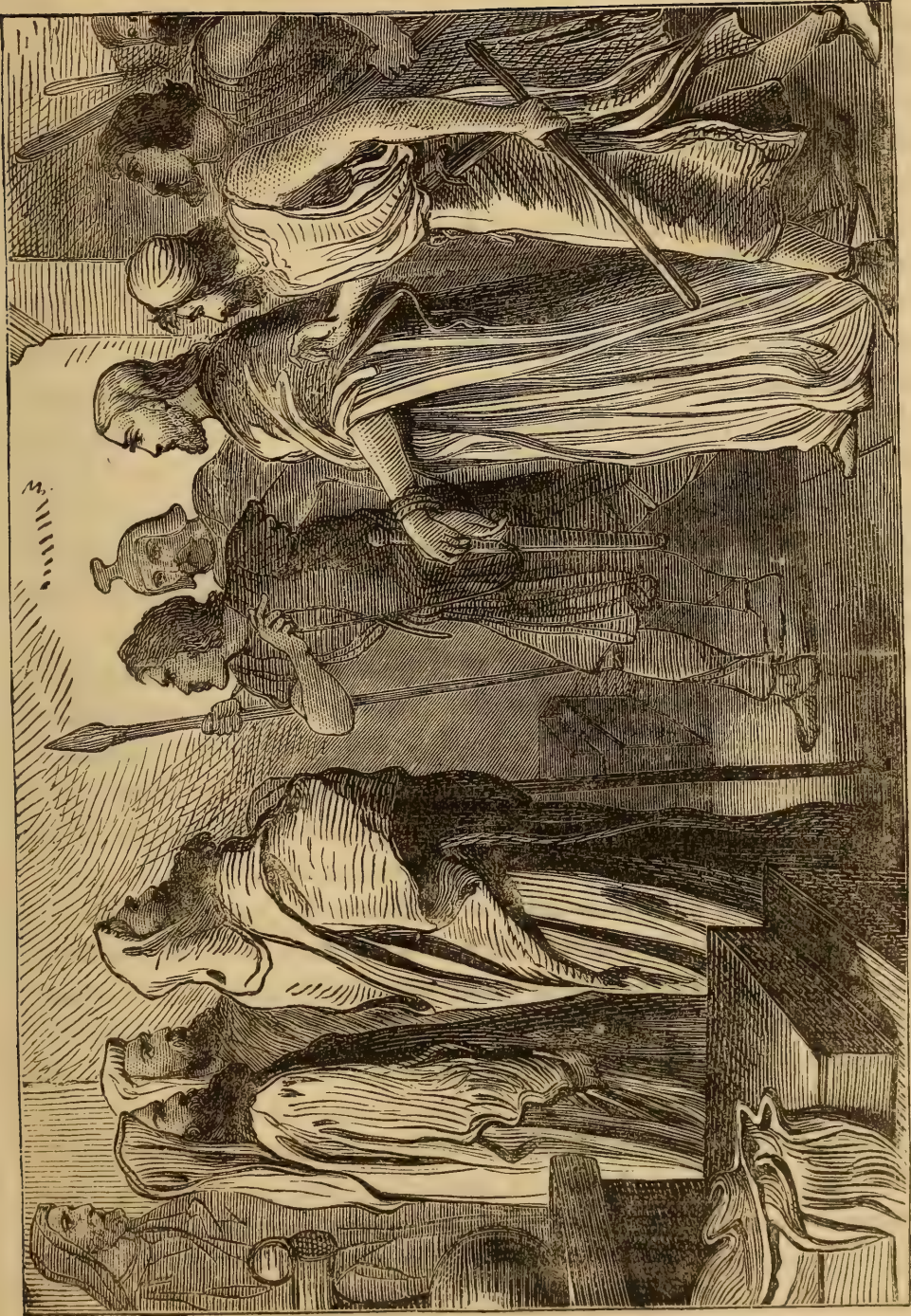
The next step, according to the law of Moses, would have been to have led him without the city and stoned him to death. But the subjection of the Jews to Rome had deprived even their highest court of the power of life and death; and, instead of venturing to offend the procurator, they needed all his support, in case of a rising of the people. So they took a course which secured the fulfilment of Christ's own sayings respecting the manner of his death. It became the act of Pilate, with the approval of Herod; thus uniting with the ecclesiastical rulers of the Jews their own civil authority and the supreme power of Rome—a concurrence of the representatives of all the world—and securing the infliction of that form of death, the most ignominious as well as painful, which could best mark God's wrath against sin, and which, as especially the punishment of a slave, showed the Saviour descending to the lowest depths of humiliation, as a proof that he would save the most degraded.

They led him to the *Prætorium*, where the Roman procurator, PONTIUS PILATE, had just taken his seat early in the morning; but, as they could not enter a court inaugurated by heathen sacrifices without incurring a pollution that would have prevented their keeping the feast, Pilate came out to ask them the charge on which they delivered up the prisoner. They only replied that he was a malefactor; and Pilate gave them leave to deal with him according to their law. But they declined the responsibility, and charged him with the political offence of forbidding the people to pay tribute to Cæsar (the very trap into which they had vainly tried to draw him), and making himself a king, a claim which they alone had desired him to make in a form hostile to the emperor. Armed with this definite charge, and of course knowing nothing of a spiritual kingdom, Pilate went back to the *Prætorium* and began his examination by asking, "Art thou King of the Jews?" Jesus replied that his kingdom was not of this world, as the peaceful conduct of his disciples proved; and, when further pressed with the question, "Art thou a king then?"—he explained his kingdom to consist in bearing witness to the truth, and claimed the allegiance of every one who was himself true. To this appeal, Pilate made the often quoted rejoinder, "What is truth?"—a question, perhaps, expressing the contempt of

a Roman for speculation on moral subjects, but not uttered in the "jesting" spirit ascribed to it by Bacon. It is true that he "stayed not for a reply," and he left the Prætorium, to tell the Jews that he found no fault in the accused. He seems to have brought Jesus out with the intention of dismissing him; but the priests and elders began to upbraid him with new charges, declaring that he had stirred up all the people from Galilee to Jerusalem, to which he made no reply.

Catching at the mention of Galilee as the chief scene of his seditious teaching, Pilate resolved to send him to Herod Antipas, who had come up to Jerusalem to the Passover—a practice by which he was accustomed to conciliate the Jews. Herod rejoiced at obtaining the interview which he had long sought in vain, and put many questions to Jesus, in the hope of his working some miracle. Provoked, however, at receiving no answer, and seeing the vehemence of Christ's accusers, Herod with his soldiers made a mockery of his regal claims, and sent him back to Pilate arrayed in the imperial purple. The occasion was seized for a reconciliation between the king and the procurator, who had been long at variance, and the words of David were fulfilled, "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers took counsel together, against the Lord and against his anointed."

Finding himself compelled to decide the case, Pilate tried an appeal to the generous feelings of the people. It was a customary act of grace, in honor of the Passover, for the Roman governor to release some prisoner, whom the people chose. Knowing that the charge against Jesus sprang from the envy of the priests, and that the people had shown such enthusiasm for Christ, he proposed to release him whom they had so lately hailed as their King. But the plan was defeated by a cunning manœuvre of the priests. There was another prisoner, named BARABBAS, a murderer and robber, and the leader of one of those insurrections against the Roman government, which were frequent during the later days of Judæa. The feelings of the people were easily inflamed on behalf of this patriot brigand; and they probably saw by this time that Jesus was not about to fulfil their hopes of a miraculous restoration of David's kingdom. Pilate awaited their decision with an anxiety the more intense, because while sitting on the tribunal he received a warning message from his wife, who had just awakened from a harassing dream about the "just man." He repeated the question, "Which of the two shall I release to you?" and they replied, "Not this man, but Barabbas!" Again he tried to bring them to reason, and to revive their interest in



CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.

Christ, by asking, "What will ye then that I shall do to him *whom ye call the King of the Jews?*" The answer was ready; "*Crucify him.*" Still Pilate made a third appeal—"Why, what evil hath he done?" and, again declaring that he found no fault in him, he proposed the strange compromise, to scourge him and let him go! But by this time the people, always ready for sedition, and continually prompted by the priests, were roused by the show of opposition to one of those tumults which were sure to bring disgrace on a Roman governor. The loud cries of "*Crucify him!*" prevailed over reason and conscience; and Pilate released Barabbas, and yielded up Jesus to their will.

But first a ceremony was enacted between the governor and the Jews, vain on his part, but of awful significance on theirs! Pilate washed his hands before the people, protesting, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person: see ye to it;" and they accepted the tremendous responsibility:—"His blood be on us and on our children." That responsibility they were afterward as eager to disclaim; but the curse of his innocent blood still works upon their scattered race, only to be expiated when their faith "brings this man's blood upon them" as an atonement.

Jesus was now handed over to the Roman soldiers, whose brutality was inflamed with contempt for the peasant king of the despised Jews. To the torture of the scourging which preceded crucifixion were added the mockery of the crown of thorns, the purple robe, and the reed for a sceptre, while the soldiers mingled their parody of the forms of homage with blows and spitting in his face.

The scene seems to have suggested to Pilate one more effort to save Jesus, in which, if unsuccessful, he would at least indulge his levity by an insult to the Jews. As a proof that he believed him innocent, he brought him out and showed him invested with the insignia of royalty! But the insult excited rage and not compassion, and the cry was again, "*Crucify him!*" "Take ye him and crucify him; for I find no fault in him," rejoined Pilate, knowing that they dared not take him at his word; while they cried that he deserved death according to their law, because he made himself the Son of God.

Pilate's reluctance had for some time shown a mixture of superstitious fear, which these words raised to the highest pitch. Leading Jesus back into the hall, he asked him, "Whence art thou?" but he received no answer. When he urged the question by speaking of his power to crucify or to release him, Jesus told him that he could have no power at all over him unless it were given him from above, and

with divine authority pronounced the guilt of his betrayers the greater. Pilate was now determined, if possible, to release him ; but the Jews knew how to work upon a fear more present to him than that of the last judgment :—" If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend." The dread of being denounced to Tiberius for acquitting an usurper was decisive to his weak and selfish spirit. Leaving the Prætorium, and planting the *Bema* or judgment-seat in the open place called *Gabbatha* (the *pavement*), in full view of the Temple and the people, Pilate passed sentence on him whom he had so often declared innocent, and of whose right to be his judge he was not unaware. Still venting the reproaches of his conscience in insults on his instigators, he again said to the Jews, " Behold your King ! " " Away with him ! crucify him ! " was still the answer. And when he asked, " Shall I crucify your *King* ? "—the chief priests, in their rage, abjured the independence which was the strongest passion of a Jew, " We have no king but Cæsar."

The providence of God took them at their word, when their last efforts for freedom ended in their dispersion over all the world. No less signal was the retribution which befell the other actors in this greatest crime of the world's history. The unjust judge, whose reluctance was the measure of his conscious guilt, soon incurred the very displeasure the fear of which urged him to the crime, and, like Judas, put an end to his own life. There was no delay in the fate of the arch-traitor himself. Remorse seized him as soon as he saw that Jesus was condemned, an end which he had probably expected to see averted by the people or the governor, so that he might have enjoyed the reward of his treason, without its involving his Master's death. He now carried back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests, and confessed his sin, hoping, perhaps, that good might yet be done by this assertion of Christ's innocence. Their only answer was to throw the responsibility upon him ; and, casting down the money on the pavement of the Temple, he went and hanged himself. His death was made more horrible to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem by the circumstance recorded by St. Luke in the Acts ; but most awful of all is the sentence which was more than once pronounced upon him by the Lord, and with which Peter dismisses his name from the Apostles' list, " from which Judas by transgression fell, that *he might go to his own place.*" With a scrupulousness which is the most striking example of religious formalism glossing over moral deformity, the chief priests decided that the thirty silver pieces, as the price of blood, must not be put back into the treasury, so they pur-

chased with them the potter's field without the city, as a burial place for strangers, thereby fulfilling to the very letter a prophecy of Zechariah. It seems to be implied in the narrative that the field thus purchased was also the place where Judas committed suicide, and the double memorial of the scene and the price of blood was preserved by its name, *Aceldama* (*the field of blood*).

A. D. 30. That great sacrifice was meanwhile accomplished, which no uninspired pen would dare to relate, were it not necessary to gather up in one view, and in some points to explain, the several statements of the Evangelists. The points that require notice are, the *manner* and *place* and *time* of the execution, the *incidents* that marked it, and the *sayings* which our Saviour uttered from the cross. It was a Roman execution, conducted in the usual forms of crucifixion, but with some important variations. The scourging had already been inflicted, and Jesus was now clothed by the soldiers with his own garments, of which more presently, in place of the purple robe of mock royalty, and was led forth from the city to the place of public execution. This was necessarily without the city, but it was evidently near to one of the gates, and beside a public road. Such is the sum of our knowledge, and there is no mention of its being on a hill. Its Hebrew name, GOLGOTHA (*the place of a skull*), is interpreted by all four Evangelists by the equivalent Greek word *κρανιον*, which is duly rendered in the Vulgate, in each case, *calvaria*; but, with that capricious variety which is one of its chief blots, our Version gives us only in St. Luke the word *Calvary*, which has so long been the key-note of the most sacred associations of thought and feeling.

One ignominious feature of crucifixion, the criminal's carrying his own cross to the place of execution, was not omitted in the case of Jesus, as we learn from St. John; but the other three Evangelists state that the soldiers laid the burden upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, who happened to be coming into Jerusalem from the country. The obvious reconciliation is that so often presented to the eye by great painters, that our Saviour, exhausted by his previous agony, sunk beneath the weight, which no one else would defile himself by lifting. The enforced service seems to have brought upon Simon the blessing pronounced by Christ on those who, in a spiritual sense, take up the cross and follow him; for St. Mark speaks of Simon and his sons, Alexander and Rufus, as persons well known in the Church. The procession was followed by a multitude, among whom were many women lamenting him; but he bade them weep not for him, but for

the fearful troubles that were coming on the land. That no circumstance of disgrace might be wanting to bring the substitute for sinners down to the lowest level of those for whom he died, two common and probably atrocious criminals were led with him to death, as the prophet had foretold.

Arrived at the place of execution, the condemned were stripped and fastened to the cross, which was usually of the form familiar to us under the name of the Roman cross; but not nearly so high as is commonly represented. The feet of the sufferer were only a foot or two above the ground—a fact of some weight, as showing that Jesus suffered in the midst of his persecutors, and not looking down from above their heads. The body was either nailed or bound by cords to the cross, or in both ways. Our Lord was nailed, both by the hands and feet, as the prophets had foretold; a method more exquisitely painful at first, though tending to shorten the torture. When the cross was already standing, the sufferer was raised up and affixed to it; but otherwise, as in our Saviour's case, he was fastened to it as it lay upon the ground, and the shock when it was dropped into the hole or socket must have been terrible. To deaden the sense of these tortures, a soporific was usually administered; but our Lord refused the mixture of wine and myrrh thus offered him, probably for a reason already noticed. He still observed the meek silence which Isaiah had foretold, till all the horrid details were accomplished, and he hung upon the cross between the two malefactors, on his right and on his left; being thus emphatically “numbered with the transgressors.” It was then that he uttered the first of the seven sayings, which have ever been revered as his dying words, a prayer for his murderers—“*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*”

St. Mark gives us the *time* of our Saviour's crucifixion, the *third hour* (or 9 o'clock A. M.), the very time when the morning sacrifice was offered. All the three first Evangelists agree in placing his death at the 9th hour, which was the time of the evening sacrifice; the whole space of six hours being divided at noon by the beginning of the miraculous darkness. The apparent discrepancy with the statement of St. John, that it was about the *sixth hour* when Pilate condemned him, is explained by supposing that St. John's reckoning is from midnight, and that the intervening time (6–9 A. M.) was occupied in preparations.

The execution was carried out, and the cross watched, by a guard of four soldiers, with a centurion; and the garments of the sufferers were their perquisite. Four parts being made, there remained the

upper robe, woven throughout without a seam, the type of Christ's perfect righteousness, and the source of healing to many who had touched it. As it would have been spoiled by dividing it, the soldiers decided to cast lots for it, thus fulfilling another prophecy: "They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots."

The custom of writing up the culprit's crime on a scroll above his head gave Pilate another opportunity of mortifying the Jews, while bearing unconscious witness to the truth. To avoid all ambiguity, he wrote the title in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a fact which forbids our explaining the various readings of the Evangelists by translation, and leaves this a decisive proof that their inspiration did not preclude varieties of expression, even in quoting important documents. They give it in the following forms:

"THIS IS JESUS, THE KING OF THE JEWS" (Matthew).

"THE KING OF THE JEWS" (Mark).

"THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS" (Luke).

"JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS" (John).

That the last was the exact form may be safely inferred from St. John's presence at the cross, where the words were before his eyes for all that memorable six hours, and from his care to specify the languages in which it was written. And who but a slave to the letter on the one hand, or a sceptic predetermined to wrest every difference into a contradiction on the other, would for a moment doubt that the other three Evangelists, intent only on recording the real point of the inscription, were content to give its general sense—"THE KING OF THE JEWS?" Pilate's shaft did not miss his mark. The chief priests wished him to amend the description thus: "*He said*, I am King of the Jews;" but he silenced them with the answer, "What I have written I have written."

For the first three hours (9-12 A. M.), Jesus hung upon the cross, exposed to all the insults of the rulers, and of the rabble whose cries had changed with his change of fortune. Some stood to enjoy the sight; while others, passing in and out of the neighboring city-gate, wagged their heads, and taunted him with the very prophecy which was being fulfilled—the destruction of the temple of his body, that it might be raised again in three days. A strong temptation was added to these taunts. He was challenged to prove his divine power and kingdom by coming down from the cross: nay, even the chief priests offered to believe him on that sign, though they disbelieved the still higher proof given by his resurrection. Of the very culprits who

hung beside him, one joined in the railing, and dared to demand their deliverance and his as a proof that he was the Christ. But the other reproved his comrade's madness, confessing the justice of their sentence, and bearing witness to Christ's innocence, and then turned to him with the prayer, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." Jesus opened his lips for the second time with these words, which at once assure the penitent sinner that "He is able to save even to the uttermost," and the dying believer that to be "absent from the body" is to be "present with the Lord" in immediate bliss:—"Verily I say unto thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." Thus did Jesus, even on the cross, anticipate, in the case of these two types of sinners, the sentence he will pass on those who stand on the right and on the left hand of his judgment-seat.

Having thus forgiven his persecutors, and blessed the penitent sinner, our Lord spoke for the third time, in tender care of those dear to him on earth. Three women, with the beloved disciple, had dared to stay by his cross. They were "the three Marys;" his mother; her sister, the wife of Clopas; and Mary of Magdala. With filial love, even in that hour of agony, he bade his mother behold a son in the beloved disciple, and that disciple to look upon her as his mother; and henceforward Mary found a home with John.

It was now noon, but such a noon as had never been seen in Judæa. The position of the Paschal full moon precluded the possibility of a solar eclipse; and yet a supernatural darkness rested upon all the land, from the 6th hour to the 9th hour, as if to veil the last agonies of the Redeemer from the eyes of men. But far deeper than that darkness was the gloom that weighed upon the Saviour's soul, as he bore the whole burden of the divine wrath for the sins of all men. To that awful mystery our only guide is in the words, with which at the ninth hour he broke the solemn silence, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" words already used prophetically by David in the great Psalm which describes the Messiah's sufferings—words which never since have been, nor ever will be again, wrung from any human being, except through sinful despondency or final impenitent despair; for he endured his father's desertion that we might never have to bear it. Their sense was lost upon the bystanders, who, remembering the connection of the promised Elijah with Christ, caught at the sound of the word "Eli" (*My God*) as a call for the prophet. At this moment the sufferer's mortal frame endured its last agony of intense thirst, and, to fulfil one more prophecy, he exclaimed, "I thirst." One of the by-standers filled a sponge from a vessel stand-

ing near, with the mixture of acid wine and water which was the common drink of the Roman soldiers, and lifting it on a stalk of hysop, put it to his mouth, while the rest said, "Let us see if Elijah will come to help him." Though offered in derision, it was doubtless refreshing to his sinking frame.

And now all that man could inflict had been endured ; all that the Son of God could do and bear for man had been done and suffered. The end of his agony and the completion of his redeeming work are both announced by the loud cry, "IT IS FINISHED ;" the soul which had animated his mortal body is yielded back to God with those words of perfect resignation, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and, bowing his head upon his breast, he expired.

Separate as the divine sufferer was from all other men in the nature and purpose of his sacrificial death, the spirit with which, as a man, he yielded up his life is none the less a model for his disciples. His prayer for the forgiveness of his murderers, and his resignation of his spirit to God, were repeated, almost in the same words, by the first Christian martyr, Stephen ; and it has ever been the great desire of his followers to die, as he died, in charity with man, in affection to their kindred, and in resignation to God's will. Like him, too, they put off the body of sin and death forever, and cease from their works as he did from his ; in the firm belief that, if we be dead with Christ, we shall also live with him.

His death was followed by portents not to be overlooked by any of the multitudes assembled at Jerusalem, and forming irrefragable evidence for all future time. The priest, who entered the Holy Place at this very hour, with the blood of the evening sacrifice, saw the veil rent in twain from the top to the bottom. That veil was the special, as the Temple itself was a more general, symbol of Christ's body, the visible covering which enshrined the abode of deity ; and the one was rent, and the other broken, to show that "a new and living way was consecrated for us to enter into the Holiest of all, by the blood of Jesus, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh." The rocks which surrounded Jerusalem were rent with a great earthquake, and the graves were opened, to show that his death was the beginning of new life ; and many of the saints, those perhaps who had lately died in the faith of his speedy coming, rose and were seen by many in the city after his resurrection. Even such wonders were not enough to break down the stubborn spirit of the Jews ; they had to wait for the stronger influences of the Holy Spirit ; and, at the most, they departed with deep feelings of wondering grief. But the Roman centurion saw

enough in the manner of Christ's death, and in his expiring words, to make him glorify God by the confession, "Truly this was a just man ! Truly this was the Son of God !" The most attached of his friends, including the devoted women who followed him from Galilee, only ventured to view the scene from a distance.

The day was now drawing to a close, and at sunset the Sabbath would begin. "That Sabbath day was a high day ;" especially as being the *second day* of the feast of unleavened bread, when the first-fruits of the harvest were offered in the Temple, and whence the fifty days were reckoned to the Day of Pentecost. For that Sabbath this day itself was the "preparation." This statement, twice made by St. John, has caused much debate ; but it seems to refer simply to the custom of preparing for any sacred festival on the previous day. On this "preparation day " especially, they would put away all pollutions and signs of mourning that might mar the coming feast. So, though they had not scrupled to enact on it a deed which would have profaned any day, they could not endure its defilement by the consequences of their judicial murder. Pilate readily granted their request, that the sufferings of the crucified might be ended by breaking their legs (for to dispatch them with the sword was deemed too honorable), and that they might be buried. This was done to the two malefactors ; but as Christ was found to be dead already, his limbs were left unbroken. To make sure, however, of his death, one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear ; and blood and water were seen to flow mingled from the wound. Thus was fulfilled both the prophetic ordinance of the true Paschal Lamb, "A bone of him shall not be broken," and that other prophecy, "They shall look on him whom they pierced."

Most justly does St. John lay the utmost stress on the truth of his testimony, as an eye-witness, to this incident, not only for the spiritual sense which he afterward gave it, but as the very turning-point on which the credibility of the Gospel rests. It established beyond a doubt the reality of Christ's death, without full proof of which the evidence of his resurrection would always have been questionable. And the matter was put beyond all dispute by the care of Pilate to ascertain from the centurion the truth of a death so unusually speedy. The tortures of crucifixion were often prolonged three days, and even more ; but the exhaustion of our Saviour's toil-worn frame, by his night of agony, and by his inexpressible mental anguish on the cross, are causes adequate to explain his dying in six hours ; while the abundant flow of lymph and blood, due to the piercing of the pericardium, makes it probable that he died literally of a "broken heart."

Meanwhile JOSEPH of Armathæa, a rich man and a member of the Sanhedrim, who had been no party to their councils against Jesus, now boldly avowed his secret discipleship by coming to Pilate and begging the body of Jesus. Pilate consented, as soon as he had satisfied himself of the real death. Joseph's example gave courage to Nicodemus, who brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes to anoint the corpse: even as the Jewish kings used to be buried in spices. The near approach of the Sabbath left no time for the final funeral ceremonies. They took down the body from the cross; and wrapping it hastily in linen, with the spices, they laid it in a new rock-hewn sepulchre, which Joseph had made for himself, in a garden close at hand. To secure the sepulchre during the Sabbath, they rolled a great stone against its door, and departed. Thus was the prophecy fulfilled, that the Messiah should "make his grave with the rich." Mary Magdalene, and Mary the sister of Christ's mother, who had sat opposite the sepulchre during the burial, and had seen how the body was laid in it, went home, postponing the preparation of their spices and ointments for the full performance of the funeral rites till after the Sabbath; and then "they rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment." The mother of Jesus seems to have been led home from the cross, when the body was taken down, by John, her new-found son.

The *Sabbath day* (EASTER EVE): *Saturday, the 16th of Nisan (April 7th), from the preceding sunset.*—The sacred narrative leaves the disciples in the overwhelming grief and desolation amid which they kept this Sabbath; having, as we may infer from the events of the next day, re-assembled from their dispersion, and looking forward, though with only the faintest hope, to the third day, on which Jesus had foretold his resurrection. The chief priests and Pharisees also remembered the prediction with alarm, and on the pretence that his disciples might steal away the body, they obtained Pilate's permission to set a watch of soldiers over the tomb, saw that it was securely shut, and sealed the stone.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION OF CHRIST, FROM EASTER DAY TO ASCENSION DAY, APRIL 8TH TO MAY 17TH, A. D. 30.



UNDAY, the 17th of Nisan (April 8th), the First Lord's Day.

EASTER DAY.—As the resurrection of Christ is the great fact, so the day of its occurrence is the great day of Christianity. From the time of the Apostles its weekly return has been called by the name of the LORD'S DAY; and to this epoch of the new creation of all things, marked by the new life of Christ, all the permanent sanctity of the primeval Sabbath was transferred.

Great difficulties have been found in making out the A. D. 30. history of the day from the four Gospels; but these difficulties will yield to a careful study, based on the principle that each Evangelist wrote with a special purpose, and from special sources of information. It does not belong to our work to attempt a critical discussion of their several statements; but to give the result of such discussion in the most probable order of those appearances of Jesus to his disciples, which satisfied them that "the LORD was risen indeed."

I. The *Resurrection itself* is related only by St. Matthew:—"Behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men." That this account was derived, in part at least, from one or more of the Roman soldiers, professing afterward that belief which such a scene ought to have compelled, is probable from the acquaintance which the same Evangelist shows with the fact that they were at first bribed to give out the absurd story, that Roman soldiers had slept on duty, and *while asleep* had somehow come to know that the body was stolen by the disciples. But yet it may be doubted whether this is not one of the cases, in which the sacred writers were taught, as Paul declares himself to have been taught this very fact, "not of man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

The *time* of the resurrection is stated by St. Mark as “*early on the first day of the week,*” which began from the sunset of the evening before. It had already taken place when the first visit was paid to the sepulchre, “while it was yet dark, as it began to dawn.” The portion, however brief, of this day (according to Jewish reckoning) that Jesus remained in the tomb is reckoned as one day, like the brief interval between his burial and the Friday’s sunset, and thus he remained *three days* in the earth.

II. *Visit of the Women to the Sepulchre.* The Jewish custom of resuming the occupations of common life the moment the Sabbath’s sun had set, had enabled the two Marys to purchase on that evening the spices needed to complete the embalmment which Nicodemus had hastily performed. At the approach of dawn they came to the sepulchre, with certain other women, among whom was Joanna, to perform this pious service, wondering, as they went along, how they could roll away the great stone from its mouth. They reached the sepulchre at sunrise and found the stone removed; and entering they saw that the body of Jesus was gone.

III. *Mary Magdalene carries the news to Peter and John.* The ardent love of Mary Magdalene prompted her at once to run and tell Peter and John of the trick that she supposed had been played by the enemies of Christ in removing his body beyond the reach of his disciples.

IV. *Vision of an Angel to the Women in the Sepulchre.* Meanwhile the other women had entered the recesses of the rock-hewn sepulchre, and there they saw an angel sitting on the right side, in the form of a young man in a long white robe, who told them that Christ had risen and would meet his disciples in Galilee, with other words of comfort and encouragement. Fear at the vision, and joy at the tidings, joined to hasten the flight of the women from the sepulchre, that they might carry the news to the disciples.

V. *First appearance of Jesus—to the Women on their return from the Sepulchre.* Their hasty course was stayed by the appearance and greeting of Jesus himself. They fell down to worship him, and received from his own lips the same message that the angel had given them. The Apostles and other disciples received the intelligence “as idle tales,” not being yet ready to believe the truth.

VI. *Visit of Peter and John to the Sepulchre.* Luke speaks of the *Eleven* (a common formula for the body of the Apostles at this period) as receiving these tidings from the women, and that so as to imply that they had re-assembled from their flight, and were waiting

to see what would happen on this day. But it is evident from John, that both Peter and John himself were away from the rest, probably at the latter's house, where John would naturally remain to comfort his new-found mother, and where his friend, disgraced in the eyes of the other disciples, would find a refuge for his remorse. To them Mary had brought word that the sepulchre was empty; and, while the other women were giving their fuller tidings to the rest of the Apostles, Peter and John ran to the sepulchre to see for themselves. We trace something of the peculiar character of each in the beautifully simple narrative of John. The ardent affection of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" carried him first to the sepulchre: he looked in and saw the grave-clothes, but hesitated to enter: while Peter, coming up, at once went in and saw the linen clothes lying as they had been left, and the napkin that had been about the head of Jesus folded together by itself. John then entered and saw the same spectacle; and while Peter only wondered, John believed; for, as he himself takes care to tell us, the disciples had not yet understood the prophecy of his resurrection.

VII. *Second appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre.* While Peter and John returned home, Mary, who had followed them back to the sepulchre, stood by its entrance, as the words just quoted have described. Looking into the sepulchre as she wept, she saw two angels sitting, at the head and the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. To their inquiry why she wept, she answered, "Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him;" and she was turning away, to leave the sepulchre in despair, when she saw Jesus standing before her, though she knew him not, even when he asked her why she wept. Taking him for the keeper of the garden, she earnestly entreated him to tell her whither he had removed the body. The one word, "*Mary,*" from the lips of Jesus, recalled her to herself, and turning so as to have a full view of him for the first time, she replied, "*Rabboni!*" that is, "Master!" and would have embraced him. But, with the mysterious injunction, "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father," he sent her to forewarn his brethren of his ascension. But even at this second testimony the disciples remained incredulous.

VIII. *Third appearance of Jesus—to St. Peter.* St. Paul states, immediately after the fact of our Lord's resurrection, "that he was seen of Cephas," before he appeared to the other Apostles. This appearance is also mentioned incidentally, but very emphatically, by St. Luke, in connection with the journey to Emmaus.

IX. *The Journey to Emmaus—our Lord's fourth appearance.* This is briefly mentioned by St. Mark ; but the deeply interesting narrative of St. Luke gives us a view of the disciples' state of mind on this memorable day. Two of them, Clopas and another, left the city after the visits paid to the sepulchre by the women and by Peter and John, and walked to Emmaus, a village about seven miles from Jerusalem. Their only object seems to have been, to talk freely with each other respecting the bearing of the recent events on the question of the Messiahship of Jesus ; and the doubtful result of their discussions is expressed in the exclamation, "But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel !" As they were thus engaged, Jesus himself joined them ; but a spell was upon their eyes, so that they did not know him. Every reader of the Gospel is familiar with what followed,—the statement of their anxious reasonings ; his rebuke of their ignorance and unbelief, and his exposition of the Scripture which foretold his sufferings and glory ; their pressing him to stay with them at the village ; and his being made known to them by blessing and breaking the bread at their evening meal. They hastened back to Jerusalem, and found the Apostles assembled with other disciples at their evening meal, in a strangely mingled state of doubt and wonder ; for, while some met them with the news, "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon," their own full account of his converse with them was still received with unbelief.

X. *Our Lord's fifth appearance—to the assembled Apostles, except Thomas.* It was at this very crisis of their perplexity, that Jesus crowned his separate appearances by a manifestation of himself to the Apostles, and those disciples who were with them. His sudden appearance in their midst, the doors of the room being shut fast for fear of the Jews, alarmed them with the idea that they saw a spirit, though he greeted them with the words, "Peace be unto you !" But he called them to feel his body, and showed them the wounds in his hands and feet and side. As they still doubted, he ate food before them ; and then he opened their minds to see the fulfilment of all that had been spoken of him in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms ; and to know their own mission as the witnesses of his resurrection, and the preachers of repentance and remission of sins in his name to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. Then by the sign of breathing on them (literally suspiration), he indicated the conferring of that gift of the Holy Spirit, which was actually to descend upon them after his ascension, and for which he bade them to wait at Jerusalem ; and he gave them the authority of remitting and retaining

sins. This "great commission" was repeated afterward; but Mark, who mentions only three of our Lord's appearances, and this as the last, refers to this occasion also the promise of the power of working miracles. Such was our Lord's last appearance to his disciples on the day of his resurrection.

Sunday, the 24th of Nisan, April 16th.—

XI. *Christ's second appearance to the assembled disciples, with Thomas—the sixth in all.* Facts are sometimes of themselves strong arguments; and such is our finding the disciples again assembled on the *first day* of the following week, and our Lord again appearing in the midst of them. Their mere meeting may have been continued from day to day, but our Saviour's blessing this meeting with his presence goes far to mark the Lord's Day as sacred. It was then that the incredulous Thomas was taught by the evidence of his own senses, not only to share his brethren's faith, but to go beyond them by recognizing in the Lord's resurrection a proof of his divinity. But Jesus did not grant the proof that Thomas required without pronouncing a higher blessing upon those who are content to believe on the testimony of others.

XII. *Third appearance of Jesus to the Apostles (seven of them) by the Lake of Galilee—the seventh in all.* The Evangelists now cease to specify days. St. Matthew tells us that the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, as they had been commanded when first the resurrection was announced to them; but their meeting with Jesus in the mountain he had appointed them must have been subsequent to that morning by the Lake of Galilee, of which St. John has given us so full and touching an account. Seven of the Apostles—Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two others who are not named, had returned to their avocations as fishermen, when Jesus revealed himself to them in a manner strikingly similar to that of their former calling, by the sign of a miraculous draught of fishes. The one striking difference, that now the net did *not* break, showed the coming of the time when they were to be indeed "fishers of men." It was then that our Lord drew from Peter the avowal of his love, repeated thrice as the revocation of his threefold denial, and restored him to his place among the disciples by the special commission, also thrice repeated, "Feed my sheep!" adding the prediction of his martyrdom, but rebuking his affectionate curiosity concerning the fate of John. The saying, "*If I will* that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" is a purely hypothetical case, put to repel a curious desire to know what he reserved to his own appointment.

XIII. *The eighth appearance of Jesus—to the great body of his*

disciples in Galilee. St. Matthew continues the statement just quoted by saying that the eleven disciples went out to a mountain in Galilee, where Jesus had appointed them ; and when they saw him they worshipped him, but some doubted. Though Matthew mentions only the eleven, he can scarcely mean the last statement to apply to *them*, after the removal of the last remains of their incredulity in the case of Thomas. It is evident, from comparing the Gospels, that, in several statements which refer to the body of the disciples, the eleven are particularly named, because they were specially the appointed witnesses of Christ's resurrection. All that we see of their life during this interval confirms the view that the Apostles were in no way separated from the other disciples. At the beginning of the last chapter of Matthew, the message, first of the angel and then of Christ himself, is to "the disciples" and "his brethren," not to the Apostles only ; and the Evangelist clearly records this meeting in Galilee as the fulfilment of that message. There is, therefore, no difficulty in identifying this interview with the appearance of Jesus to "above five hundred brethren at once," mentioned by St. Paul, who appeals to the fact that some of them were still living when he wrote. This number agrees well with that assigned by St. Luke to the Church at Jerusalem ; for as these were one hundred and twenty, and as the greater number of our Lord's converts were made in Galilee, five hundred and upward is a reasonable number for those of Galilee, with the Apostles, and such others as were able to accompany them from Judæa.

This then was the great interview of Jesus with his disciples, of which he had spoken even before his death, and to which they were summoned from the moment of his resurrection. Its scene was *Galilee*, where Jesus had commenced his course of public teaching and where his life had been chiefly spent ; and as he had opened his public ministry on a mountain, by the discourse which set forth the conditions of discipleship, so he closed it on a mountain, by the commission which he based upon his own unlimited authority, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you : and lo, I am with you always unto the end of the world." It follows from the above argument that this commission was given to the *disciples*, as such, and not to the Apostles only ; and this is true also of the promise of miraculous powers, and the gift of the Holy Spirit, which are recorded respectively by Mark and John.

XIV. *Christ's ninth appearance—to James (the Less).* Immediately after mentioning this interview, St. Paul adds the words "after that, he was seen of James," a special notice, which agrees well with the importance assigned to James, as being, like Peter and John, one of the "Pillars" of the Church. This appearance may be referred to Jerusalem, with the more probability, as James was not one among the Apostles at the Lake of Galilee. Nor does it seem unlikely that it was one of several appearances to individual disciples, omitted by the Evangelists, who have recorded only those needful to establish the great facts of Christ's resurrection, and of his commission to the Apostles.

XV. *Our Lord's last interview with the Apostles and his A. D. 30. Ascension—his tenth appearance.* The last scene of all was reserved for the eyes of the Apostles only, as the specially appointed witnesses of Christ's resurrection and ascension. St. Peter lays stress upon the fact that, when God had raised Jesus from the dead, "he shewed him, openly, *not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God*, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead." The superiority of such testimony to any which could have been furnished by a more public display of the risen Saviour to all the people has been ably demonstrated by Bishop Horsley. Neither Matthew nor John relates our Saviour's ascension, though the latter gives, in the Apocalypse, a glowing description of his state of glory. Mark simply says that "he was received up into heaven and sat on the right hand of God." St. Luke describes the whole scene, briefly in his Gospel, and fully in the Acts of the Apostles.

The whole time during which Jesus "shewed himself after his passion by many infallible proofs" was *forty days*, a period which has evidently some mystical signification, being the same as the time spent by Moses and by Elijah in Mount Horeb, and by Christ himself in the wilderness of temptation, and corresponding to the number of years that the people had wandered in the Desert. As they passed an appointed interval of trial between their baptism to Moses in the Red Sea and their entrance on the promised land, so our Lord himself was subjected to a forty days' trial of his faith and patience, between his baptism and his showing to Israel; and again, after his final baptism of suffering a like interval was interposed before he entered into glory, to try the faith of his disciples and to work in them full conviction of the great truth they had to preach. In what secret retirement he took up his abode during these forty days we are not told: all that con-

cerns us is the time he spent with his disciples, "speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God."

At last, on the fortieth day, the disciples were assembled with Jesus at Jerusalem, it would seem by a special appointment, and he commanded them not to depart thence till they received the promise of the Father, the baptism with the Holy Ghost. After rebuking their desire to know whether the time was come for him to restore the kingdom to Israel, he promised them power, by that baptism of the Spirit, for the work they had to do for his name in Jerusalem, Judæa, and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.

Either during or after this conversation, he led them out—over the very ground he had traversed with them six weeks before, when he entered the city to suffer—as far as Bethany, on the further slope of the Mount of Olives, and so out of view of the city; and there, as with uplifted hands he gave them his parting blessing, a cloud interposed between him and them, like the chariot and horses of fire that separated Elijah from Elisha; and upborne on this aerial car, he was wafted from their sight through the vault of heaven.

Meanwhile the disciples scarcely recollected that this was but what he had himself foretold:—"What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where he was before?" They stood gazing up after him as if he had been lost forever, till they were awakened from their stupor by the appearance of two angels standing by them, and declaring that this same Jesus, who was taken from them into heaven, should so come in like manner as they had seen him go into heaven:—words which exclude any other than the final advent of our Lord, and teach us that he shall be seen descending from the riven sky, as plainly, and as unexpectedly, as he passed into it from their eyes. With this agrees his own warning of "the sign of the Son of Man, coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory," and the words of the final Scripture prophecy, "Behold He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him."

Having worshipped their glorified Lord, they returned from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem with great joy; and while expecting the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, they spent their time continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God.

We cannot more fitly conclude this narrative of our Saviour's life on earth, in which we have aimed to bring into one view the records of the four Evangelists, with as much brevity as was consistent with the omission of no important fact, than by calling attention to the two points insisted on by St. John:—First, that we have only a small



THE ASCENSION.

part of our Lord's sayings and doings in the presence of his disciples, for the world itself could hardly have contained the record of the whole; but, finally, that all we do possess has been written with this one sole object, "That we might *believe* that JESUS IS THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, and that, believing, WE MIGHT HAVE LIFE THROUGH HIS NAME."

BOOK IX.

HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES; OR, THE FOUNDING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CHURCH IN PALESTINE TO THE DISPERSION OF THE CHRISTIANS FROM JERUSALEM.

[A. D. 30-37.]

AFTER the ascension of the Lord into Heaven, the Eleven Apostles, having returned from the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem, assembled in an upper room, with the mother and brethren of Jesus, and the women who had ministered unto Him, and there abode in prayer and supplication. Thus they spent their evenings; and in the day time, "they were continually in the Temple, praising and blessing God," doubtless declaring Christ's resurrection and ascension to the people. These, A. D. 30-37. then, with the other disciples resident in Jerusalem, made up the one hundred and twenty brethren; and at first sight they seem to act as the whole Church, in the election of the new Apostle. But a closer consideration will, perhaps, show that this election was conducted by the Apostles, in the presence and with the sanction of the brethren at Jerusalem, rather than as an act of the whole Church. On the day of Pentecost, however, when the Holy Spirit was poured out on the disciples, the great body of the believers were no doubt present, having come up to keep the feast at Jerusalem; and it was then that they were first seen in public as the Church of Christ.

Among the Apostles and disciples, Peter occupies the place assigned to him by Christ when he gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. It was his office to open the doors of the Church, first to the Jews and then to the Gentiles, while his brethren labored equally with him to bring the converts in. While waiting for the Spirit to qualify them for the work, Peter invited them to fill up the vacancy in the number of the Apostles caused by the fall of Judas. He lays down the first essential qualification for the apostolic office—the having been one of the companions of Christ from his baptism by

John till his ascension—and declares the object of the election, “to be a witness with us of his resurrection.” Two such men were chosen, either by the Apostles or by the disciples, whose choice in either case supplied a testimony to their character; but the ultimate decision was referred to God himself by the sacred trial of the lot, accompanied by prayer. The two were JOSEPH, also called Barsabas, and surnamed the Just, and MATTHIAS; and the lot fell upon the latter.

A. D. 31. Ten days after the ascension, the time arrived which God had appointed for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the disciples. “The day of Pentecost was fully come;” the first and great day of the feast of the full ingathering of the harvest. It was called by the Jews the “Feast of Weeks,” and in Greek Pentecost (*the fiftieth day*) because it fell on the day after the completion of seven weeks from the second, or great day, of the feast of unleavened bread. It brought to Jerusalem a greater concourse of Jews and proselytes from all parts of the world than any other of the three great festivals. Hence the season was as well chosen for the first proclamation of our Lord’s resurrection and ascension, as its occasion and its rites were symbolical of the first-fruit of the spiritual harvest, which were offered to God as the result of Peter’s preaching.

On this day, the disciples, including those who had come up to the feast, were all gathered by common consent; when there was heard the sound of a rushing wind, as it were descending from heaven, and filling the house where they were sitting, while lambent flames, shaped like cloven tongues, were seen upon all their heads. These signs at once furnished to the senses a double evidence of some divine power, and exactly corresponded to the figurative language chosen by Jesus to describe the operations of the Holy Spirit:—a baptism of *fire*—a *wind* blowing where God wills, whose *sound* we hear, but cannot trace its path. That Spirit was given to qualify the disciples for their work as witnesses of Christ, as he had said, “enduing them with power from on high.” It was to work *within*, “guiding them into all truth;” not only enabling them to remember all that Jesus had said to them, but opening their minds to understand the truths concealed as yet under his words. With spiritual discernment it brought spiritual life, all those moral virtues and graces which St. Pauls calls “the fruit of the Spirit.”

These *inward gifts* of the Spirit remained to be proved by the future course of the disciples; but other *external gifts* were at once made manifest, as a public proof of their endowment for their work. These were the “*extraordinary gifts* of the Spirit;” gifts, that is,

miraculous in their nature; and, like other miraculous works, they were designed partly indeed for their direct use, but still more as the *sign* of a divine mission. Perhaps, the most striking of these gifts, and certainly the one best suited to the present occasion, was the power of "speaking with tongues," that is, in foreign languages. This gift, conferred on illiterate Galileans, at once enabled them to address the various strangers assembled at the feast, each in his own language, and gave to those so addressed a convincing proof that God was with the speakers, and to themselves the assurance that they were to preach the Gospel to all nations and kindreds and tongues under heaven. How far the gift was permanent in those who received it does not appear. The statements of St. Paul prove that it was afterward by no means common to the whole body of believers, as it appears to have been on this day. That it was not intended to supersede the use of acquired learning, is proved by the choice of Paul himself as the Apostle of the Greeks; and the books of the New Testament bear marks of dialect, influenced, to say the least, by the natural powers of the writers.

This gift, bestowed at the moment of the descent of the cloven tongues of fire, about the time of the morning sacrifice, was immediately used by the Apostles and disciples in uttering the praises of God. The news soon spread through the city, and the multitude flocked together to the scene, confounded at hearing these Galileans speak in several languages. The passage furnishes an interesting enumeration of the provinces, and regions even beyond the Roman empire, in which Jews were found. The enumeration is not made at random, but follows a regular order from East to West, beginning with the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Elamites*, beyond the Roman empire, and the *Mesopotamians* on the frontier; then, crossing the desert, to *Judæa* (with which we may suppose Syria to be included); next proceeding northward, and circling round the peninsula of Asia Minor, we have *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, proconsular *Asia*, *Phrygia*, and *Pamphylia*; whence the transition is natural across the Mediterranean, to *Egypt* and the parts of Libya about *Cyrene*; where, reaching the Western Provinces, the Mediterranean is recrossed to Rome itself; and the strength of the Jewish element in the population of Italy is attested by the phrase, "strangers of *Rome*, Jews and *Proselytes*;" and the list is concluded, somewhat less regularly, by the *Cretes* and *Arabians*.

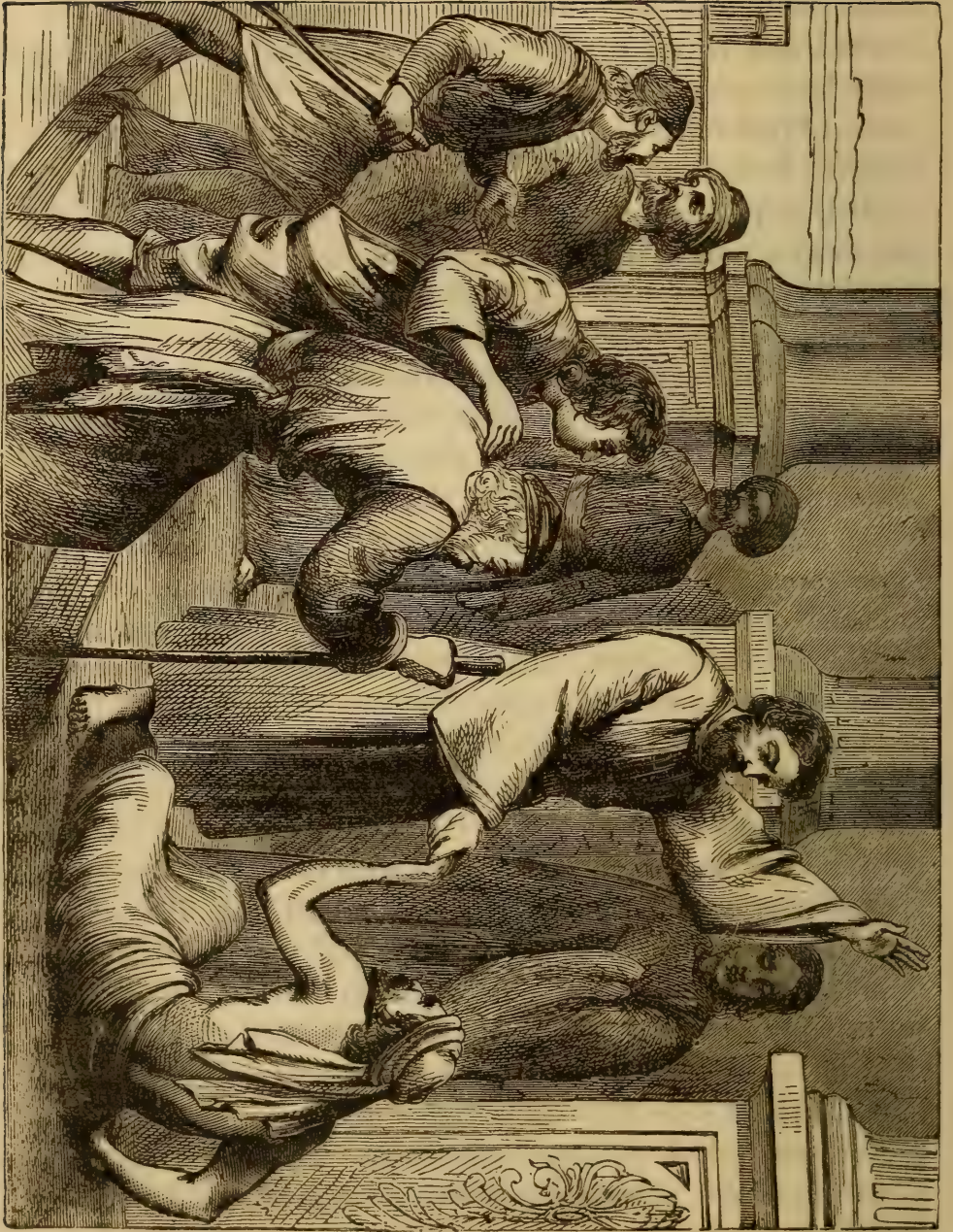
An attempt was made to discredit the general feeling that all this had some strange meaning, by the taunting suggestion that the men

were drunk with new wine. Upon this Peter spoke out; and, having repelled the charge by an appeal to the early hour (9 o'clock), a time at which none begin drinking in the East, he declared that what they saw was the fulfilment of Joel's great prophecy concerning the descent of the Spirit upon all flesh in the last days; when wonders should be shown in heaven and earth, that men might call upon the name of Jehovah and be saved. Then plainly charging the people with their wickedness in crucifying Jesus, he declares his resurrection by the power of God to be the fulfilment of David's prophecy of Christ; and, inferring from that prophecy the exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God, he points to this which they now saw and heard as his first gift to men, and as a proof "that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye crucified, both Lord and Christ."

The appeal to their consciences was the more striking as, besides the rulers resident at Jerusalem, many other Jews, who had joined in the scenes enacted at the Passover, were now re-assembled at Jerusalem after six weeks' interval for reflection. At once the sting of conviction pierced their hearts; and their cry to Peter and the Apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" was answered by the call to repentance, to be signified, as under John, by baptism, but now into the name of Christ, that their sins might be remitted and they might receive the Holy Ghost. This offer of mercy was followed by the assurance which, stamping upon the Christian Church the like family and social character to that which marked the community of Israel, extended the blessing to the Gentiles also:—"The promise is unto *you and to your children*, and to *all that are afar off*, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." Such were the chief points of this first apostolic sermon; but much more was added, and all was concluded with exhorting such as would to come out and separate themselves from this perverse generation. All who "*received the word*," that is, who simply professed faith in the truth preached by Peter, were baptized and added to the Church; and the pentecostal first-fruits thus offered to God were 3000 souls.*

Nor was this a passing excitement. The new converts became faithful disciples, adhering to the teachings of the Apostles and the fellowship of the Church; observing Christ's institution of breaking bread together, and constant in prayer. The four elements included in this summary of the daily life of the primitive Church deserve

* It must be remembered that a large number of these would leave Jerusalem after the feast, and would spread the glad tidings throughout the country.



PETER AND JOHN HEALING THE LAME MAN.

special notice:—(i.) The *Apostles' doctrine* included doubtless the whole body of divine truth, which was based on the writings of the Old Testament, viewed in the new light of the Spirit bestowed upon the Apostles to lead them into all truth, as well as their own testimony to the life and death and especially the resurrection of the Lord. (ii.) The *Fellowship*—though the word is often used in the wider generic sense which is now most familiar to us—seems here, as in many other passages, to denote that *communication* of the goods of this life which was needful to supply the necessities of the poorer brethren, and the collection of which seems thus early to have formed a part of their united worship. (iii.) The *breaking of bread* alludes to the social custom which sprang up among this small community, severed much from the world around, of eating together daily, as well as to their use of such opportunities for celebrating the Lord's Supper; while (iv.) the distinct mention of *Prayer* vindicates its place as an act of common Christian worship against the specious fallacy that it is a matter solely between each man and his God. So great a movement struck awe even into those who did not join it; and this feeling was kept alive by the miracles which the Apostles wrought. The first practical fruit of the new faith was seen in a reform of one of the worst faults of the Jewish character—its selfish rapacity and oppression of the poor. Forming a closely united community, they regarded their possessions as given for their common use, according as the necessities of each required. To this so-called community of goods our attention will presently be recalled. Meanwhile we behold the Church in its first new-created purity, daily increased by sincere converts, and enjoying harmony within and the favor of the people without, before the beginning of persecution or declension.

The healing of a man above forty years old, who had been lame from his birth, by Peter and John at the "Beautiful" gate of the Temple, in the presence of all the people who were assembling to evening prayer, gave Peter another opportunity of preaching the Saviour, in whose name alone the miracle was performed. His discourse was interrupted by the priests of the Sadducean party, and the captain of the guard of Levites that kept order in the Temple, who seized the Apostles, and carried them off to prison. The pretext was, no doubt, that they excited a tumult in the Temple, but their real offence was preaching the resurrection from the dead in the name of Jesus. But their arrest did not prevent their word being received by no less than 5000 believers.

In presence of the Sanhedrim, assembled the next morning under

Annas and Caiaphas, the high-priests, with their Sadducean kindred, Peter boldly avowed, for John and himself, that the miracle had been performed in the name of JESUS, who, though crucified by them, had been raised by God ; and whose name alone was given under heaven for the salvation of men. Then was fulfilled the promise of Christ, when he bade the disciples, on being brought before courts and rulers, to take no thought what they should say, for he would give them a mouth and wisdom which their adversaries should be unable to resist. Their freedom of speech, contrasted with their want of letters, left the council no doubt that they were worthy followers of Jesus ; and the presence of the healed man forbade their denial of the miracle. So they resolved to try half-measures, commanding the Apostles to cease from speaking in the name of Jesus. Peter and John plainly refused the compromise :—" Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. *For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.*" Still the impression made upon the people by the miracle rendered it dangerous to attempt severity ; and the council let the Apostles go, after renewing their threatenings. The assembled Church received them with a thanksgiving, which forms the earliest example of united Christian prayer ; and in which three things deserve especial notice :—the use of Scripture models, including a direct quotation from the second Psalm ; the recital of facts, as well as the language of actual supplication ; and the exercise, in offering the latter, of that freedom of speech for the increase of which they prayed. The prayer was answered by another sign of God's presence, the shaking of the place in which they met, as Sinai was shaken of old ; it was answered by a new outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The work of the Apostles was resumed with fresh power ; and the Church was endued still more manifestly with divine grace and harmony.

The poor, who formed the great body of the disciples, were preserved from want by sharing the wealth of the rest, according to their necessities.

Not that the first Christians adopted the fantastic and impracticable theory, known in modern times by the name of *communism*, divesting themselves of individual property, and throwing all they had and earned into a common stock. They had indeed a common fund, which was divided by the Apostles among the poor ; and those who carried into full effect the principle that " nought of the things which he possessed was his own " sold their lands and houses, and laid the price at the Apostles' feet. But that this practice was not binding upon all is

proved by the stress laid on the self-sacrifice of Barnabas, and by the express declaration of Peter to Ananias, that he might have kept the land, if he had chosen, or even have used its price after it was sold. St. Luke's language is indeed universal; but universal statements are always to be interpreted by more specific information. What was universally accepted was the principle that none should want while any of their brethren had the means of helping them; but, in carrying out this principle, they used that Christian liberty of beneficence which is far more effective than an enforced equality of wealth.

A. D. 31. And now we come to the second great crime which stained the profession of Christianity,—the treason of Judas having been the first,—and which called down a judgment as signal. As among the followers of Christ on earth, so in the early Church, the love of money was the root of evil; it was mingled with love of praise; and falsehood was the means of gratifying both. The story of Ananias and Sapphira is too familiar to need relation. They seem to have been prompted by the desire to share the credit gained by Joses, surnamed BARNABAS, a Levite of Cyprus, who sold his estate, and gave its price to the Apostles. They attempted to gain that praise, and yet to secure themselves from want, by keeping back a part of the price of their land, and bringing only the rest to the Apostles,—an acted lie, had it been left there. But Peter was moved by the Spirit to proclaim the deceit; and, so far from extenuating it because the lie had not been uttered, he passed on all such prevarication the awful sentence, “Thou hast not lied unto man, but unto God.” The conduct of Sapphira is distinguished by the effrontery with which, in reply to Peter's question, she uttered the direct lie. The judgment that fell on both was analogous to the “cutting off a soul from the congregation” under the old dispensation, and gave, thus early in the history of the Church, a terrible warning of God's absolute requirement of sincerity in all his people. It caused great fear within the Church, and deterred the worldly-minded from joining the disciples. But still the work of conversion went on. The Apostles and their followers assembled daily in the portico of the Temple named after Solomon. Their miracles were multiplied. The sick were carried on beds into the street, that at least Peter's shadow, as he passed by, might fall upon them; and multitudes were brought into Jerusalem from the villages, and were all healed.

And this was all that the Sadducees had gained by their warning to Peter and John. Their indignation got the better of their policy,

and they threw all the Apostles into prison. An angel opened the prison doors, and set them free during the night; and when the Sanhedrim assembled in the morning, it was to hear that the prison had been found secure and guarded, but empty; and that the prisoners were at that moment preaching in the Temple. Fear of the people again prevented open violence; but the Apostles came at the request of the captain of the temple-guard, and were placed before the Sanhedrim, whom the high-priest now convened, together with the Senate of Elders, that venerable body which had preserved its authority as representing the people through all the changes of the Jewish state. In this second assembly, therefore, we see no longer only the Sanhedrim, headed by the Sadducean rulers, but the chiefs of the whole people taking part in persecuting the Apostles. To the charge that they were trying to bring upon the people the blood of Christ—that blood which these very men had invoked on their own heads—Peter replied with the same boldness as before, but with a different result. Stung by his words, they were about to vote the death of the Apostles, when they were checked by the advice of a Pharisee named GAMALIEL. This man, renowned as one of the greatest doctors of the law, and still more as the preceptor of St. Paul, gave the sage counsel to wait and see what would come of the new doctrine, if let alone. It was an age of pretenders, such as Theudas and Judas of Galilee, who had ended by breaking out into open revolt and being destroyed by the power of Rome. Such too would be the end of these men, if they were impostors,—an end which would save the rulers trouble and danger. But another alternative was possible. The thing might be indeed from God; and if so, to overthrow it would be impossible, to resist it would incur the guilt of fighting against God. The emphatic clearness with which Gamaliel puts this, as far more than a bare possibility, throws a flood of light on the convictions of the learned and thinking men among the Pharisees, and helps us to form a juster estimate of Saul's guilt as a persecutor. The jealousy between the Sadducees and Pharisees moved the latter for the time to protect the teachers of a resurrection; but they soon surpassed their rivals in the fury of persecution. The advice of Gamaliel was adopted by the Council, whose anger needed, however, to be gratified by some punishment; so they inflicted on the Apostles the scourging permitted by the law, and let them go, again forbidding them to speak in the name of Jesus. Assured by this commencement of a share in their Saviour's suffering and shame, that he deemed them worthy to follow him, they continued, as before, to

teach and preach Jesus Christ, both in the Temple and from house to house.

Thus far we have met with no indications of any institutions for the government of the Church. None had been prescribed by Jesus ; but he had taught his followers those principles which would guide them to institutions as they were wanted. As yet no such want had been felt : all had been supplied by the presence of the Apostles and the unbroken harmony of the brethren. But now came in the humiliating fact, which has ever since cast its shadow over the Church, that every development of doctrine and of discipline is the fruit of some error or imperfection. Doubtless more is gained than lost by the working of this principle ; chiefly because it leaves all the glory to God, and shames man's boast of growing perfection.

There were two sorts of persons in the Church, the *Hebrews* and *Hellenists*. In their widest significance, the words *Hellenist* and *Hellenism* described that engrafting of Greek influence upon a native stock which resulted from Alexander's conquest of Western Asia. The mere use of the Greek language, as it came to prevail in the conquered countries, converted a true native into a "Hellenist." Thus the Jews of Palestine came to apply the term to their brethren—though of Jewish blood as pure as theirs—who were scattered throughout the Gentile world. The use of a distinct name was sure to aid the sense of fancied superiority on the part of those possessing the Holy Land, the sacred city and the Temple ; a claim which the Hellenists of course resented. These jealousies were carried into the Christian Church, which numbered many Hellenist converts as the result of Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost. The rapid increase of numbers had made it very difficult for the Apostles to distribute the common fund ; and the first sufferers were naturally the widows, who, from the position held by women in the East, were at once the most needy and the least able to press their claims. It is very probable that the Hellenist widows, in particular, may have been neglected through being personally little known. At all events, this feeling rose up among the Hellenists ; and they complained, not against the Apostles, but against the Hebrews, perhaps those who assisted the Apostles in the daily distribution. Instead of clinging to the influence conferred by these "temporalities," the Apostles welcomed the occasion for their relief from the "service of tables," which hindered their entire devotion to prayer and the ministry of the word. They desired the brethren to choose from among themselves seven men, at once held in esteem for their character, and distinguished for

wisdom and spiritual gifts, who were ordained to this office by the Apostles, with prayer and the imposition of hands.

Their names were STEPHEN, who is especially mentioned as full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas and Nicolas. The last was a proselyte of Antioch, and the Greek names of the rest favor the idea that they were Hellenists, which would give an additional security against any further ground for complaint.

There can be no reasonable doubt that these were the first DEACONS of the Church, though that name is not used in the narrative. Doubtless the title *followed* the exercise of the office; and those who were at first called "the Seven" received the name of "servants" from the service they performed. In the Epistles of Paul, the name has already passed into a distinct official title, and the qualifications which he assigns to deacons correspond exactly to the functions of "the Seven."

This institution gave a fresh impulse to the Gospel. We have already seen a Levite (Barnabas) among the converts; but now the new religion was embraced by many of the priests:—"The word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." It was not merely that the Apostles obtained more freedom; but the deacons themselves came forward with a zeal suited to their eminent position. Chosen for their spiritual gifts, they were not likely to confine themselves to duties merely secular. Philip, "one of the seven," is also called "Philip the Evangelist;" and he was doubtless the same who converted the Samaritans, and received the Ethiopian eunuch into the Church. Still more conspicuous was Stephen for his faith and the power of his teaching, and the wonders and miracles he performed. His zeal soon earned for him the glory of being the Protomartyr of the Christian Church.

A. D. 36. The success of Stephen was, for some reason, peculiarly odious to the Hellenistic Jews, who formed a sort of combined opposition to him. These opponents belonged to "the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of those from Cilicia and Asia." The Cyrenians and Alexandrians represented the Jews of Africa, who were very numerous in those two capitals. The Asiatics represent those of Western Asia in general, and not only of the province; and the express mention of the *Cilicians* prepares us for the part taken by SAUL OF TARSUS. Hitherto the Sadducees had taken the lead in resisting Christianity, chiefly from

motives of policy; and the Pharisees had stood aloof, feeling some favor toward the teachers of a resurrection. But now the latter party were committed to the conflict by the zeal of the Hellenists for the traditions of the law. Worst of all in argument by Stephen's wisdom and spiritual power, they suborned (as against his Master) false witnesses, who accused him before the Sanhedrim of blasphemy against the Temple and the Law, in saying that Jesus of Nazareth should destroy the holy place and change the institutions of Moses. The presence which Christ had promised to his disciples was shown, before Stephen opened his lips, by the very aspect of his countenance, which seemed to all in the council like that of an angel.

The defence which he made, on the invitation of the high-priest, is one of the most memorable passages of the New Testament. It places the truth of Christianity on the basis of its relation to the history of the Old Covenant. That history is recounted, from the call of Abraham to the mission of Moses, to prove that, in the whole process of forming the Jewish state and laws, there was a gradually developed covenant and promise of better things, which was as constantly resisted by the unbelief and apostasy of the people. While thus laying the ground for retorting upon his accusers the charge that it was they and their fathers who had made void the law, he displays in the disobedience of the Israelites to Moses a prophetic sign of their own rebellion against the prophet whom God raised up, as he had raised him, nay, whom they had actually resisted in the person of the Angel who was with the congregation in the wilderness.

Then, as bearing upon the other charge of blasphemously foretelling the destruction of the Temple, he shows how, though they had the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness, they had plunged into every form of idolatry, and taken up the tabernacle of Moloch; and, passing on to the bringing in of the tabernacle by Joshua, and Solomon's performance of his father's desire to build a house for God, he comes boldly to the great point in dispute. Not in his own words, but in those used by Solomon himself at the very dedication of the Temple, and re-echoed by Isaiah, he declares that the Most High Jehovah has a truer and far nobler dwelling than any house that man can build him,—the temple of the universe which his own hand hath made, and of whose materials man can at best frame some small part into a house, which is God's work before it is theirs. The inference from the whole argument is that hypocrisy lay at the root of their pretended zeal for the Law they had ever broken and the Temple they had constantly profaned, while blind to the spiritual sense and use of

both. Overpowered with holy indignation, the accused becomes the accuser, denouncing his judges as the betrayers and murderers of the Just One, each one of whose prophets their fathers had persecuted and slain. The whole argument is summed up in the one phrase, "Ye stiff-necked"—the epithet applied by Moses to their fathers,—“ye” who, while boasting of circumcised, are “uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: *as your fathers did, so do ye.*” The whole course of their history is brought to this point, that they themselves had never kept the law, which they falsely charged him with blaspheming, though they had “received it by the dispensation of angels.”

Stung to their very hearts, they threw off all the restraints of a judicial court, gnashing their teeth for rage, as they cut short his defence. Amid the tumult, Stephen stood gazing up to heaven, and saying, with calm rapture,—“Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God;”—not *sitting*, as is elsewhere said, but as it were stepping forward to welcome the first martyr into heaven. Their rage now passed all bounds. Stopping their ears against his blasphemy, and not staying even to pass sentence, they rushed upon him as one man, hurried him out of the city, and stoned him to death. His last words were those of his Master on the cross, commending his spirit to the Lord Jesus himself, as to God, and praying for his murderers, that the sin might not be laid to their charge. “And when he had said this, *he fell asleep,*” is the language in which the sacred writer closes the scene of violence with holy calmness, and with the glorious hope of an awakening to eternal life. The zeal and courage of the same class of converts to which Stephen himself belonged, the Hellenists and proselytes, who are included under the general denomination of “devout men,” honored his mangled remains with an amount of funeral state and lamentation expressed by two words which are used only here in the New Testament.

“The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.” Never was this more true than in the death of Stephen. Among the Hellenists of Cilicia, who had provoked the controversy, was “a young man named SAUL,” a Jew of Tarsus, of the tribe of Benjamin, of the purest descent, who had been brought up a disciple of the great Rabbin Gamaliel. We have his own testimony to that blind zeal for the law, which led him to take a part in Stephen’s death only second to that of the witnesses themselves, by taking charge of their clothes, while they cast the first stones, as directed by the law; and we have, too, his own bitter and repeated confession of that great sin. Yet

this was the very man raised up by God to supply the place of Stephen. St. Luke suggests this connection by the words, "And Saul was consenting to his death."

The saying of Augustin—"Si Stephanus non orasset, ecclesia Paulum non haberet"—beautifully expresses the view of Stephen's position as the forerunner of St. Paul. But it is an aspect that has been much more forcibly drawn out in modern times. Not only was his martyrdom (in all probability) the first means of converting St. Paul, in whose conversion Stephen's prayer for his murderers was fulfilled and whose conscience always bore the sting of that day's great crime; but in his doctrine also he was the anticipator, as, had he lived, he would have been the propagator, of the new phase of Christianity, of which St. Paul became the main support. His denunciations of local worship—the stress which he lays upon the spiritual side of Jewish history—his freedom in treating that history—the very turns of expression that he uses—are all Pauline. The discourses and epistles of St. Paul reproduce both the arguments and phraseology which he had heard from St. Stephen's lips; for we cannot doubt that Paul was present in the Sanhedrim, though he was not qualified to vote.

The martyrdom of Stephen forms an epoch in the early history of the Church, the date of which is the more interesting on account of its bearing upon St. Paul's life. But the narrative in the Acts supplies us with no chronological data, from the day of Pentecost in A. D. 30 down to the famine under Claudius and the death of Herod Agrippa I. in A. D. 44. One tradition fixes the martyrdom of Stephen as early as A. D. 30; but it is quite incredible that the events of the first seven chapters of the Acts should have been crowded into a single year; nor could so early a date be reconciled with the few certain indications concerning the period of Paul's conversion. That this event followed at no long interval after Stephen's martyrdom seems clear; and various indications concur to place it somewhere within the limits of Caligula's four years' reign. Coming to narrower limits, we shall see presently that the strongest arguments and the best modern opinions concur in fixing the conversion of St. Paul about A. D. 37. Nor are we without some weighty independent evidence to confirm the date thus suggested for the martyrdom of St. Stephen. Such acts of violence, in contempt of the Roman prerogative of life and death, were usually perpetrated during a vacancy in the procuratorship of Judæa. An example occurs in the martyrdom of James the Just, in the interval between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus as his successor (A. D. 62); when just like Stephen and

those who suffered after him, James and other Christians were condemned by the Sanhedrim, at the instance of the high-priest Ananus, and stoned to death. In the present case, the evidence for an interregnum in the procuratorship is all the stronger from the repeated executions which marked the persecution that ensued on the death of Stephen. Now we are able to fix the date of such an interregnum. It was in the latter part of A. D. 36 that Pilate was summoned before Vitellius, the prefect of Syria, on the complaint of the Samaritans, against whom he had perpetrated his crowning outrage. He was deposed by Vitellius, and sent to Rome for trial by the emperor; but, before his arrival, Tiberius had died, on the 16th of March, A. D. 37. Pilate's departure from Judæa must, therefore, be placed just at the end of A. D. 36; and no successor arrived for a considerable time. Meanwhile, Vitellius visited Jerusalem, with Herod Antipas, at the Passover (March 19th) of A. D. 37; when he deposed Joseph Caiaphas, the creature of Pilate, from the high-priesthood. Having left the city on his return to Antioch, he received orders from Tiberius to aid Herod in his war against Aretas. Therefore, retracing his steps toward Arabia Petraea, Vitellius was again at Jerusalem at Pentecost (May 9th). On the arrival of the news of the death of Tiberius, four days after the Feast, Vitellius left Jerusalem, abandoning the cause of Herod. Here, then, was just one of those opportunities of which Jewish turbulence was ever ready to take advantage. Moreover, it was almost always at one of the great festivals that these outbreaks took place; and such a season is indicated by the presence of a large body of Hellenists at Jerusalem, just as at the great Pentecost of Acts ii., and at the Feast when Paul was seized. All this points to the Pentecost, May, A. D. 37, as the date of Stephen's martyrdom; but it would also be consistent with the general tenor of the argument to infer that the event took place either about the Passover of that year, or at the Feast of Tabernacles of A. D. 36, when Pilate's authority was tottering and he may have been ready to connive at any act of violence committed by Caiaphas and his party. On the latter supposition, the period of anarchy following the disgrace of Pilate would prolong the opportunity for the persecution conducted by Saul. At all events, these arguments, with the mutual confirmation of the dates for the martyrdom of Stephen and the conversion of Saul, which evidently followed close upon it, seem clearly to bring both events within the compass of a year, from the autumn of A. D. 36 to the autumn of A. D. 37.

This first triumph of the foes of Christianity gave the signal for a

general persecution, into which Saul entered with the fiercest zeal, committing men and women alike to prison, scourging them in the synagogues, and trying to make them blaspheme the name of Christ, and giving his vote for the death of those on whom the Sanhedrim usurped the power of passing capital sentence. The result was a general dispersion of the disciples from Jerusalem, the Apostles, however, remaining to watch over the common welfare. This movement was the first great cause of the Gospel being carried beyond the confines of Judæa:—"They that were scattered abroad went in different directions, preaching the word." We shall see presently that some of them went through Phœnicia into Syria as far as Antioch, and across to the island of Cyprus, confining their ministry at first to the Jews, but soon venturing to preach Christ to the Greeks at Antioch. Meanwhile the narrative of St. Luke follows the progress of the Gospel in the Holy Land, through the three great steps of the conversion of the Samaritans, of the Ethiopian eunuch, and of the Roman centurion, both of whom were already proselytes. Thus early are the representatives of races alien to the Jews, both at home and in the regions of the east, south and west, brought into the Church, while the conversion of Saul prepares for the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles.

The daily ministrations of relief probably ceased with the dispersion of the disciples; and Philip, the worthy colleague of Stephen, went and preached Christ in the city of Samaria, a work which the Jewish prejudices of most of the disciples would have prevented their undertaking. How far our Lord's own ministry at Sychar (Shechem) had affected the Samaritans in general, we can hardly judge, unless perhaps from his rejection by one of their villages. But since that time, the people of the city had been entirely led away by the arts of a magician named SIMON (usually called *Simon Magus*), who seems to have given himself out and to have been received as the Messiah. But his tricks of sorcery could bear no comparison with the simple power of Philip's miracles, casting out unclean spirits, and healing the palsied and the lame. The people received his preaching of the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ with joyful unanimity, and both men and women were baptized. Simon, not the only impostor of his class who has seen gain in the profession of godliness—perhaps too, with the ordinary mixture of self-deception, fancying that he might learn new arts from Philip's superior skill—Simon was himself baptized, and remained with Philip, wondering at his miracles. Meanwhile, the tidings reached Jerusalem; and Peter and John being sent by the Apostles to Samaria, conferred on the converts the gift of the Holy

Ghost. This new wonder was a fresh stimulus to Simon's lust of power and gain. He offered money to the Apostles, as the price of their giving him the same power. Peter's indignant rebuke and exhortation to repentance so far affected Simon that he asked the Apostles to pray for him, that he might escape the sentence they had denounced; but he gave no sign of genuine repentance. His later history is obscured by superstitious legends, but thus much seems clear—that he continued to mix the profession of a spurious Christianity with the practice of his magical arts, and that he came to a miserable end. The two Apostles did not return to Jerusalem till they had preached throughout the country of the Samaritans.

A. D. 38. Meanwhile Philip was directed by an angel to follow the road from Jerusalem to Gaza through the southwestern desert. There was another traveller before him on the way, an Ethiopian eunuch, who held high office at the court of Candace, queen of the great Ethiopian monarchy which had long flourished to the south of Egypt with its capital at Meroë. Even in that remote region, a large body of Jews had been established under the Egyptian King Psammetichus, and this Ethiopian minister had become a proselyte. He had performed the long journey to worship at Jerusalem; and the great events that had occurred there may have influenced the religious meditations which occupied him as his chariot bore him leisurely toward the frontier. For he was reading aloud Isaiah's great prophecy of Christ's sufferings, and wondering what the prophet meant. At the impulse of the Spirit, Philip ran forward to overtake the chariot, and broke in with a question which led the eunuch to ask him to mount the chariot; and, as they went along, Philip preached to him Christ from the text furnished by the prophet. As he spoke, the true light shone into the mind of the pious and docile learner; and, when a pool or spring of water by the roadside suggested to him the question, "What prevents my being baptized?"—Philip complied at once. The chariot is stopped. Both descend from it to the water; and both were returning to it after the act of baptism was performed, when the Spirit caught away Philip from the eyes of the eunuch, who went on his way rejoicing. How far he was instrumental in spreading the Gospel among his countrymen we know not; for our information of the planting of Christianity in Abyssinia and Sennaar (the region about Meroë) dates only from the fourth century. But his story is most memorable as a leading example of individual conversion and as a lesson not to limit God's methods of working it. Meanwhile Philip went on his mission to the cities of the Philistine plain,



ANCIENT HARBOR OF CAESAREA.

from Azotus (Ashdod) where he was again first seen, through all the maritime region as far as Cæsarea. At that city he seems to have fixed his abode; for we find him there, eighteen or nineteen years later, receiving Paul and his companions into his house, on their final journey to Jerusalem. He was still remembered as one "of the Seven," but was also distinguished by the title of "Evangelist;" and he had four daughters endowed with prophetic gifts. We are not without some indication of the date of these transactions. The eunuch was of course returning from one of the three great festivals, and which that was may perhaps be inferred from the fact that the Book of Isaiah furnished the lessons for the *Feast of Tabernacles*. If the force of this argument be admitted, the conversion of the eunuch will be placed after the Feast of Tabernacles in A. D. 37 or 38; according as we assigned the earlier or later date to Stephen's martyrdom.

The same city of Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Judæa, was the scene of the third great step in the spread of the Gospel within the Holy Land, the conversion of the centurion Cornelius. Besides their relative national positions, there was still another difference between the two cases:—the eunuch seems to have been a "proselyte of righteousness," fully received into the Jewish Church by circumcision; but Cornelius and his friends were uncircumcised, and so only "proselytes of the gate." Though their conversion did not take place till after that greater event which raised up the chosen messenger of the Gospel to the Gentiles, it is mentioned by anticipation here, in connection with that of the outcast Samaritans, and of the more favored Ethiopian proselyte.

We pause, therefore, at the point at which the preaching of the Gospel, begun from Jerusalem according to Christ's command, had embraced all classes of the Jewish name—the pure Jews and the despised Samaritans, the representatives of the Dispersion, and the circumcised proselyte from the far southern region which Christ himself had called the ends of the earth. Such were the results accomplished about the epoch marked by the death of the Emperor Tiberius (A. D. 37), and distinguished also, as we have already seen, by the disgrace of Caiaphas and Pilate, the two chief actors in the death of Christ.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

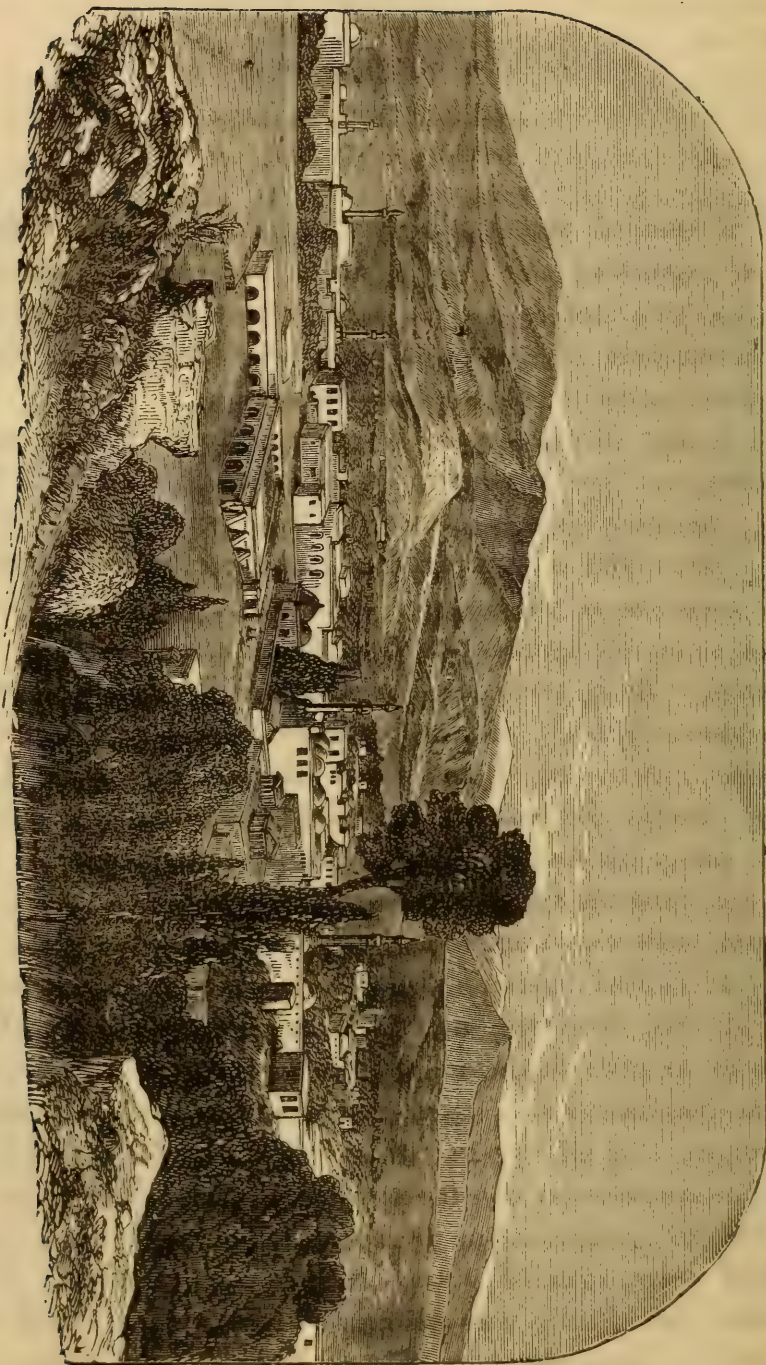
[A. D. 37-40.]

IT is essential that the reader should not fall into the mistake of regarding the "Acts" as a biographical history of the Apostles, and it is equally important to avoid regarding the latter part of the book as a biography of St. Paul, whose great career must now be related.

SAUL is first introduced to us in connection with the martyrdom of Stephen, and the persecution which ensued thereon. When the disciples were scattered by this persecution, Saul pursued them with a fury which Luke describes by the same image that the poets use of the monster Typhoëus, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord;" or, to use his own words, "Being *exceedingly mad* against them, I persecuted them even to strange cities." Among these cities was old Damascus, which had recently been transferred from Herod Antipas to Aretas, the King of Arabia Petræa, whose daughter Herod had put away, in order to marry his own niece and sister-in-law, Herodias. War had broken out between the two princes about their boundaries; and the Jews, who were very numerous at Damascus, espoused the cause of Aretas, and viewed Herod's defeat as a judgment for the death of John. It was, therefore, natural that Aretas should befriend the Jews, so as to give facilities for carrying out the jurisdiction which the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem claimed over their countrymen in foreign cities. At all events, Saul must have relied on being able to execute the commission which he sought and obtained from the high-priests to the synagogues at Damascus, to bring all the disciples he could find there, men or women, bound, to Jerusalem. About the same time that Philip was plodding alone on the desert way from Jerusalem to Gaza, the fiery young Pharisee was riding with his retinue in the opposite direction through the Syrian desert. The unexpected crisis which hung over him invites us to cast back a glance upon his former life.

A. D. 5. "I verily am a Jew, born in Tarsus, of Cilicia (a citizen of no mean city), but brought up in this city (Jerusalem) at

TARSUS.



the feet of Gamaliel," "circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, as to the law a Pharisee:"—such are Paul's descriptions of himself, to which the traditions of the Fathers scarcely add any trustworthy information.

We see that he belonged to a Jewish family of "the Dispersion," but of the purest Hebrew blood, and preserving the record of its descent from the tribe which had already given a king to Israel in the person of another SAUL, for such was the Jewish name that he derived from his parents. He was a "freeborn" citizen of Rome, inheriting from his father those privileges which he so often claimed in a spirit that serves as a pattern of the value that Christians should set upon their political rights. It is a common error to suppose that Saul's father enjoyed the Roman citizenship simply as an inhabitant of Tarsus. It is true that the capital of the province of Cilicia, placed on the banks of the Cydnus, in the narrow fertile plain between the Mediterranean and the snowy peaks of Taurus, at the conflux of the commerce between Asia Minor and the East, well deserved the epithet applied to it by its most distinguished son: it was "no mean city;" but yet it neither ranked as a *municipium* nor a *colonia*; and its position as a "free city" (*libera civitas*) did not entitle its sons to the Roman franchise. It is conjectured, therefore, that this privilege had been conferred upon Saul's father as the reward of services rendered during the civil wars; and we have many other examples of the enjoyment of the franchise by Jews.

The traveller observes at the present day the plain of Tarsus dotted over with the black tents of goat's-hair, under which the people live while gathering in their harvest. Cilicia was famed of old for the manufacture of this goat's-hair cloth, which was called *Cilicium*; and Saul was brought up to the occupation of a tent-maker. The excellent custom of the Jews to teach every youth some trade, whether he had to earn his living by it or not, afterward enabled the Apostle—when such independence was of vital consequence to his ministerial success—to labor with his own hands, and so to make the Gospel without charge to the disciples. It by no means follows that the family were in a necessitous condition; and the contrary may be inferred from the liberal education which St. Paul received. To that acquisition of the Greek language, which the situation and commercial activity of Tarsus made almost a matter of course, he added such an acquaintance with Hellenic literature, as not only to quote freely from Greek poets, but to prove himself familiar with the very spirit of

Hellenism. These accomplishments, together with the influence which the general atmosphere of a highly-cultivated Greek community must have had upon his susceptible nature, formed in no small degree his peculiar qualifications for the special part to which he was called in the diffusion of Christianity, as the "Apostle of the Gentiles."

But, though Hellenistic, his family were not Hellenizing. A "Hebrew of the Hebrews," he was early sent to Jerusalem, to be "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the most perfect manner of the law of the fathers." Here he added to that perfect familiarity with the Septuagint, which as an Hellenist he had been taught from his childhood, a complete knowledge of Hebrew and of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as the whole mass of the traditional lore of the Pharisaic school. The profound learning which lies at the basis of all the reasonings of his Epistles confirms his own account of the rapid progress which he made in the Jews' religion above many of his contemporaries. But Saul was no mere intellectual student. The young Pharisee had already acquired among "his own people" a reputation for sanctity of life and strict observance of all the traditions of the sect, which he more than maintained at Jerusalem. He could afterward confidently appeal to the knowledge of all the Jews, that "after the most straitest sect of their religion he lived a Pharisee;" nay, he could boast with a good conscience, that he was blameless as touching the righteousness *which is in the law*. Paul was no converted profligate; and thus far he is an example of that course of divine grace which visits with new light and life the cultivated intellect and the well-regulated character. But those qualifying words point to the greater virtues which he did not possess; and his frequent ironical allusions to "glorying," "boasting," and "pleasing men," confess the stigma which Christ had stamped upon the Pharisees, who "received honor one of another," and "loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." His own sorrowful confession marks his highest reputation among the Jews as a state of "ignorance and unbelief"—ignorance of the true meaning of the Scriptures in which he was so proficient, and unbelief in their spiritual sense. But his darkness was not that of the cold night of scepticism. The same enthusiastic temperament which afterward bore him on through the many "perils" of his apostolic course, broke out in youth as a fierce zeal for the traditions of the fathers.

When Paul afterward came forward as the great opponent of the false interpretation of the law, it was at least impossible to charge

him with ignorance or indifference upon the subject. He had no doubt completed his course of study at the feet of Gamaliel, and perhaps returned to Jerusalem after an absence of some time at Tarsus, when the first preaching of the Apostles, and the disputations of the deacons presented a special object of attack. And here it is most interesting to contrast the solitary appearance of Gamaliel in the Acts with the course chosen by St. Paul; the master's counsels of toleration with the persecuting zeal so soon displayed by the pupil. There is room for the supposition that the advice which Gamaliel gave, as an opponent of the Sadducees, concerning the treatment of believers in a resurrection, may have been greatly modified when he found the Christians arguing against the Pharisaic traditions. But, be this as it may, the teaching of the Pharisaic doctor, which regarded the students of the law as the "holy people," and declared that "this people who knoweth not the law are cursed," did but produce its natural fruit in the ardent spirit of Saul, with his youthful impatience of all compromise. How far his zeal was inflamed by that bitterest element, which is supplied by conscious doubts and struggles, is a question as difficult as it is interesting. From Nicodemus to Gamaliel, we may trace among the Pharisees the working of that conviction of the truth of Christ's Messiahship, which was the appropriate fruit of their learning and their doctrines. Jesus constantly deals with them as being wilfully blind; and St. Paul's celebrated confession of his own ignorance and unbelief is at least capable of the like interpretation. The very word *unbelief*, in such a connection, implies the consideration of the great question which Gamaliel had propounded in the Sanhedrim, and which could hardly have escaped discussion in his school. We cannot doubt, therefore, that it was as the result of doubtful struggles, if not of suppressed conviction, that Saul came to "think verily with himself that he ought to do many things against the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Such a state of mind will account for the fury which he shared with the other Hellenists who were refuted by Stephen; and the deep sense of it breathes through his remorseful allusions to that darkest day of his whole career. Let those who maintain that zeal is a virtue, even in a bad cause, ponder Paul's confession that he was the chief of sinners because he was "a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and injurious," and therefore the most signal example of God's long-suffering; that he was "the least of the Apostles, and not worthy to be called an Apostle, *because he persecuted the Church of God.*"

In the martyrdom of Stephen we must not think of Saul as a mere

by-stander. The mention of "them of Cilicia" seems to assign him a place among the disputants against Stephen; but his part in the murder, only second to that of the witnesses whose clothes he took charge of, is marked by the emphatic statement "Saul was consenting to his death." The angelic glory that shone from Stephen's face, and the divine truth of his words, failing to subdue the spirit of religious hatred now burning in Saul's breast, must have embittered and aggravated its rage. He became not simply the chief instrument, but the prime mover, in the great persecution for which that deed gave the signal; and it was by his activity that the Christians were forced to flee from Jerusalem. "As for Saul, he made havoc of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison." His own confession amplifies the historian's account, and tells us of the eager malice with which, probably as a member of the Sanhedrim, he voted for their death, or helped to inflict minor punishments, such as scourging in the synagogue, and tried, greatest triumph of all to the persecutor's spite, to compel them to blaspheme the name of Christ. The Pharisees and Sadducees now evidently sank their difference in common hatred against the Christians; and the absence of a Roman procurator enabled them to usurp the power of life and death. Saul might almost have been for the time the governor of Jerusalem. The chief priests might have been content with the apparent expulsion of the Christians from Jerusalem; but not so Saul,—“Being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities.” It was by his own seeking that he obtained the letters of the high-priest to the synagogues of Damascus, to enable him to seize and bring bound to Jerusalem any “of the way,” whether men or women.

But the Divine Ruler had prescribed a very different issue, and Saul was arrested on his journey by a miracle which converted the persecutor of his Jewish brethren into the Apostle of the Gentiles. This event is related in detail three times in the Acts, first by the historian in his own person, then in the two addresses made by St. Paul at Jerusalem and before Agrippa. These three narratives are not repetitions of one another: there are differences between them which some critics choose to consider irreconcilable. Considering that the same author is responsible for all the accounts, it seems pretty clear that the author himself could not have been conscious of any contradictions in the narratives. He can scarcely have had any motive for placing side by side inconsistent reports of St. Paul's conversion; and that he should have admitted inconsistencies on such a

matter through mere carelessness, is hardly credible. Strange that those who are so proud of detecting "obvious discrepancies," cannot see that they are too obvious to have escaped the notice of the writer, whose leaving them as they stand is a decisive proof of honesty! In the one place he gives in his own language a simple account of the most essential features of the transaction, viewed merely as an historical event:—the sudden light from heaven; the voice of Jesus speaking with authority to his persecutor; Saul struck to the ground, blinded, overcome; the three days' suspense; the coming of Ananias as a messenger of the Lord; and Saul's baptism. In the other two passages, he reports speeches which St. Paul made before different auditors, bringing forward in each case those points which were best fitted to convince the hearers; points relating chiefly to his own consciousness, but in no one respect inconsistent with those recorded in the simpler narrative. It is to be especially observed that St. Luke, in telling the plain story of Paul's conversion, refers to what the by-standers witnessed as a sort of supplement; while St. Paul himself, in using the event as an evidence of his divine mission, lays more stress on their experience, and weaves it step by step into his account. As a critical example of unity in diversity, and for its importance as one of the chief evidences of the truth of Christianity, each step of the narrative must be compared in the three accounts.

A. D. 37. I. Saul and his company had nearly completed the journey across the vast level east of the Lake of Tiberias—"the Desert of Damascus"—bounded only by the chain of Lebanon faintly seen on the far horizon:—"the earth in its length and breadth, and all the deep universe of sky, is steeped in light and heat;" and the towers of the most ancient city in the world are now in full sight, when the brightness of the noonday sun is suddenly swallowed up in a greater light from heaven, which seems to envelop the little band. The fancy that this might have been a subjective vision to the internal sense of Saul alone is precluded by his own statement in the third of the accounts—"shining round about me, *and them that journeyed with me.*" The light then was a real effulgence visible to all, and all were stricken to the earth by its sudden overpowering splendor. But Saul, though alone struck blind by the light, alone beheld the vision of the Son of God amid the light, as he appeared to the Three Children in the fiery furnace, and to Stephen in the article of death, and afterward to John in Patmos—visible only to his *spiritual* sense. This view, though not undisputed, is amply justified, first by the contrast in the narrative itself—for the attendants, who retained their natural



CONVERSION OF SAUL.

vision, *saw no man*—and next by the express declarations of Ananias, “The Lord Jesus, *who appeared unto thee in the way*”—“The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, *that thou shouldest . . . see that Just One*”—and by those by Paul himself—“Have not I *seen Jesus Christ our Lord?*”—“Last of all *he was seen of me also*, as of one born out of due time.” The last passage seems decisive, concluding as it does the list of the visible appearances of Christ to his Apostles after his resurrection, by this to the last-chosen of their number.

II. The light was attended by the *sound* so familiar to Jewish belief as the “Bath-Col,” or voice from heaven, audible to the attendants probably much in the same way as to the Jews on the occasion when some said it thundered. But what they heard as a mere *sound* was to Saul the distinct *voice* of him who appeared to him in the light, a remonstrance which at once revealed himself and claimed the obedience of one well known to him—“Saul! Saul! why persecutest thou me?” The fuller narrative in St. Paul’s defence before Agrippa adds that striking figure, which is not only a warning of the folly of resistance, but implies that *conscious effort against conviction* of which we have before spoken—“It is hard for thee to kick against the goad.” Amid the vague astonishment of the answer, we trace the acknowledgment of the appeal from heaven, “Who art thou, LORD?”—while the reply fully reveals him whom Saul was henceforth to serve with as much zeal as that with which he now opposed him: “I am

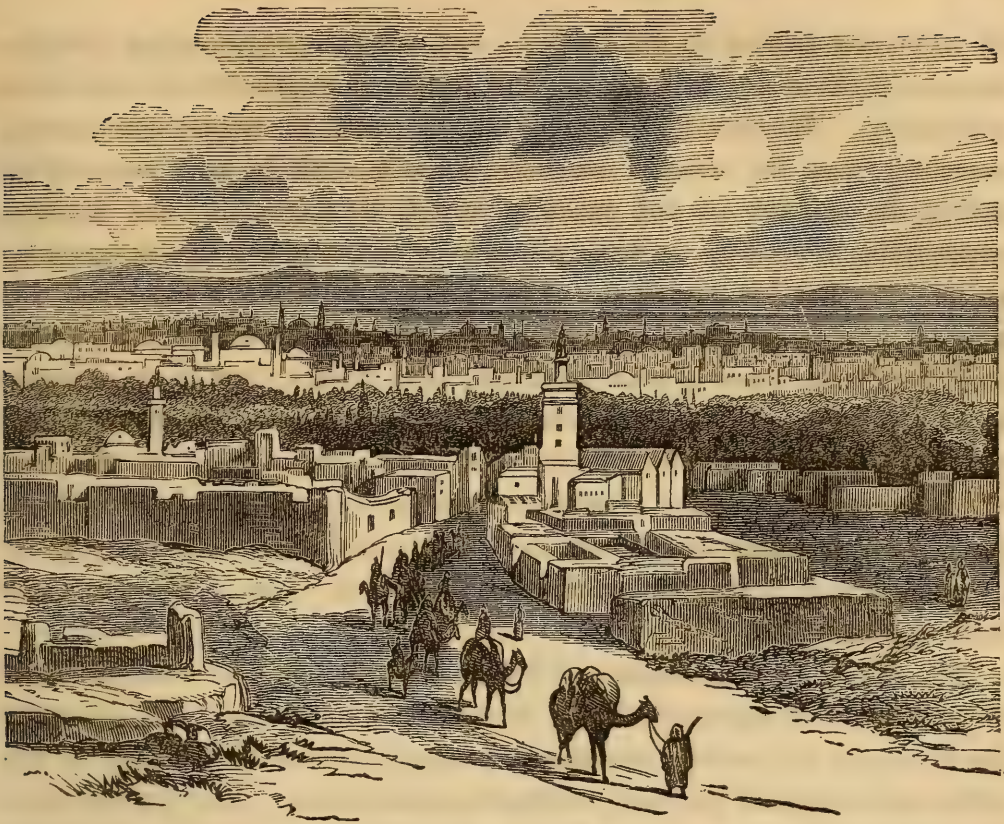
JESUS of Nazareth, *whom thou persecutest.*" To the trembling and astonishment caused by his being "apprehended"—to use his own figure—in the very act described by his earthly master as "fighting against God," was at once added that entire change of heart and spirit and purpose toward Christ, which has caused the transaction to be called ever since, "the *Conversion* of St. Paul." He had much yet to learn; but this great change was marked, and the key-note of his future life was struck by the humble inquiry, "Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?" The answer was left to be given by the appointed human agency, after an interval of preparation; and the supernatural scene was closed by the command to Saul to rise up, and go into Damascus to wait for his commission. And here we have the most interesting example of that unity in diversity which marks the three accounts. The narrative of St. Luke of course mentions the return to Damascus, and so forth, in the historic order; and in St. Paul's defence to the Jews, importance is naturally assigned to the miraculous and prophetic ministry of Ananias, while the commission to the Gentiles—so sure to rouse their indignation—was as naturally deferred to the last. But, in addressing Agrippa, he passes over the transactions at Damascus, in which the king would take no interest, to come at once to the essential matter of his commission, by which he hoped to persuade him to become a Christian. In so doing he ascribes to Jesus, not only the message afterward brought to him by Ananias, but the revelation made to him at a later period in the Temple, in words which were those of Christ himself. With perfect truthfulness to the spirit of the transaction, he condenses into one point of view revelations which really formed but one. What Saul actually heard from Jesus, on the way as he journeyed, was afterward interpreted into that definite form in which he repeated it to Agrippa.

In all that passed, from the moment when all fell to the earth at the outburst of the light from heaven till Saul again rose to his feet, his companions had no other part than that of silent wonder. "They stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man." As they could not distinguish the articulate voice that conversed with Paul, so neither did they hear articulate words proceeding from his lips. It seems therefore that he heard and spoke by means of an inward spiritual sense.

III. Saul rose from the ground, and opened his eyes after his trance, only to find that "he could not see for the glory of that light." The guidance by which his comrades led him into Damascus was the type of his new spiritual state, "taken by the hand" by his Lord. In

the street called Straight, he became the guest of Judas, perhaps one of the chief of the disciples whom he came to persecute. Of the communion with his new-found Master during his three days of darkness and fasting, we have only the simple record, "Behold he prayeth!"—which shows him in the fit attitude for receiving the mission of Ananias, a vision of whose coming had consoled his waiting. The messenger sent to him was a convert of his own class, "a devout man according to the law," and one so familiar with all the evil that Paul had done, as to be at first incredulous of his conversion. He salutes Saul as a brother, and, in the name of that same Lord Jesus who had appeared to him by the way, bids him receive his sight. The scales, which seemed at once to fall from his eyes, were those which had blinded his spiritual even more than his natural vision; and his own narrative adds the full account of the revelation that burst upon him:—"The same hour I looked up upon him, and he said, The Lord God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see the Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard." Every word in this address strikes some chord which we hear sounded again and again in St. Paul's Epistles. The new convert is not—as is commonly said—converted from Judaism to Christianity: *the God of the Jewish fathers chooses him*. He is chosen to *know God's will*. That will is manifested in *the Righteous One*. Him Saul *sees and hears*, in order that he may be *a witness of him* to all men. The eternal will of the God of Abraham; that will revealed in a Righteous Son of God; the testimony concerning him, a Gospel to mankind:—these are the essentially Pauline principles which are declared in all the teaching of the Apostle, and illustrated in all his actions. The mission of Ananias was completed by the baptism of Saul; and not till he had washed away his sins, calling on the name of the Lord, did he break his three days' fast, and was strengthened.

That the bigoted persecutor, at the climax of honor with his own nation, and in the full career of success, should have suddenly cast in his lot with the Christians, and entered on the new course of self-sacrificing labor and suffering which made up the rest of his life, has often been esteemed of itself a complete evidence of the truth of Christianity. The argument, which is fully set forth in Lord Lyttelton's *Letter on the Conversion of St. Paul*, is thus summed up by Paley:—"Here then we have a man of liberal attainments, and in other points of sound judgment, who addicted his life to the service of the Gospel. We see him, in the prosecution of his purpose, travelling from country



DAMASCUS.

to country, enduring every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beat, stoned, left for dead ; expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment and the same dangers ; yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next ; spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety ; persisting in this course to old age, unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion ; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labor, persecutions ; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death. Such was Paul. We have his letters in our hands ; we have also a history purporting to be written by one of his fellow-travellers, and appearing, by a comparison with these letters, certainly to have been written by some person well acquainted with the transactions of his life. From the letters, as well as from the history, we gather not only the account which we have stated of *him*, but that he was one out of many who acted and suffered in the same manner ; and that of those who did so, several had been the companions of Christ's ministry, the ocular witnesses, or pretending to be such, of his miracles and of his resurrection. We moreover find this same person referring in his letters to his supernatural conversion, the particulars and accompanying circumstances

of which are related in the history ; and which accompanying circumstances, if all or any of them be true, render it impossible to have been a delusion. We also find him positively, and in appropriate terms, asserting that he himself worked miracles, strictly and properly so called, in support of the mission which he executed ; the history, meanwhile, recording various passages of his ministry which come up to the extent of his assertion. The question is, whether falsehood was ever attested by evidence like this. Falsehoods, we know, have found their way into reports, into tradition, into books ; but is an example to be met with of a man voluntarily undertaking a life of want and pain, of incessant fatigue, of continual peril ; submitting to the loss of his home and country, to stripes and stoning, to tedious imprisonment, and the constant expectation of a violent death, for the sake of carrying about a story of what was false, and what, *if* false, he must have known to be so ?”

The divine message conveyed by Ananias to the new convert clearly involved a designation to the Apostleship, as the sight of Jesus by the way and the words addressed to Saul proved his choice to the office and supplied its chief external qualification. The public exercise of his office began immediately after his baptism. Received into full fellowship with the Christians of Damascus, he preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God ; and the more they wondered at the great persecutor’s conversion, as contrasted with the fell purpose which brought him to the city, the more he increased in strength, “and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ.” The narrative of St. Luke does not stay to relate how the news was received at Jerusalem ; but the disappointed rage of Saul’s former friends is proved in his subsequent history. From himself too we learn that he made the choice deliberately, not to go first to Jerusalem and seek confirmation or advice from those who were Apostles before him ; but, instead of thus “conferring with flesh and blood,” he acted on the conviction that “it had pleased God, who separated him from his mother’s womb, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him, that he might preach him among the heathen.”

Of the time thus spent, before Saul was driven from Damascus, we learn further particulars from himself. He defines the “many days” of Luke as three years ; which may mean either three full years, or one year with parts of two others. Near the beginning (as it would seem) of this period, he retired into Arabia ; we are not told to what district, or for what purpose—perhaps for

seclusion, meditation and prayer, in opposition to “conferring with flesh and blood”—and then he returned to Damascus. Here a conspiracy was formed against him by the Jews, who lay in wait to kill him, while the ethnarch under Aretas, the Arabian king, kept watch with the garrison to prevent his escape. But the Eastern fashion of building houses upon walls enabled Paul to escape by the same device used by Rahab at Jericho. Being let down through a window by the wall in a basket, he took his course to Jerusalem. The motive of this visit, as he himself tells us, was to form Peter’s acquaintance, or “to enquire of Peter,” whom in the time of persecution he had doubtless learned to regard as the chief of the Apostles. He probably thought that the time was come for that concert with the former Apostles, which he had purposely abstained from seeking as a preliminary qualification for his own ministry. And even now he takes pains to have it understood that he accepted no formal confirmation of his call from the “apostolic college.” He mentions the journey as an illustration of his argument that he did not receive the Gospel which he preached (that is, the commission to preach it) from man; and adds the solemn asseveration—“before God, I lie not”—to the statement, “Other of the Apostles saw I none save James the Lord’s brother.” The great body of the disciples viewed the re-appearance of their former persecutor with distrust, and refused to believe that he was a disciple, till Barnabas—who, as a Cypriot, seems to have had relations with the Hellenist Jews of Tarsus—brought Saul to the Apostles, and told them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and how boldly he had preached Christ at Damascus. With equal boldness Saul now began to dispute with the Hellenists; and he was only saved from Stephen’s fate through being hastily escorted by the brethren to Cæsarea, whence he sailed for Tarsus.

A. D. 39. He had spent only fifteen days at Jerusalem, as the guest of Peter; and it becomes a question of deep interest, whether this intercourse of theirs took place before or after the time when Peter had opened the kingdom of heaven to the Gentiles by the conversion of Cornelius; and how far they aided in opening one another’s eyes to the mystery of the conversion of the whole world. For we are so accustomed to think of Paul as the Apostle of the Gentiles, as to forget that his Jewish prejudices were naturally as strong as those of Peter. Saul had indeed already been designated, in the revelation to Ananias, as “a chosen vessel unto God, to bear his name before the *Gentiles*, and kings, and the children of Israel;” but we do not know that Ananias had given him the commission more distinctly than in

the general phrase "to all men," and Saul had as yet preached only in the Jewish synagogues at Damascus. The visit to Jerusalem was the season appointed for him to receive his full commission to the Gentiles, the particulars of which he relates in his defence before the Jews. As he was praying in the Temple, he fell into a trance, and for the second time beheld a vision of the Lord, who bade him to make haste and depart from Jerusalem, "for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me." His argument in reply, from their former knowledge of him as a persecutor, was answered by the repetition of the command, "Depart, for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." The revelation is evidently made to Saul alone, and that as a novelty and mystery inconsistent with the supposition that the Church at Jerusalem had already acknowledged the conversion of Cornelius and his Gentile friends. It seems to include not only a designation to his particular department of apostolic work—so offensive to the Jews—but also a distinct recognition of that independence of his apostolic calling which might have provoked jealousy even among his Christian brethren. And, just as the bare recital of those words roused Saul's infuriated audience to cry, "Away with such a fellow from earth!" so would the consciousness of such a mission probably hurry him away out of the reach both of Jews and Judaizing Christians, without his venturing to communicate it even to Peter. The view most consistent, both with the sequence of the narrative and with the order in which the Gospel message was developed, seems to be that each Apostle was led on independently, and without concert, to his separate mission to the Gentiles; the one to open to them the door of the kingdom of heaven, the other to go abroad and compel them to come in. Nor had the Christians of Judæa any but the slightest knowledge of Saul till, after his flight from Jerusalem, he "came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia; and they heard only, that he which persecuted us in times past now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed; and they glorified God in him."

The narrative in the Acts distinctly places after this visit to Jerusalem that season of outward quiet which forms a grateful interval in the history of the early Church:—"Then had the churches rest throughout all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and, walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied." To appreciate this statement fully, we must here endeavor to supply that want of a distinct chronology which is so much felt in the Acts of the Apostles. The amount of industry and learning, recently brought to the discussion by Dr.

Howson and Mr. Lewin, has reduced the controversy within very narrow limits; and the comparative table at the close of this chapter will at once show the points of difference between these leading authorities, and also how satisfactory is their general agreement, though arrived at by different trains of argument, concerning the leading epochs of Paul's life.

It will be observed that the main points of difference—exclusive of the date of Paul's birth, and the period after his first imprisonment at Rome, which are confessedly very uncertain—are the following :

(1.) The *First Missionary Journey* is placed three years earlier, and the *Visit to Jerusalem to the Council* two years earlier by Mr. Lewin than by Dr. Howson.

(2.) This discrepancy is balanced by the greater extent which Mr. Lewin gives to the *Second Circuit*.

(3.) The fourth visit to Jerusalem is placed by Mr. Lewin at the Feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53, by Dr. Howson at Pentecost, A. D. 54.

(4.) The difference respecting the visit of Gal. ii. rests on a different computation of the 3 years and 14 years of Gal. i. 18, and Gal. ii. 1.

There are but two events in the life of Paul which give us sure marks of time. The one is his journey from Antioch to Jerusalem with Barnabas, on the occasion of the great famine under Claudius, about the time of the death of Herod Agrippa I.—an event which we can fix with certainty to A. D. 44; and the visit itself could not be later than A. D. 45. The other date is that of the judgment of St. Paul by Festus; who can be proved, almost with certainty, to have succeeded Felix as procurator of Judæa in A. D. 60—in the autumn of which year, therefore, Paul was sent as a prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome. From the latter date we can safely reckon back, through his two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea to the Pentecost of A. D. 58, as the date of his last arrival at Jerusalem.

On his way thither, he had sailed from Philippi to Troas after the Passover, after residing at Corinth for three months, that is, in the winter and early spring of A. D. 57 to 58. Thence we trace him back through Macedonia to Ephesus; a leisurely journey, for, as he went over those parts, he gave them much exhortation. It was, therefore, before the middle of A. D. 57 that he was driven by the great tumult from Ephesus, after he had labored in the city for three years; and this is confirmed by the known date of the Artemisia, the festival at which the riot occurred, which was in May. Again we meet the

difficulty as to the mode of reckoning; but, as Paul had gone over the whole country of Phrygia and Galatia, strengthening all the disciples, before he came to Ephesus, we can hardly date the beginning of this his *Third Missionary Journey* later than the autumn of A. D. 54. Mr. Lewin places it at the beginning of the year.

Here again we have an element of uncertainty in the "some time" which he had previously spent at Antioch after the conclusion of his second missionary journey. But the time of the year when he reached Antioch is marked approximately by the hasty visit which he first paid to Jerusalem at the "Feast." It is usually assumed that this Feast, which Paul was so anxious to keep at Jerusalem, was the Pentecost, in which case the "some days" spent at Antioch after it would bring us back to the Pentecost, A. D. 54; for the abrupt transition in St. Luke's narrative, and the incessant activity of St. Paul's labors among the Gentiles, now stimulated by the desire to make his collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem, alike forbid us to suppose that the interval was long. But Mr. Lewin prefers a still earlier date, and regards "the Feast" as the Feast of Tabernacles of A. D. 53 (September 16th), supposing that the Apostle wintered at Antioch, and commenced his Third Circuit at the very beginning of A. D. 54. Thus the two computations agree within six months as to the conclusion of Paul's *Second and greatest Missionary Journey*, of which the last year and a half was spent at Corinth, bringing us back to A. D. 52, and leaving us to account for the wide range of travel, with all its important incidents, from Antioch through Cilicia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens—quite enough to fill up not only the other part of A. D. 52, and the whole of A. D. 51, as Dr. Howson supposes, but to bring us back to the earlier date of Mr. Lewin (A. D. 49). For the date of St. Paul's eighteen months' residence at Corinth, during this circuit, we have independent evidence in the edict of Claudius banishing the Jews from Rome, whereby Aquila and Priscilla were driven to Corinth, and in the time of Gallio's proconsulship of Achaia. The reader is referred to Mr. Lewin's *Fasti Sacri* for the argument which deduces from these data the result, that Paul arrived at Corinth about February A. D. 52, and left that city about August A. D. 53, just in time to reach Jerusalem by the Feast of Tabernacles.

Before this second journey we have another interval of "some days" spent by Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, after their return from their important visit to Jerusalem to consult the Apostles and elders concerning the liberties of the Gentile converts. The foregoing

calculations lead us to place the date of this epoch, alike in the Apostle's history and in that of the whole Church—the so-called Council of Jerusalem—either in A. D. 50, or A. D. 48.

At this point we encounter one of the greatest difficulties. Dr. Howson finds in the date of A. D. 50 another, starting-point, from which to reckon back to the epoch of St. Paul's conversion. For of the five visits which are distinctly mentioned in the Acts as "having been paid by St. Paul to Jerusalem," this, he contends, is the only one that can answer to that mentioned in Gal. ii. 1, as having occurred "*fourteen years after*" the events recorded in Gal. i. The reckoning may be made either from Paul's conversion, or from his ensuing (first) visit to Jerusalem; and, on the other hand, the fourteen years, on the Jewish computation, may have been little more than twelve. Taking the average between these two doubts, we may reckon back the fourteen years from A. D. 50 to A. D. 36 or 37, and take this as the most probable epoch of St. Paul's conversion. It is most interesting to observe how Mr. Lewin arrives at almost the same result from a very different point of departure. He maintains, for reasons which will be better understood at the proper place in the narrative, but the conclusiveness of which is very doubtful, that the visit of Galatians ii. refers to Paul's arrival at Jerusalem at the close of his Second Circuit, which he places at the Feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53. He contends further that the "3 years" of Gal. i. 18, and the "14 years" of Gal. ii. 1, are to be computed more definitely than is commonly supposed; for that, while the phrase used in the former case (*μετὰ ἑτῆ τρία*) may mean *the third year current*, the different form of expression in the latter (*διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν*) signifies *an interval of fourteen years complete*; and that this fourteen years must be computed, not from Paul's conversion, but from the previous visit mentioned in Galatians i. 18. Upon these data, reckoning back 14 *years complete* from the Feast of Tabernacles of A. D. 53, we arrive at the Feast of Tabernacles of A. D. 39, for Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, to see Peter. Thence reckoning back *to the third year current*, we obtain some date in the interval between the Feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 36, and the Feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 37, as the epoch of St. Paul's conversion.

But more than this: it seems manifest that the conversion must be placed not long after the martyrdom of Stephen, and yet at a sufficient interval to leave time for the intervening persecution. Now, we have been led by independent reasoning to fix the martyrdom of Stephen either at the Feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 36, or at the Pass-

over or Pentecost of A. D. 37, which would lead us to the summer of A. D. 37 for the conversion. Finally we have the allusion to Saul as "a young man" (*νεανίας*) at the death of Stephen, which must be compared with his description of himself, "Paul the Elder," at the time when he wrote to Philemon from his prison at Rome, A. D. 62. Now we happen to have a distinct definition by Philo, the contemporary of St. Paul, of the limits of age which the Jews denoted by these phrases; according to which Paul might be about 28 in A. D. 37, and about 53 in A. D. 62, so that his birth may be placed approximately in A. D. 9. We are aided in fixing the lower limit by the fact that Aretas was not in possession of Damascus till A. D. 37.

The conclusion that Paul's conversion took place about the beginning, and his flight from Jerusalem about the middle of Caligula's reign of four years (A. D. 37–41), is in perfect agreement with that interval of rest to all the churches, which is mentioned as immediately succeeding his departure from Jerusalem to Tarsus. That interval of rest may be ascribed not only to the cessation of Saul's persecution, but to the relations of Judæa to the empire under Caligula. We shall soon have occasion to tell how that Cæsar's insane attempt to set up his own statue in the sanctuary drove the Jews to the verge of a rebellion, which was only averted by his death; and we can well believe that the agitation of the whole people at the impending danger would divert their attention from the Christians. Thus the commotions which have shaken the world and divided the Church's enemies against themselves, have often given her a shelter and a breathing-space, just as she seemed about to succumb to persecution.

CONYBEARE AND HOWSON.	LEWIN.	TABLE OF ST. PAUL'S LIFE.
A. D.	A. D.	
About 5 or 6	About 11	Birth of Saul at Tarsus.
36	36 or 37	Martyrdom of St. Stephen.
37	37	Conversion of St. Paul.
39	39	His <i>first visit</i> to Jerusalem.
	(Feast of Tabernacles.)	
39–40	39–40	Rest of the Jewish Churches.
40	40	Conversion of Cornelius.
44	43	Barnabas fetches Saul from Tarsus to Antioch.
44	44	Famine; and death of Herod Agrippa I.
44 or 45	44	Barnabas and Saul go to Jerusalem with the collection. (Paul's <i>second visit</i> .)
	(Before the Passover.)	
48–49	45–46	Paul's <i>First Missionary Journey</i> .
50	48	Paul and Barnabas go up to the Council at Jerusalem.
		Paul's <i>third visit</i> .*

* Dr. Howson identifies this visit with that of Galatians ii., and places the collision with Peter at Antioch after it.

TABLE.—*Continued.*

CONYBEARE AND HOWSON.	LEWIN.	TABLE OF ST. PAUL'S LIFE.
A. D.	A. D.	
51	49	Paul's <i>Second Missionary Journey</i> .
52	52	Paul arrives at Corinth, where he stays 18 months.
54	(February.)	Paul arrives at Jerusalem.
(Pentecost.)	(Tabernacles.)	His <i>fourth visit</i> .*
54	54	Winters at Antioch (Lewin).
(Latter half.)	(Beginning.)	Paul's <i>Third Missionary Journey</i> .
55	54	He reaches Ephesus, where he stays 3 <i>full years</i> (Lewin).
55-57	(May.)	
57	54-57	
	57	Leaves Ephesus for Macedonia.
57-58	(About Pentecost.)	
58	57-58	Winters at Corinth (3 months).
58	58	Reaches Philippi at the <i>Passover</i> .
	(March 27.)	
58	58	Reaches Jerusalem at Pentecost.
	(May 17.)	Paul's <i>fifth visit</i> , and arrest in the Temple.
58-60	58-60	Imprisonment at Cæsarea.
60	60	Festus succeeds Felix.
	(About Midsummer.)	
60	60	Paul sails for Rome.
	(End of August.)	
61	About Nov. 1	His shipwreck at Malta.
	61	Paul reaches Rome.
	(Beginning of March.)	
63	61-63	His first imprisonment (2 years).
	63	On his release Paul
	(Spring.)	goes to Macedonia and Asia Minor (C. & H.)
64-66	64	sails for Jerusalem, and visits Antioch, Colossæ and Ephesus.
(In Spain?)		(Lewin.) Paul, after visiting Crete, leaves Ephesus for Macedonia.
67-68	64-65	Winters at Nicopolis.
	65	(Lewin.) Visits Dalmatia, and returns through Macedonia and Troas to Ephesus, where he is arrested and sent to Rome.
68	66	Martyrdom of St. Paul at Rome.
(May or June.)	(June 29.)	

* Mr. Lewin identifies this visit with that of Galatians ii., and places the collision with Peter at Antioch after it.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GENTILES RECEIVED INTO THE CHURCH—FROM AFTER THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL TO THE DECREE OF THE FIRST COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM, INCLUDING THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY OF PAUL AND BARNABAS.

[A. D. 40—A. D. 48 or 50.]

IT was in the interval of rest described in the preceding chapter, which we may place in the latter part of Caligula's reign, that Peter made what appears to have been an Apostolical visitation of all the churches already established. Arriving at Lydda, in the great maritime plain of Sharon, he performed a miracle of healing on a certain Æneas, who had been bedridden with palsy for eight years. Imitating the manner of his Master in the command, "Arise, and make thy bed," he was careful to show the source of the power which accompanied his words by saying, "*Jesus Christ maketh thee whole.*" The miracle was followed by the general conversion of the inhabitants of the city of Lydda and the plain of Sharon.

Nine miles from Lydda, and on the sea-shore, stands Joppa, the ancient port of Solomon. Here dwelt a disciple, whose name—TABITHA in Aramaic, in Greek DORCAS, that is, *gazelle*—generally associated in the East with the perfection of female beauty—has become the type of the greater loveliness of that charity with which she clothed the poor by the labor of her own hands. Her death was felt so grievous a loss by the brethren at Joppa, that they sent messengers to Lydda, praying for a visit from St. Peter. His arrival was followed by the crowning miracle which proved that the spiritual gifts conferred by Christ upon his Apostles did not stop short of power over life and death. And in this case also, Peter proceeded after the example given by our Saviour in raising the daughter of Jairus. Putting forth from the chamber, where the corpse was already laid out for burial, the mourners whose lamentations and display of the garments she had made proved at once the reality of her death and the sense of their loss, Peter knelt down and prayed. Then, turning to the body, he said, "Tabitha, arise!" "And she opened her eyes: and when she saw Peter, she sat up. And he gave her his hand, and lifted her up, and when he had called the saints and widows, he pre-



HOUSE WITH A PARAPET.

sented her alive." The news spread through Joppa; many believed on the Lord; and Peter took up his abode for a long time among the converts, in the house of his namesake, Simon, a tanner, on the seashore.

Here it was the Apostle's custom to ascend at noon to the housetop, which looked over the western waters, for solitary prayer; unconsciously blending his devotions with those which a Roman soldier at Cæsarea was continually offering, that new light might be added to what he had learned as a "proselyte of the gate." This soldier was Cornelius, a centurion of the Italian Cohort, "a just man, and one that feared God, with all his house, and of good report among all the Jewish nation, who gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway." To this man's devotion, and faithfulness to the light he had, was vouchsafed a vision of an angel, bidding him to send to Joppa for Simon Peter, who should tell him what he ought to do. It was no phantasm of a nocturnal dream, but an open vision, manifest to his waking sense, at three o'clock in the afternoon, as he was praying in his house at the hour of the evening sacrifice.

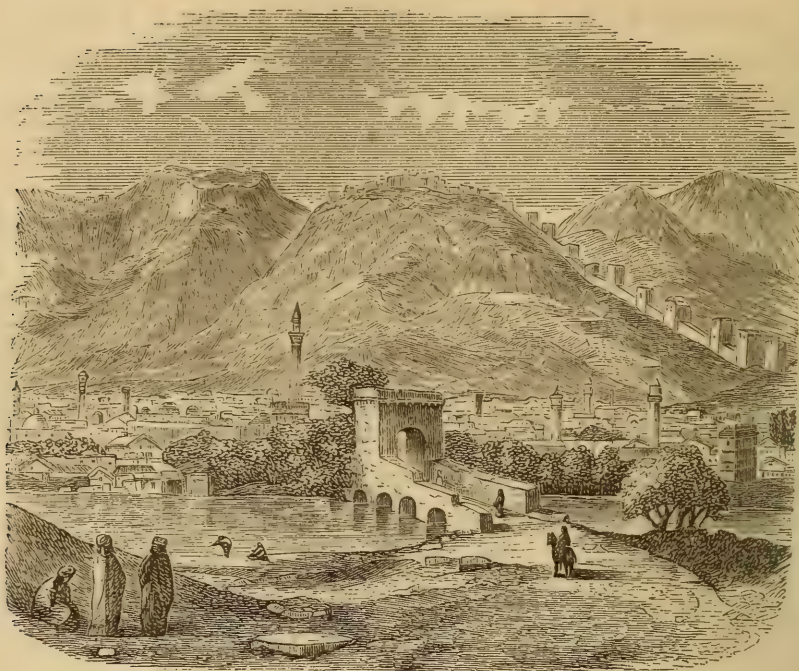
His messengers were already approaching Joppa on the following day, when Peter also, in his midday retirement upon the house-top, was visited in a trance by a vision which taught him, through emblems specially adapted to his prejudices as a Jew, the hardest lesson for a Jew to learn, "that he should not call any man common or unclean," and which was interpreted by the words, thrice repeated from heaven—"What *God hath cleansed*, that call not thou common!" The lesson was at once enforced by the arrival of the messengers of Cornelius and the command of the Spirit to go with them; and the journey of a day and a half from Joppa to Cæsarea gave Peter time to reflect upon this meaning. So, when he found Cornelius waiting with his kinsmen and near friends, to hear the divine message from his mouth, he was prepared to declare the great principle of the new dispensation:—"Of a truth I perceive that *God is no respecter of persons*; but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him." Then to these GENTILES he preached the Gospel of the life and death of Christ, his resurrection and coming again to judgment, and the remission of sins through his name to all who believe in him. While Peter was in the act of speaking, the believing reception of his words by Cornelius and his friends was divinely ratified by the immediate effusion of the Holy Spirit, repeating for these representatives of the Gentiles, the gift bestowed on the Jews at Pentecost, and conferring the power of speaking with tongues. The sign was needed to remove the doubts, if not of the Apostle himself, of the Judaizing Christians who accompanied him; for the existence of that party is already indicated in the narrative by the phrase, "they of the circumcision." While they were silent with astonishment, Peter decided all doubt concerning the full reception of these new converts into the Church by the argument, "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized, *which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?*" He commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord, and stayed some days among them.

This event was the crown and consummation of Peter's ministry. He, who had first preached the resurrection to the Jews, baptized the first converts, and confirmed the Samaritans, now, without the advice or co-operation of any of his colleagues, under direct communication from heaven, first threw down the barrier which separated proselytes of the gate from Israelites; first established principles which issued in the complete fusion of the Hebrew and Gentile elements in the Church. The narrative of this event, which stands alone in minute circumstantiality of incidents and accumulation of supernatural agency,

is twice recorded by St. Luke. The chief points to be recorded are, first, the peculiar fitness of Cornelius, both as a representative of Roman force and nationality, and a devout and liberal worshipper, to be a recipient of such privileges; and secondly, the state of the Apostle's own mind. Whatever may have been his hopes or fears touching the heathen, the idea had certainly not yet crossed him that they could become Christians without first becoming Jews. As a loyal and believing Hebrew, he could not contemplate the removal of Gentile disqualifications, without a distinct assurance that those enactments of the Law which concerned them were abrogated by a divine legislator. The vision could not therefore have been the product of a subjective impression: it was strictly objective, presented to his mind by an external influence. Yet the will of the Apostle was not controlled, it was simply enlightened. The intimation in the state of trance did not at once overcome his reluctance. It was not until his consciousness was fully restored, and he had well considered the meaning of the vision, that he learned that the distinction of cleanness and uncleanness in outward things belonged to a temporary dispensation. It was no mere acquiescence in a positive command, but the development of a spirit full of generous impulses, which found utterance in the words spoken by Peter, on that occasion, both in presence of Cornelius and afterward at Jerusalem.

But the Church at Jerusalem were slow to learn the lesson involved in the tidings that the Gentiles had also received the Word of God. When Peter returned to Jerusalem, he was accused by "those of the circumcision" because he had eaten with the uncircumcised. But his plain narrative of the whole transaction, crowned by the argument that, in the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, he had recognized that same baptism of the Spirit which Christ had promised as the sign of his presence with the Apostles themselves, silenced every objection, and opened every mouth in praise to God for the great revelation which marks this epoch in the history of the Church:—"Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life." Thus had the preaching of the Word, which the Apostles had begun, according to their Lord's command, from Jerusalem, reached every class within the limits of Judæa; the Jew and the Samaritan; the proselyte from the distant south, and the Gentiles from Rome herself; while the Great Apostle of the Gentiles had received his divine commission, which he was already beginning to exercise in Syria and Cilicia.

Nor was this all, for Jerusalem was surprised by the tidings that the Gospel had reached the Greek capital of the East. In fact, in



ANTIOCH.

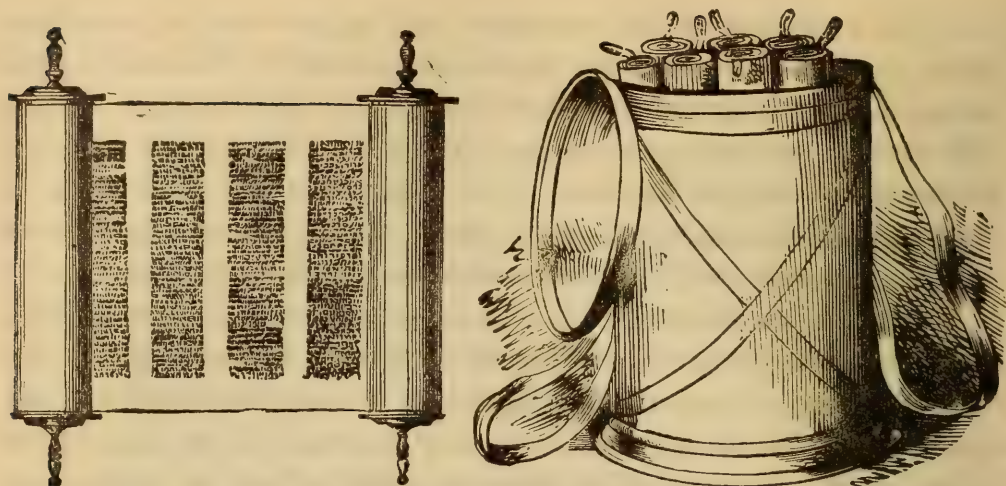
the history of the diffusion of Christianity, ANTIOCH occupies a place even more conspicuous than Jerusalem itself. There the first Gentile

A. D.
41-42.

Church was formed; there the name of *Christian* was first heard; and thence the Gospel was first diffused over the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire and carried over into Europe. Its geographical position, its political and commercial importance, and the presence of a large and powerful Jewish element in its population, were the more obvious characteristics which made it fit for such a centre of Gentile Christianity. The great wave of Gospel diffusion, which had its centre in the blow struck at Stephen and the Christians at Jerusalem, passed over the northern frontier of Palestine, along the Phœnician coast, across to Cyprus, and into Syria as far as Antioch. But, while the dispersed Christians preached the Gospel everywhere, it was at first only to the Jews. But certain of the Hellenists among them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, soon grew bolder; and, on their arrival at Antioch, they spake to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus. "And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord." It is probable that these Greeks were in the same religious position as Cornelius—proselytes of the gate—and their conversion was so nearly simultaneous with his, that when the news reached Jerusalem it found the Church prepared to act on the lesson taught through Peter. Barnabas—who, as at once a Levite and a native of Cyprus, as well

as by the powers of gentle persuasion that gained him his surname, was a chief link between the Hebrews and the Hellenists—besides having the higher qualifications so emphatically recorded by St. Luke: “He was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith”—Barnabas was sent to Antioch. The lesson that had been given to Peter needed not repetition in his case. It was enough for him to see “the grace of God,” to exhort the new converts to cleave to the Lord with all their heart. His labors were more and more successful; “much people was added unto the Lord.” Barnabas saw in this movement at Antioch the beginning of a great work among the Greeks; and, intent upon finding a fit associate in the new labors before him, he departed to Tarsus to seek Saul, whom he had formerly introduced to the Apostles.

Meanwhile the state of rest enjoyed by the Churches of Judæa had come to an end. Upon the assassination of Caligula, the prætorian cohorts of Rome had raised CLAUDIUS to the purple; and one of the new emperor’s first acts was to reward the services of HEROD AGRIPPA I. with the kingdom of Judæa (A. D. 41). We have already described that policy of conciliation to the Jews, which led Herod to begin the first regal persecution of the Christians by the beheading of the first Apostolic martyr, JAMES, the brother of John, and to follow up the stroke by the imprisonment of Peter. It was during the Passover, probably in the last year of Herod’s short reign (A. D. 44), that he placed Peter under the strictest guard, intending to gratify the people by his death as soon as the feast was over. The night before the day fixed for the execution had arrived; and Peter long since prepared by Christ’s prediction for the death which now seemed appointed for the very season of his Master’s passion, was sleeping soundly between two soldiers, bound by two chains, when a sudden light filled his cell; an angel aroused him from his sleep, and led him through guards and through doors that opened of their own accord into the street. The angel had departed before Peter recovered from the impression that all was a vision. He repaired to the house of Mary, the mother of JOHN MARK, where many disciples were assembled in prayer. Alarmed at first by his knocking at the door, on that night of special danger, they could scarcely be convinced by the sound of his own voice, but thought that it was his angel. Admitted at length, Peter told them the manner of his deliverance, and, having sent a special message to James, and the other brethren, departed into some safe retreat. In the morning the prison was found in full security and order, but with the prisoner gone. The king took ven-



ANCIENT WRITING MATERIALS.

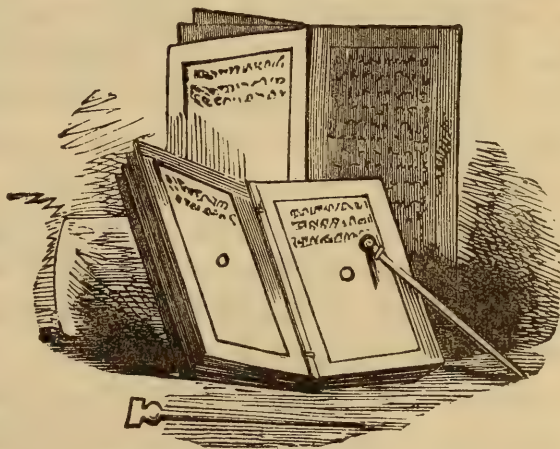
geance on the guards, and then departed for Cæsarea, to keep that festival at which he himself became the signal mark of God's vengeance.

A. D. 43. From the position of this narrative in the Acts, between the mission of Paul and Barnabas by the Church of Antioch and their return, they would naturally seem to have been witnesses of the persecution; but it is doubtful whether their visit took place before the death of Herod. We must look back to the events that led Paul to pay this his second visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. The interval of uncertain length, which he spent in Cilicia and Syria, after his flight from Jerusalem to Tarsus, is a blank in the story of the Acts; but some commentators refer to this period the chief part at least of the perils and sufferings which he recounts to the Corinthians, including two Roman and five Jewish scourgings, and three shipwrecks. At all events, we may safely regard this as the great probationary period of the Apostle's ministry, in which, laboring alone and unaided by man, he was specially prepared for the wide field to which he was called when Barnabas came to Tarsus to seek his aid for the work at Antioch. The two devoted brethren labored for a whole year in the Church at Antioch, "teaching much people," till the adherents of the new faith grew to such importance as to be enrolled among the schools of religious and philosophic opinion recognized by the Greeks and Romans. *The disciples were called CHRISTIANS first at Antioch*; and they soon gave the first great example of a beneficence peculiarly Christian.

It cannot but be regarded as a special act of Divine Providence, that knit together in "the fellowship of giving and receiving" the two branches of the Church, which had thus grown up among the Jews and Greeks, and which might have been tempted into a rivalry

foreshadowing the worldly conflicts of the "Patriarchs" of Jerusalem and Antioch. Certain prophets went down from Jerusalem to Antioch, one of whom, named Agabus—who afterward warned Paul of his imprisonment—foretold through the Spirit the approach of a great famine. The fulfilment of the prediction is placed in the Acts "in the days of Claudius Cæsar;" but Josephus mentions a great famine which afflicted Judæa when Cuspius Fadus and Tiberias Alexander were procurators of Judæa. Now Fadus was the first procurator sent out when Judæa was again brought under the Roman government after the death of Herod Agrippa I. It would of course be at the beginning of the famine that the Christians of Antioch, forewarned by the prophet, sent relief to the brethren in Judæa by the hands of Barnabas and Saul, whose visit to Jerusalem may therefore be placed in A. D. 45. A confirmatory indication of the date is obtained from their taking back with them John Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, who may have been specially exposed to persecution on account of the assembly of the brethren in his mother's house. Nothing more is recorded of this visit in the Acts; and it deserves special notice that, if its time be rightly fixed, the recent flight of Peter from Jerusalem would prevent any intercourse on this occasion between him and Paul.

But we learn from Paul's own testimony that there was not wanting to him, on this occasion also, one of those supernatural visits which appear to have marked each one of his sojournings at Jerusalem, and which indicate the care



ANCIENT BOOK AND STYLUS.

of his Divine Master to renew the grace given to him at first, and to keep up his sensitive spirit to the pitch of his mighty work. That marvellous rapture (probably, like his former vision, in the Temple)—in which, whether in or out of the body he could not tell, he was caught up into the third heaven, and heard words which no man might utter—is stated in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the date of which is fixed to A. D. 57, to have occurred "*about* fourteen years ago," a phrase which justifies our computing by *years current*, and so brings us to A. D. 44 or 45. And this view is most admirably suited to the revelation which was thus made to the Apostle on the

eve of his departure for his first missionary tour among the Gentiles. For then it was that he was about especially to encounter those “infirmities, reproaches, necessities, persecutions, distresses for Christ’s sake,” in which he most gladly gloried rather than in the honor of the revelation itself. Then it was that he was taught, as a needful sequel to the revelation, the great lesson of Christian humility and confidence—“My grace is sufficient for thee; for *my strength is made perfect in weakness.*” But even Paul’s self-sacrificing spirit needed to be taught this lesson by the discipline, not of suffering only, but of a humiliating affliction; and, like Job, he was given over to the great enemy, to worry though not to devour, within the compass of his tether. “Lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me *a thorn (or rather, stake) in the flesh, the messenger of Satan, to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure.*” That this was some permanent infirmity (σκόλοψ), which troubled and hindered the Apostle through his subsequent career, seems plain from his expression of resignation to it, after his thrice-repeated prayer for its removal had been answered only by an encouragement to submission. Nor need we hesitate to draw from the general course of God’s providence the conclusion that it was either, like physical infirmities in general, a relic of some past sin, or that, like Jacob’s lameness, it was a memorial of some great incident in his history. Connecting it with the statement that “his bodily presence was weak and his speech contemptible,” in striking contrast to his weighty letters, some suppose it to have been an impediment in his speech, which would be peculiarly distressing, nay, injurious, to such a man engaged in such a work—a judicial infliction on that tongue which had blasphemed Christ and condemned the first Christian martyr. A more ingenious conjecture regards the affliction as an infirmity of eye-sight, varying from time to time in severity, the relic of the blindness with which Paul was smitten on his way to Damascus, and the perpetual memorial, as in the case of Jacob, of a conflict with God, from which no man could come forth unscathed. It can scarcely be doubted that the affliction was the same as that “infirmity of the flesh,” from which Paul suffered in his first visit to the Galatians, who, instead of despising him for it, were ready to *have plucked out their own eyes and have given them to him.* But after all, it is best to believe that in this, as in other cases, the silence of Scripture is intentional; to the end that men of natures more ardent than their strength, whose spirit is willing, but whose flesh is weak, may learn from Paul’s example to acknowledge and bow beneath the hand of



PAUL AND BARNABAS AT ANTIOCH.

God in those impediments, but for which they would become boasters; nay, to rejoice, that the glory of what they can yet do is not their own but God's.

A. D. 44 or 45. Some time after the return of Barnabas and Saul from this mission, in which the latter had a special opportunity for gaining the confidence of his Jewish brethren before entering on his great work among the Gentiles, the signal for that work was divinely given. The disciples composing the Church at Antioch were commanded by the Holy Ghost to send forth the missionaries, in these words, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them."

All this time, we infer from the form of St. Luke's language—which cannot be accidental—that Saul was subordinate to Barnabas. Until *Saul* becomes *Paul*, we read of "Barnabas and Saul;" afterward we have both "Paul and Barnabas" and "Barnabas and Paul." In the latter passage, moreover, they are jointly called *Apostles*, a dignity bestowed on Barnabas (if not before) by this divine call to a work properly apostolic. Just as the mystic number of the *twelve* at first referred to the tribes of Israel, the departure from it by the addition of Saul and Barnabas was one sign of the indefinite extension of the Gospel. When we look back, from the higher ground of St. Paul's apostolic activity, to the years that passed between his conversion and the first missionary journey, we cannot observe without reverence the patient humility with which Saul waited for his Master's time. He did not say for once only, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Obedience to Christ was thenceforth his ruling principle. Submitting, as he believed, to his Lord's direction, he was content to work for a long time as the subordinate colleague of his seniors in the faith. He was thus the better prepared, when the call came, to act with the authority which that call conferred upon him. He left Antioch, however, still the second to Barnabas. Every thing was done with orderly gravity in the sending forth of the two missionaries. Their brethren, after fasting and prayer, laid their hands on them, and so they departed.

A. D. 45. *First Missionary Journey of Barnabas and Saul.*—The two Apostles, with John Mark, the cousin of Barnabas, as a sort of subordinate minister, embarked at Seleucia, the port of Antioch, at the mouth of the Orontes, for Salamis in CYPRUS. Besides the constant intercourse between the two ports, which are only distant a few hours' sail, and the natural desire of Barnabas to begin the work among his own kindred, we have seen that there were already

Christians in the island, to whom Antioch itself owed in part the preaching of the Gospel; and there were numerous synagogues of Jews. We must observe that, in each of these missionary journeys, the Apostles, though sent forth specially to the Gentiles, never failed first to offer the Gospel to their Jewish brethren. For not only was this the order prescribed by the Lord, but the most hopeful course of reaching the Gentiles was through the proselytes and Hellenistic Jews, though their hardness of heart ultimately frustrated this hope. Such was the order proclaimed by St. Paul in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia:—"The Jews at Jerusalem, in their wilful ignorance of the prophets, have fulfilled them in condemning Christ: to you, therefore, children of the stock of Abraham everywhere, is the word of this salvation sent." "It was necessary that the Word of God should first have been spoken to you; but, seeing that ye also put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles."

In this passage, as at every step in the whole journey, we see the Apostles' own estimate of the *work* to which the Holy Ghost had called them—to *speak the Word of God*; and accordingly they began their ministry at Salamis by preaching the Word of God in the synagogues of the Jews. That Word was the same with which Christ himself had begun his public ministry in the synagogue at Nazareth—the fulfilment of prophecy in the coming of Jesus Christ to be the Saviour of the whole world. Thus they traversed the length of Cyprus, from Salamis on the eastern coast to Paphos on the western. The latter city, celebrated throughout Greek history for the orgies of Venus, was now the residence of the Roman *proconsul*—for Cyprus, though at first made one of Cæsar's provinces, was restored by Augustus to the Senate, and we possess a coin of one of its proconsuls of the time of Claudius. This office was now held by SERGIUS PAULUS, a man of intelligence, but, like most of the Roman nobility who at that time took any interest in intellectual pursuits, including the Emperor Claudius, prone to curiosity about the occult oriental learning and magic arts, among the pretenders to which many Jews were conspicuous. Such counterfeits of spiritual power have always proved an influence most hostile to spiritual religion; and the Christians had not only to expose the cheat, but to clear themselves from the suspicion of trading, like the others, upon their spiritual powers. With such an impostor, a magician named Bar-Jesus or Elymas, the Apostles were brought into conflict by the proconsul's desire to hear them. The simple truth for which the better class of Romans were

yearning made such an impression on his mind, that Elymas, like Simon Magus at Samaria, became alarmed for his profits, and sought to turn away the proconsul from the faith. What sophistry he used the narrative does not record, any more than Paul condescended to refute it, when he exposed its true source in the indignant rebuke:—"O full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" These words were not Paul's own, for he spoke them filled with the Holy Ghost, and the authority of the condemnation was proved by the miracle which sent Elymas forth from the presence of the proconsul, blind and seeking for any to lead him by the hand. But the eyes of Sergius Paulus were opened to receive the spiritual light of faith in Christ; and we cannot doubt that the example of such a convert gave an impulse to the Gospel among the provincial Romans.

The rebuke of Elymas is introduced by the words, A. D. 45. "Then Saul, *who is also* PAUL," which naturally give the first impression that the Apostle, or others for him, marked an epoch in his ministry so important as the conversion of the proconsul by adopting his distinguished convert's name. Jerome goes so far as to disparage the surnames which men like Africanus won by their deeds of war, in contrast with this trophy of Paul's victory over heathenism. But such boasting is not after the Apostle's own manner; and the very common occurrence of double names, one Hebrew and one Greek or Roman, among the Jews of this age—Simon Peter, Simeon Niger, Barsabas Justus, John Mark—goes far to justify the belief that a Hellenistic Jew of Tarsus, whom we know to have been free-born, may have been called by both names from his infancy. The invariable use in the Acts of *Saul* up to this point, and *Paul* afterward, and the distinct mention which St. Luke himself makes of the transition, is accounted for by the desire to mark the turning-point between Saul's activity among his own countrymen and his new labors as the Apostle of the Gentiles. He is never afterward mentioned by any other name than Paul, whether in the Acts or in his own Epistles, and in the allusion to him by St. Peter he is named "our beloved brother Paul."

The precedence henceforth assigned to Paul over Barnabas is marked by the statement, that "Paul and his company," setting sail from Paphos, came to Perga in Pamphylia, a city about seven miles up the river Cestrus, which falls into the inmost bight of the bay of Attalia. Small vessels were constantly trading between this port

and Paphos; and Paul's course was now directed to the region which adjoined the scene of his former labors in Cilicia, and which gave the readiest access to the districts beyond the Taurus—Pisidia and Lycaonia—which abounded with Jewish synagogues. The passage of that mountain chain, long regarded as one of the great lines of demarcation between the Græco-Roman and Oriental worlds, marks the epoch at which the Gospel overpassed the limits of Semitic civilization. This new enterprise was beset with dangers. The highlands of Pisidia could only be penetrated by passes, subject to be swept by the sudden rise of the mountain torrents, and infested by the wildest banditti in the world; and the Apostles went forward through "perils of rivers and perils of robbers" only to plunge into "perils from their kindred, perils from the heathen." The prospect disheartened the youthful spirit of John Mark, who, "departing from them, returned to Jerusalem." The ground on which Paul afterward refused to take Mark upon the second missionary journey, even at the cost of a quarrel with such a friend as Barnabas—because "he departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work"—proves that he regarded Mark's desertion as at least a case of grievous instability. But it hardly follows that Mark was intent solely upon rest in his home at Jerusalem. Had mere cowardice been the cause of his withdrawal, Barnabas would not so soon have chosen him for another journey. His desertion of Paul may have been prompted in part by a wish to rejoin Peter and the Apostles engaged in preaching in Palestine. There is nothing strange in the character of a warm impulsive young man, drawn almost equally toward the two great teachers of the faith, Paul and Peter; with the latter of whom he is always connected by the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity. The steadfast kindness of Barnabas gave Mark the opportunity of returning to the work he had deserted, by taking him as his companion to Cyprus after he had separated from Paul; and it is pleasing to find him not only restored to Paul's intimacy during his first imprisonment at Rome, commended to the Church at Colossæ, and acknowledged as his fellow-laborer, but to hear Paul, among his last words, desiring that very aid from Mark which he had once rejected:—"Take Mark and bring him with thee, *for he is profitable to me for the ministry.*" In the interval between St. Paul's first and second imprisonments, Mark seems to have been brought again, by that journey to the East to which Paul alludes as contemplated, into co-operation with Peter, with whom we find him at Babylon, and who speaks of him affectionately as "my son." Meanwhile his de-

sertion must have added to the anxieties under which Paul and Barnabas plunged into the wilds of Pisidia.

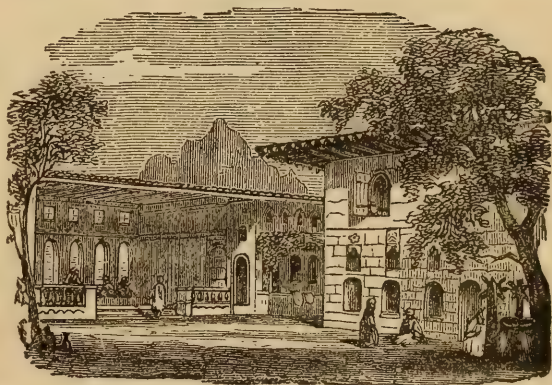
A. D. 46. Their first halting-place was at ANTIOCH in Pisidia, founded, like the Syrian Antioch, by Seleucus Nicator, and named after his father Antiochus; a place scarcely second to the other for its importance in the history of Gentile Christianity. It was here that the first formal declaration was made, that the offer of salvation, rejected by the Jews, was handed over to the Gentiles; and here too was first proclaimed the great Pauline doctrine, in which is summed up the essence of Christianity as a saving faith. Like their Master at Nazareth, the Apostles went into the Jewish synagogue on the Sabbath, and sat down. After the usual reading of the Law and the Prophets, they were invited to address the congregation. Then Paul, who from the beginning of this journey appears in the character of the chief speaker, uttered the first of those discourses which, whether in the form of addresses or epistles, abounding in surpassing eloquence as well as powerful reasoning, have ever since formed the great store of Christian theology. He related to them, step by step, how God had set apart and cared for Israel, how he had favored them above all nations, and how he had gradually led them forward to the time of the coming of his Son, the blessed Jesus. The Apostle then proceeded to declare unto them the Christian faith, and to entreat them to embrace it. At the same time he intimated his prophetic knowledge that they would despise the Gospel, reject it, and perish.

His address made such an impression upon his hearers that they requested that he would repeat it on the following Sabbath. On the appointed day the synagogue was filled with the people of the city, both Jews and Gentiles. The principal Jews endeavored to dispute with Paul, and violently blasphemed the name of Jesus of Nazareth; whereupon the Apostle told them that as the Jews would not accept the salvation offered to them, the Gospel was thenceforth to be preached to the Gentiles as well.

The announcement caused great joy among the Gentiles, "and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed; and the word of the Lord was published throughout all the region." This success raised the anger of the Jews to the highest pitch; and then began the persecution which Paul had now to suffer from them at every step. In these foreign countries, it is not the Cross or Nazareth that is most immediately repulsive to the Jews: it is the wound given to Jewish importance in the association of Gentiles with Jews as the receivers of the good tidings. If the Gentiles had been asked to become Jews,

no offence would have been taken. The Jewish proselytes, among whom were many women of distinction and the chief men of the city, seem to have grudged the admission of the Gentiles except by the same gate; and they were easily stirred up to drive Paul and Barnabas out of their bounds. So they, shaking off the dust of their feet against them, as Jesus had commanded, went on to Iconium, which was situated at the western limit of Lycaonia. But the persecution which expelled them failed to destroy the Church which they had planted at Antioch: "and the disciples were filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost." These events at Antioch are evidently related thus fully in the Acts as a leading example of the way in which the Gospel was rejected by the Jews and received by the Gentiles in many other cities, and the discourse of Paul furnishes one type, as that at Athens gives another, of his mode of addressing audiences of various kinds.

At ICONIUM, as at Antioch, the Apostles began their work by preaching in the synagogue, and gained many converts both among the Jews and Gentiles. Here too the unbelieving Jews raised a persecution, but by the new mode of stirring up disaffection among the Gentiles. Still the Apostles held their ground for a long time, and



COURT OF AN EASTERN HOUSE.

their testimony was confirmed by many miracles. At length the whole city was divided into two factions; and the hostile Gentiles conspired with their Jewish instigators to raise a riot and stone the Apostles. Warned of the plot, they fled to the eastern and wilder part of Lycaonia, where there were no Jewish settlements, and but little Greek civilization; and they preached the Gospel in the cities of Lystra and Derbe.

Here their mission was attested by a miracle, the very counterpart of the first that had been wrought by Peter and John at Jerusalem—the cure of a cripple at Lystra. The simple natives ascribed the work to a present deity, and exclaimed, in the rude dialect of Lycaonia, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men." Their choice of Barnabas for Jove seems to show that "the Son of Exhortation" was marked by a calm dignity suited to his character, and that Paul was—as he himself says—"in bodily presence weak;" but, as

he was the chief speaker, they took him for Hermes (Mercury), the interpreter and messenger of the gods. Their attempt to offer sacrifice to the Apostles called forth a discourse, which may be regarded as a type of those first addressed to mere heathens. Ignorant of the Jewish prophecies, and strangers to the covenants of promise, they acknowledged that simple truth of dependence on a Supreme Being which no race of mankind seems altogether to have lost; and the Apostles, after earnestly avowing themselves to be but men like them, call upon them to turn from these vanities of idol-worship, "unto the living God, which made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things that are therein." In place of those arguments from Scripture which they had used with the Jews, they appeal to his gifts of "rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness," and all the other goodness whereby he left himself not without a witness, even while he suffered the nations to walk in their own ways. The argument thus briefly stated at Lystra is the same which Paul afterward addressed to the Athenians, and which he works up in the opening of the Epistle to the Romans as the basis of the responsibility of the heathen. We see presently that this discourse made converts; but the people in general were disappointed at the repulse of the honors they had offered. The easy step from blind worship to rabid persecution was soon taken, at the instigation of certain Jews who came from Antioch and Iconium. Paul was stoned and dragged out of the city for dead; but, as the new disciples stood round him, he revived and returned into the city, whence he and Barnabas departed the next day for Derbe, and there they gained many disciples.

This was the furthest point of the present journey; and here they seem to have rested for some time after the dangers they had so narrowly escaped. But, prepared to face those dangers again for the sake of the new converts, they retraced their route through Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and adding to the exhortation to continue in the faith the warning pointed by their own experience—"That we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God." Thus they returned to Perga; and then slightly varied their former route by proceeding to the port of Attalia, where they embarked for Antioch.

This return journey through Pisidia and Pamphylia is memorable for the first record of the appointment of permanent officers, here called ELDERS, for the teaching and guidance, the comfort and government of the churches. We have already had an incidental mention of such officers, even in the churches of Judæa, which enjoyed the

ministry of the Apostles and of the prophets and teachers who had been the associates of the Apostles. Much more did the newly-planted churches which Paul and Barnabas were leaving to themselves—severed from those of Judæa and Syria by the Taurus and another language—need to have the means of edification and order complete within themselves; and so they *ordained them* ELDERS *in every church*, and commended them to the Lord, with the prayer and fasting which form a perpetual model for every appointment of Christian ministers.

A. D. 47. The report of his *First Missionary Journey*, made to the assembled Church of Antioch by Paul and Barnabas, furnished a decisive proof that the prophetic intimations, in consequence of which they were sent forth, were fulfilled; and that “God had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles.” Paul and Barnabas had already for some time returned to their ordinary labors at Antioch, when the prospects of the Gentile converts were imperilled by that Judaizing spirit, to which may be traced all the heresies that began to trouble the Church even in the Apostolic age. Certain men which came down from Judæa taught the brethren—“Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.” Paul was supported by Barnabas in that vigorous opposition to this attempt to conjure back the genius of Christianity within the cast-off shell of Judaism, which is now so familiar to us in his Epistles. After no small dissension and disputation, the Church decided that Paul and Barnabas, with other brethren, should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and Elders about this question. As they travelled by land through Phœnicia and Samaria, they caused great joy to the brethren in those regions by declaring the conversion of the Gentiles; nor were they less cordially received, at least in the first instance, by the Church at Jerusalem, with the Apostles and Elders.

This brings us into contact with one of the difficulties in St. Paul’s history. In the Epistle to the Galatians he gives an account of a visit that he paid to Jerusalem, fourteen years after that first visit which took place three years from his conversion. What he tells us of this visit seems inconsistent with any of those recorded in the Acts, save that now before us; and, as Paley holds, it is clear that the visit of Gal. ii. is either that of Acts xv. or that it is not mentioned in the Acts at all. From Gal. ii. it appears that the visit there described was made *after* Paul’s great success among the heathen, and *not after* the decision of the Church recorded in Acts xv., so that the only time left for the visit is the interval during which Luke tells us that Paul

and Barnabas abode at Antioch a long time with the disciples. Of course this phrase does not exclude a private journey to Jerusalem; but we must not supply such an event without positive evidence. Nay, more, the occasion named in the Epistle can scarcely have arisen so soon, for no cause of the doubt "lest by any means he should run or had run in vain" is suggested, except through that opposition of the Judaizers which was the immediate cause of the visit related in Acts xv. The objection, that no mention is made in the Galatians of the visit mentioned in Acts xi. and xii., disappears at once, when we observe that Paul is writing of his communications with the Apostles *in relation to his ministry among the Gentiles*. And this consideration supplies so strong a proof of the one occasion on which alone the visit could have taken place, that the other objections are best answered by interweaving the two narratives.

A. D. 48. The clear judgment concerning the course they had pursued, which had made Paul and Barnabas firm in their resistance to the Judaizers, did not scorn confirmation by the judgment of the other Apostles and of the Church. That conscientious self-searching which kept Paul alive, in the full career of his success, to the fear lest after preaching to others he might himself be a cast-away, led him now to face the question raised by the Judaizers, whether he had been misguided in his recent course or in its purposed resumption. Side by side with the resolution of the Church of Antioch, to seek light from their brethren at Jerusalem, was a divine impulse prompting Paul himself to confer with his brother Apostles. He "went up by revelation," as well as deputed by the Church. The private conferences which he himself mentions are not only thus perfectly consistent with the public proceedings recorded in the Acts, but the narrative of the latter leaves room for the former in the interval between the first reception of Paul and Barnabas and the beginning of the Pharisaic opposition. Paul himself says that he communicated to them the Gospel which he preached among the Gentiles—referring doubtless to the report which Luke mentions as first made by Paul and Barnabas to the whole Church—and then adds, "but separately to those of reputation," and especially to James, Peter and John. The result of these private conferences is in perfect accordance with the public debate and decision related by St. Luke. The reputed "pillars" of the Church "added nothing to Paul"—no new truth for him and his converts to learn, no new law for them to observe. As if to bring the chief question to a practical issue, Paul and Barnabas had taken with them Titus, who, though a Greek, was not required to be cir-

cumcised. The Apostles at Jerusalem cordially recognized what God himself had made clear, that "the Gospel of the uncircumcision" had been committed to Paul, like "the Gospel of the circumcision" to Peter, and that the one could show miracles as convincing as the other; and they gave Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, as the pledge of the solemn compact, that these two should go to the Gentiles and they themselves to the Jews. St. Paul adds one point which proves that, amid these questions of doctrine and ritual, all the Apostles were agreed on the supreme importance of the fruit of practical beneficence and liberality in Christianity:—"Only they would that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do."

A. D. 48. The public discussion of the great question by the whole Church was brought on by "certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed." The strong language of Paul implies that, besides Christians who had not yet overcome their Jewish prejudices, some at least of these opponents were Jews who had made a false profession, either to find grounds of accusation against the Christians, or to lead them back by another route to Judaism. Joining in the mutual congratulations of the brethren on the conversion of the Gentiles, they yet contended that such converts could only be received into the Church through the door of Judaism,—“It was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses.” The question thus raised involved the whole issue of the adaptation of Christianity to the world—to man as man in every state.

It is to be observed that the Apostles did not exercise the power, which they might doubtless have assumed as involved in their mission, of legislating on the matter. They came together with the Elders: the whole body of the Church at Jerusalem were not only present with one accord, but took part in the decision; and it was embodied in a letter drawn up in the name of the Apostles, and Elders, and brethren. It was not till after much discussion among those who are not named, that Peter stood up to remind the brethren that the principle at issue had been already settled by his mission to Cornelius, when God gave the same witness of the Holy Ghost to the believing Gentiles that he had given to the believing Jews. Nay, more, he shows the reason of this in the essential character of the new dispensation, that it relates to man's inner life; and so "God, which knoweth the *hearts*," passing over what was external in the relations of these converts to the Mosaic rites, "purified their *hearts* through *faith*." And as they believed that salvation came to both Jew and

Gentile alike through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, it was a mere tempting of God to add a yoke which even those lawfully subjected to it had never been able to bear. Then, amid the silent attention of the whole multitude, Paul and Barnabas related the facts to which Peter had appealed, "declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them." James, the only other Apostle who is reported as speaking,—the Apostle who was most intimately connected with the Church of Jerusalem, and who had the greatest weight with the Jewish party,—sums up the discussion. With incomparable simplicity and wisdom he binds up the testimony of recent facts with the testimony of ancient prophecy, and gives a practical judgment upon the question.

His judgment was adopted by the Apostles and Elders and brethren. They wrote to the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, disavowing the men who, they say, "going out from us, troubled you with words" (or disputations), and bearing emphatic testimony to Paul and Barnabas, as the "beloved, who have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." The judgment which they then pronounce they declare to be that of the Holy Ghost, as well as their own—referring doubtless to some sign vouchsafed to the assembly. That judgment was, that no further burden should be laid upon the Gentile converts, "except these, which must of necessity be borne"—burdens only to those who had been used to the polluting rites of heathenism—"that ye abstain from *meats offered to idols*, and from *blood*, and from things *strangled*, and from fornication." The injunction that the Gentiles should abstain from pollutions of idols and from fornication explained itself: the abstinence from things strangled and from blood is desired as a concession to the customs of the Jews who were to be found in every city, and for whom it was still right, when they had believed in Jesus Christ, to observe the Law.

By this decision, the Apostles and Church at Jerusalem—the natural guardians of whatever it might have been right to preserve in the ancient dispensation—gave their solemn and final approval to that version of the Gospel which Paul had preached by the revelation given to him. The emancipation of the Gentile converts from Jewish rites involved far more than their personal liberty. It abolished that separation of the race of Israel from the other nations, of which circumcision was the sign and seal; and, in place of the divine favor of which they boasted as the sons of Abraham, acceptance with God was offered to Jew and Gentile in common through the new spiritual

bond of faith in Christ. And, as the speech of St. Peter declares, this view of the Gospel was of no less vital moment to the Jew than to the Gentile. If the Jewish believers were thrown back on the Jewish law, and gave up the free and absolute grace of God, the Law became a mere burden, just as heavy to the Jew as it would be to the Gentile. The only hope *for the Jew* was in a Saviour who must be *the Saviour of mankind*. Thus the decision of the Jewish Church agrees with the teaching of St. Paul's Epistles; and the agreement between him and the other Apostles—that he should go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision—assuredly did not imply that different versions of the Gospel were to be preached to the Gentiles and the Jews. And that this one doctrine of a common faith in Jesus Christ might prove to be the seed of union in a holy life, the richer Gentiles were admonished to remember their poorer brethren in Palestine. How ready they were to discharge this duty, had already been shown in the former mission of Paul to Jerusalem; and his Epistles bear witness to his constancy in urging its systematic performance.

But questions, which have been once for all settled in principle, are ever liable to be reopened in practice, not only by the opposition of malcontents, but by the infirmities of sincere men; and, besides the life-long contest which Paul had to maintain with the Judaizers, there was one memorable occasion on which he was compelled to reprove Peter himself for his compliance with the Judaizing spirit. On a visit to Antioch, which seems to have occurred not long after these events, Peter proved his full adoption of the new law of liberty by eating with the Gentiles, till certain Jewish Christians “came from James;” when, for fear of them, he withdrew from all such intercourse. The other Jews, to use the strong phrase of Paul, “played the hypocrite with him,” and even Barnabas was carried away with the rest. St. Paul, regarding their conduct as an open departure from “walking uprightly *according to the truth of the Gospel*,” “withstood Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed,” and said to him before them all, “If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles and not of the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to Judaize?” This was no opposition of Pauline to Petrine views; it was a faithful rebuke of blamable moral weakness. It has been well observed that the argument of St. Paul would have lost its force if St. Peter had been really of opinion that the law was obligatory on Gentile converts. “The point of St. Paul's rebuke is plainly this—that, in sanctioning the Jewish feeling which regarded eating with the

Gentiles as an unclean thing, St. Peter was *untrue to his principles*, was acting hypocritically and from fear." The result shows a magnanimity only to be ascribed to "a double portion" of the Holy Spirit resting on the Church as well as on them.

And as, happily, no dispute had yet arisen between the churches, so there is no ground for calling the assembly at Jerusalem the *First General Council*. It was no meeting of delegates from all the churches, for even those sent from Antioch went rather to consult the sister church, and especially the Apostles, than to represent the views of their own church; and the divine basis on which the decision is placed takes it quite out of the category of synodical sentences, which decide, without extinguishing, a grave difference of opinion, by the mere voice of a majority. If in any sense the First Council of the Church, it was the last which had a right to say, "It seemed good to the *Holy Ghost* and to us."

As a personal confirmation of their letter, the Church of Jerusalem sent back, with Paul and Barnabas, Judas Barsabas and Silas,* "chief men among their brethren," who, being prophets, added their exhortations and encouragement to the joy and consolation which the letter caused. When their ministry was fulfilled, Judas returned to Jerusalem; but Silas continued some time at Antioch, where Paul and Barnabas also resumed their labors. To complete this view as the extension of the Gospel to the Gentile world, we shall soon see that about this time it reached Rome itself.

* This is the Greek abbreviated form of the Latin name Silvanus.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ST. PAUL'S SECOND, OR GREAT MISSIONARY JOURNEY, AND THE ENTRANCE OF
THE GOSPEL INTO EUROPE.

[A. D. 49 or 51-53 or 54.]

THE *Second Missionary Journey* of St. Paul, besides its wide extent and long duration, is memorable for the introduction of Christianity into Europe; though the Apostle's labors were still confined to that eastern division of the Roman Empire which was marked by the Adriatic. The journey extended over the space of three or four years, of which eighteen months were spent at Corinth. Beginning at Antioch, it embraced Cilicia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia and the Troad; and, in A. D. 49. Europe, Macedonia, Athens and Corinth; whence Paul crossed the Ægean to Ephesus, and thence sailed to Cæsarea, and so, after a hasty visit to Jerusalem, returned to Antioch. Its beginning was "some days" after the so-called Council at Jerusalem, but that the interval could not have been very long is proved by the fact that upon this journey Paul delivered the decrees to the churches of Syria and Cilicia, to whom they were addressed. Dr. Howson places the commencement of the circuit in A. D. 51, Mr. Lewin in A. D. 49, and it ended, according to the latter, in the autumn of A. D. 53, according to the former in the summer of A. D. 54.

This great enterprise began with no parade of promises or preparation, but in the natural proposal of Paul to Barnabas that they should revisit the brethren in all the cities where they had preached the Gospel, and inquire after their welfare. But it was probably not without some prophetic view of the great trials of courage and steadfastness which awaited him, that he refused the proposal of Barnabas to take John Mark again with them. The plain language of St. Luke implies a sharp personal quarrel, embittered perhaps on the side of Barnabas by the rebuke he had lately shared with Peter. But the providence of God overruled human infirmities, and the result of the separation of the former comrades was that two apostolic missions went forth instead of one. Barnabas, with Mark, sailed as before to Cyprus, his native island; and he is not again mentioned in the Acts. In the Epistles, however, Paul not only refers to his old comrade with

affection and respect, but in a later passage he seems to imply that Barnabas was still laboring among the Gentiles, maintained, like himself, by the work of his own hands. Paul found a new companion in SILAS, whom we have seen transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch; and it was not long before the little band was increased by the most congenial fellowship of TIMOTHY. Hence the laborers in this work are described by the Apostle himself by the formula,—“Paul and Silvanus and Timotheus.” LUKE, as is clearly shown by the sudden transition of his narrative to the first person and back again to the third, joined Paul’s company at Alexandria Troas, but was left behind at Philippi, and he does not appear again in this journey.

Commended by the brethren to the grace of God, Paul and Silas first visited the churches of Syria and Cilicia; probably those which the Apostle had planted soon after his conversion. The statement that Paul *confirmed* these churches seems to have a particular reference to the recent Judaistical controversy; for “the decrees decided upon by the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem,” which we presently find Paul and Silas enjoining upon the brethren in every city that they visited, were addressed to the Gentiles in *Syria and Cilicia*. And here Silas would be able to discharge the same office for which he had first been sent to Antioch, as a personal witness to the decision of the Church at Jerusalem.

Crossing the Taurus by one of the more eastern passes—probably the usual route through the Cilician Gates—Paul traversed his old ground in Lycaonia, but in the reverse order, by Derbe, Lystra and Iconium. The general statement, that “the churches were established in the faith, and increased (or abounded) in number daily,” is varied by the most interesting episode. At Lystra, Paul found a disciple named TIMOTHEUS, the offspring of one of those mixed marriages which had become common in this later period of Jewish history, and of whom a more detailed account will be given in another chapter of this book (Chap. XLIII.). Paul found in Timothy a devoted and faithful follower, and there sprang up between them at length, the most intimate and tender relations.

These intimate relations date from Paul’s second journey, A. D. 49. when the Apostle, on arriving at Lystra, “would have him to go forth with him.” During the interval of seven years, Timothy had grown up to manhood, and the “good report,” which his character had gained from the brethren at Iconium as well as Lystra, leads us to believe that he had been already employed in what was afterward to be the great labor of his life as “the messenger of the



EASTERN DIVAN.

churches," and that it was his tried fitness for that office which determined St. Paul's choice. Those who had the deepest insight into character, and who spoke with a prophetic utterance, pointed to him, as others had pointed before to Paul and Barnabas, as specially fit for the missionary work in which the Apostle was engaged. Personal feeling led St. Paul to the same conclusion, and Timothy was solemnly set apart—the whole assembly of the Elders laying their hands upon him, as did the Apostle himself—to do the work and possibly to bear the title of *Evangelist*.

But, before they went forth to the work, Paul "took and circumcised him, because of the Jews which were in those quarters: for they all knew that his father was a Greek,"—an act the more remarkable, as Paul was engaged in delivering to the churches the decree made at Jerusalem, where Titus had been expressly exempted from circumcision. But Titus, so far as we know, was a Greek, without any intermixture of Jewish blood; while Timothy, as the son of a Jewess, would appear to the Jews in the light of a negligent Israelite, the seal of whose profession had been disowned from his very infancy. That no offence had been felt hitherto, may be explained by the predominance of the Gentile element in the churches of Lycaonia. But now his wider work would bring him into contact with the Jews, and the scandal would frustrate all his efforts as an Evangelist. So, in this case, Paul "became unto the Jews as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews." It is assuredly a conspicuous example of simple faithfulness in the narrative of the Acts, that St. Luke

should have recorded the incident without any further explanation to guard against the charge of inconsistency. None the less did Paul and Silvanus, with their new companion, "go through the cities, enjoining them to keep the decrees ordained by the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem. And so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily."

At Iconium, or possibly at Antioch, they left the track of Paul's first journey, and—doubtless guided by those divine directions which attended each successive stage of their progress—they turned northward into the central region of Asia Minor, which is described by the general phrase of "*Phrygia* and the region of *Galatia*;" and all that we learn further from St. Luke of their course through the peninsula is this:—Being forbidden of the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia (the Roman province), they came into the eastern border of Mysia, and endeavored to enter Bithynia; but the Spirit of Jesus did not permit them. So they passed through Mysia into the Troad; and there, at the city of Alexandria Troas, Paul saw the vision which called them over into Europe.

This brief outline may be in part filled up from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. That people were the descendants of the great Celtic hordes which, repulsed in their attack on Northern Greece in the 3d century B. C., had overflowed the bounds of Europe, and occupied the central table-land of Asia Minor. There, adopting the Greek language, and hence called *Gallogræci*, they practised the enthusiastic Phrygian orgies of Cybele, the mother of the Gods, with the natural fervor of their impulsive race. Such a people presented a most interesting field for the preacher of the Gospel; and it appears that an attack of illness, which detained Paul in their country, gave him a prolonged opportunity of laboring among them. His infirmity appears to have moved sympathy rather than scorn among a people of generous impulses. With the extravagance of their race, they welcomed him as an angel of God, yea, as Jesus Christ himself; they greeted him with those "blessings" which flow so freely from the Celtic tongue; and he himself, when compelled to remonstrate with their truly Celtic instability, bears them witness that, "had it been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me." Nor is the Apostle's testimony less emphatic to the simple character of that Gospel, the same amid these pastoral Celts that he afterward made his sole message to the refined Corinthians—"Jesus Christ, evidently set forth, crucified among you"—"the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," as the only object of which he would

boast; and which proved its power among them by levelling every distinction between Jew and Gentile, slave and freeman. How soon the Judaizers removed from him that called them to the grace of Christ unto another Gospel, which was not another, but an invention of those who desired to trouble the converts and pervert the Gospel of Christ, we shall see presently. Meanwhile it should be observed that we have no mention of any central church founded in any of the Galatian cities, not even Ancyra, the capital, being so much as named. The churches of Galatia were doubtless scattered among the villages of that patriarchal people; and this isolation may have exposed them the more readily to the attacks of the Judaizing perverters who systematically dogged the footsteps of Paul.

Of the reasons for which the Apostolic band were forbidden to enter Bithynia or to preach the Gospel in Asia, the sacred narrative is silent. We might conjecture that the time was not yet come for a direct encounter with the powerful governments and corrupt society of those provinces. But it is of more profit to observe the fact that their path, thus hedged up on the right and the left, was guided to the spot, where it was revealed that they had been thus brought down to the extremity of Asia in order to carry over the Gospel into Europe. Nearly four centuries had passed since the Macedonian conqueror crossed the narrow strait of the Hellespont to overthrow the great despotism that enthralled Asia, and now, near that plain of Troy on which Alexander stayed to indulge the dream of rivalling the fame of his ancestor Achilles, at the very city named in the conqueror's honor, St. Paul beheld in vision another "man of Macedonia," uttering the cry of the western world suffering beneath the despotism of sin, and calling to the soldiers of the cross, "Come over and help us." The power which had led Europe to the armed conquest of Asia was the first to invite conquest from the spiritual force of which Asia had been the primeval cradle. Not a doubt could enter the Apostle's mind about the nature of the "help" he was called to give; and so LUKE, speaking now in the first person, as having here joined Paul and Timothy and Silas, says, "Immediately we endeavored to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us to preach the Gospel unto them." It is, perhaps, not too arbitrary a conjecture, that the Apostle, having recently suffered in health, derived benefit from the medical skill of the "beloved physician."

A. D. 51. Embarking in a ship bound for Europe, they made in two days the voyage which usually occupied five days, and



SMYRNA.

landing at Neapolis, on the Strymonic Gulf, they took the great Roman road to Philippi, which was the chief city of Eastern Macedonia, Thessalonica being the capital of the province.

As being more a military than a commercial city, it was not likely to have many Jewish residents; and, instead of a synagogue, the Jews only possessed an oratory (*προσευχή*) outside the city, by the side of one of the rivulets which gave the place its ancient name of "the Springs." Such a locality, too, would suit the itinerant traders, who came with their mules to the market outside the city (for they were not allowed to pass the walls) to carry to the Thracian clans of Pangæus and Hæmus the dyed stuffs which were imported from Asia Minor; and to supply their wants an establishment had been formed by "a certain woman named *LYDIA*, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira." She was a Jewish proselyte, and was wont to resort with other women to the oratory. To this humble congregation, Paul and his companions, going out of the city on the Sabbath day, made known the Gospel for the first time in Europe, with a result equally

remarkable for the absence of all ostentation :—"The Lord *opened the heart* of Lydia, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul." By her baptism, *with her household*, Lydia gave the first recorded example of that great character which Christianity shares with Judaism, as a *family religion*; and she followed it up with the first great example of Christian hospitality, constraining the Apostolic band to become her guests during their stay in Philippi.

This quiet beginning was succeeded by an open conflict, which throws a flood of light on the real estate of heathenism at this time. The ancient faith in the deities of Olympus and the Capitol, long all but extinct throughout the Greek and Roman world, had given place to a mixture of philosophic scepticism and credulous superstition; nor were there wanting speculators, who made gain of the desire to pry into the future by the arts of divination. These pretensions were doubtless generally sheer imposture; but unless we would charge back a similar imposture upon Paul himself, we must take his solemn adjuration to imply the reality of demoniacal possession in the case before us. But it must be carefully observed that the question, whether a soul intellectually and morally abandoned to disorder was suffered to fall under the power of a personal evil spirit, is quite distinct from the claims of supernatural knowledge and prophecy of which the possessed were chosen as the agents. Indeed the reality of the possession sets in a more striking light the vileness of the imposture which trafficked in the worst evil that could befall humanity. In short, the Apostle was now encountered at once by the malice of the unseen world and the cupidity of this.

Among the seats of ancient superstition, Thrace had been conspicuous from time immemorial for the enthusiastic orgies of the Bacchic and Orphic worship; and the Mænads, who scattered the limbs of Pentheus over Hæmus, and threw the head of Orpheus upon the Hebrus with the name of Eurydice still trembling on his tongue, had their successors in a race of "sacred slaves," who served as attendants upon the oracle of Dionysus on Mount Pangæus. One of these, perhaps hired from the priests, or some other poor wretch possessed with a spirit which was supposed to inspire oracles like those uttered by the Pythoness at Delphi, drove a gainful trade for her masters in the oracles which she vended, probably to the wild natives who frequented the market outside the city walls. As Paul and his companions went out to the place of prayer, the slave girl followed them with the continued cry—"These men are servants of the Most High God, which shew unto us the way of salvation." Some suppose that

her cries were a scornful mimicry of the proclamation of the Gospel by Paul himself. At all events we may be sure that they were uttered in the same spirit as that of the devils who confessed Christ, and whom he suffered not to speak. Thus also Paul, after the scene had been repeated for many days, with his patience exhausted, turned round and proved the truth of her confession by bidding the spirit *in the name of Jesus Christ* to come out of her: and it came out the same hour.

Enraged at the destruction of their "property," and supported doubtless by a tumultuous mob of those who were wont to receive the oracles, the masters of the slave-girl seized Paul and Silas, and dragged them before the local magistrates, the *duumviri*—or *prætors*, as the judges of a *colonia* preferred to be called—sitting in the forum. Well aware that they had no claim for the loss incurred through the Apostle's exorcism, they preferred the charge—to which the responsibility of local magistrates was peculiarly sensitive—that these Jews raised a tumult in the city, and taught customs unlawful for Romans to adopt. The clamor of the multitude stood in place of evidence and deliberation; and the alarmed magistrates, with a haste probably usual in their dealings with the wild frequenters of the outer market, tore off the prisoners' clothes, and ordered them to be beaten with rods. Then, bleeding from a Roman scourging of unusual severity, they were delivered to the jailer with a charge to keep them safe; and the brutal officer thrust them into the inner prison, a dungeon of which the Tullianum at Rome may give us some idea, adding the torture of making their feet fast in the *stocks*. Over this "suffering, and shameful treatment," which Paul afterward recalls as inflicted upon him at Philippi, the spirit of Christian fortitude arose to cheerfulness. The midnight silence of the prison, usually disturbed only by groans and curses, was this night broken by the loud hymns in which Paul and Silas uttered their prayers and praises to God; and the prisoners were listening to the sound, when a great earthquake shook the very foundations of the prison, all the doors suddenly flew open, and all bonds were loosed.

Roused from his sleep, and seeing the open doors, the jailer thought the prisoners had escaped, and drew his sword to kill himself, when Paul cried to him with a loud voice, "Do thyself no harm: for we are all here." Calling for a light, he sprang into the dungeon, and in a state of overwhelming awe he fell down at the feet of Paul and Silas, and as soon as he had brought them out, put the question, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" The trembling eagerness of

the inquirer, and the nature of the reply, concur with the spiritual instinct which has so often since repeated the same words, to prove that they were uttered in no sense short of the alarm of an awakened sinner for the safety of his soul ; and the answer has ever since formed the brief but complete summary of the Gospel,—“BELIEVE IN THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND THOU SHALT BE SAVED :”—nor let it be forgotten that this, perhaps the most pointed of all the proclamations of the way of salvation, adds the words which extend the blessing to the family of the believer—“AND THY HOUSE.” Not, however, that this simple phrase was to operate like some magic formula, or to be accepted as the shibboleth of a faith. It was but the text of a fuller exposition of Christian truth, by which both the jailer and his family were led to saving faith ; for “they spake unto him the word of God, and to *all those in his house* ;” and with this agrees the ensuing record of their common baptism and their common faith. The change that had come over the spirit of the jailer was attested by the tender care with which he washed the prisoners’ stripes, brought them into his own house, and set food before them.

Whether the magistrates were terrified by the earthquake, or ashamed of their hasty violence, or simply indifferent to the injustice by which they had appeased the tumult, they thought to end the matter by the order, sent to the prison by the lictors, as soon as it was day, “Let those men go.” With joyful haste the jailer told the order to Paul and Silas, and bade them go in peace. But the great preacher of righteousness felt it his duty to vindicate the rights that had been outraged in his person and his companions, who seems, like himself, to have been a Roman citizen. Cicero had long since proclaimed the magic charm of that appeal, *Civis Romanus sum*, which many in the uttermost parts of the earth had found their help and their salvation, even among barbarians ; and the same great voice had declared the maxim which has passed into a proverb:—“To bind a Roman citizen is an outrage, to scourge him is a crime.” But to this had been added the extremes of indignity and injustice:—“They have beaten us *openly, uncondemned*”—said Paul—“being Romans, and have cast us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privily ? Nay, verily ; but let them come themselves and fetch us out.” These are not the words of bravado and self-importance ; but, the first time that the Apostle came into contact with the Roman government, he set the great example of Christian political principle, by vindicating the Roman constitution, and teaching magistrates their responsibility. They, terrified by the message brought back by the lictors—for Clau-

dius watched vigilantly over the administration of the provinces—came to the prison to entreat Paul and Silas to be satisfied and to depart from the city.

Having first returned to the house of Lydia, and exhorted the brethren, Paul and Silas went on their way through Macedonia, leaving Luke, and apparently Timothy also, to build up the newly-founded church, with the aid doubtless of presbyters, and of those Christian women, the original companions of Lydia at the oratory, whose labors with him in the Gospel Paul records in his Epistle to the church. In that Epistle too we have proofs of the tender affection and generous feeling which bound together Paul and his Philippian converts, from this day to his imprisonment at Rome. Addressed by him as “my brethren, dearly beloved, and longed for,”



ST. PAUL IN THE STOCKS AT
PHILIPPI.

the cause of thankfulness to God at every remembrance of them, they gave practical proofs of their attachment by sending aid to him more than once as early as his residence at Thessalonica, following him with it when he left Macedonia, and by their continued fellowship in the Gospel and their aid to Paul in its defence and confirmation, down to the time of his imprisonment, giving him full confidence that “He who had begun the good work in them would perform it to the day of Jesus Christ.”

Nor must we omit to notice the manifest order of progression in the cases of conversion recorded in this memorable chapter of the Acts. Timothy, the gentle son of a godly mother, is insensibly trained to piety by early instruction in the Scriptures. Lydia, the devout proselyte, no sooner hears the truth from the lips of Paul, than her heart is opened to receive it. The jailer of Philippi, an ignorant and hard-hearted heathen, struck by the terror of sudden conviction, utters the agonizing cry, *What must I do to be saved?* But all are united at Philippi in the fellowship of one faith and baptism.

Passing through Amphipolis and Apollonia, scenes which A. D. 51. would recall to the mind of Paul some of the most famous events of Grecian history, and crossing the base of the Chalcidic

peninsula, the Apostle arrived with Silas at THESSALONICA, at the head of the Thermaic Gulf. Lying directly in their route, as the chief station on the Egnatian road, and not only important as the Roman capital of Macedonia, but as a commercial city second only to Athens and Corinth, Thessalonica was further suited to be a centre of Christianity by possessing a synagogue of the Jews, who were attracted to it by its trade. Paul, according to his custom, went into the synagogue on three successive Sabbaths, and reasoned with the Jews out of the Scriptures; the substance of his argument being the same as that of the Lord himself on the way to Emmaus, "that Christ must needs have suffered, and risen again from the dead; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ." His preaching made numerous converts among the Greek proselytes, and among the women of high station. This success, as at Antioch in Pisidia, roused the envy of the unbelieving Jews, who easily raised a tumult among the vagabonds and idlers in the market of this great port. The mob attacked the house of Jason (probably a Hellenist, with whom Paul and Silas were staying), intending to bring them forth to the vengeance of the people; but, not finding them there, they dragged Jason and certain brethren before the *politarchs*, for such was the title of the magistrates of Thessalonica, which ranked as a free city (*libera civitas*), but not a colony. To the general outcry, that Jason had received "these men who have come hither also, *turning the world upside down*"—and well it needed such a restoration of the order which sin had long since inverted—they added the specific charge which so strongly appealed to the fears of a Roman magistrate:—"And all these do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that *there is another king*, JESUS." Though sharing in the general agitation, the magistrates did not, like the prætors of Philippi, forget their judicial character. They were content to take security of Jason and the rest; and the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night to Berœa. The length of Paul's stay at Thessalonica is indicated by the fact already noticed, that the Philippians sent twice to relieve his necessities.

The two *Epistles to the Thessalonians*, which were written very soon after the Apostle's visit, add most important particulars of his work in founding that church. He speaks to the Thessalonian Christians as being mostly Gentiles; and reminds them that they had turned from idols to serve the living and true God and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, "Jesus who delivers us from the coming wrath."

BERŒA, whither Paul and Silas retreated from Thessalonica, appears also to have had a large number of Jews, who proved themselves to be of a nobler spirit than those of Thessalonica, by that conduct which has made them ever since a pattern of honest and earnest religious inquiry, the very course which Christ had in vain urged upon his hearers at Jerusalem. Paul and Silas went into their synagogue; and often as the Apostle's ministry had been thus opened, often as he had reasoned out of the Scriptures concerning Christ, this is the first time that we find his Jewish hearers calmly testing the truth of his teaching,—“They received the word with all readiness of mind, and *searched the Scriptures daily*, whether those things were so. *Therefore*”—as the natural consequence—“many of them believed,” with not a few Greeks, among whom we again find women of distinction. This the Thessalonian Jews no sooner heard, than they completed the parallel to those of the Pisidian Antioch by pursuing the Apostles to Berœa, and stirring up the people; and a tumult was only avoided by Paul's departure for the coast, probably at Dium, whence he set sail for Athens. The haste and secrecy of the movement is seen in his leaving behind Silas and Timothy (who had rejoined him either at Thessalonica or Berœa), and sending back word to them, by the brethren who had escorted him to Athens, to join him with all speed. We can hardly fail to see that the Apostle was urged on to the great work now before him by a Providence that overruled his plans; for he tells the Thessalonians that once and again, when he desired to revisit them, Satan hindered him: but Satan little knew the blow he aimed at his own kingdom, when his persecution drove Paul to Athens.

That the Apostle had no deliberate purpose of going to Athens seems clear from the statement that the brethren at Berœa sent him away *to go to the sea*; and then his conductors, guided no doubt by circumstances, such as what vessels happened to be sailing, brought him to Athens. The distinctive *divine call* which appointed him the Apostle of the Gentiles, is made all the clearer from the slowness, not to say reluctance, with which he is urged on from Jerusalem to Cilicia and Syria, from Asia Minor to Europe, from the Jewish settlements in Macedonia to Athens and Corinth, as if the voice were repeated at every step, “*Depart! for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.*” Paul was no rash adventurer, rushing forward in his own strength to the conflict with the Greek philosophy and Roman force.

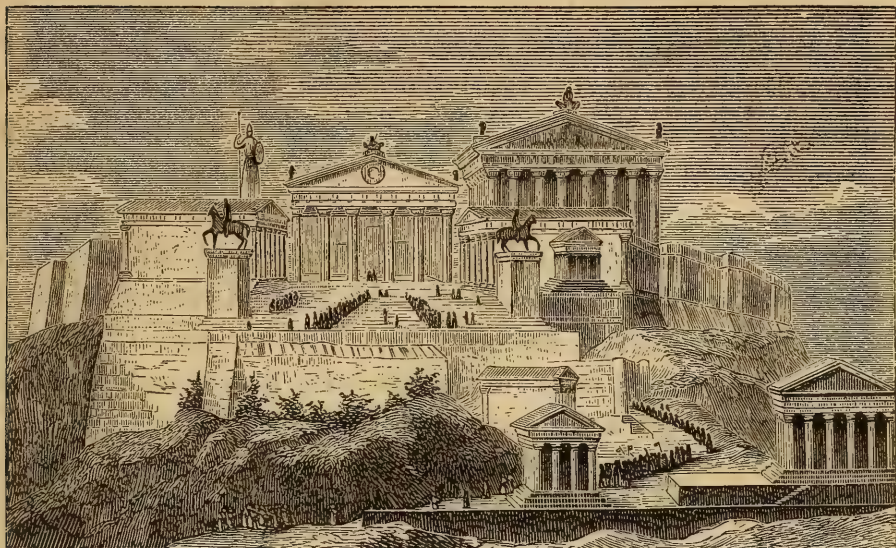
A. D. 52. Even when he found himself at Athens, Paul showed no haste to enter upon the work, but waited till he should be

joined by Silas and Timotheus. There was nothing outwardly to distinguish him from any other Hellenistic Jew, as—to use his own description of his occupation—he “walked through the city, and contemplated the objects of worship,” with a spirit, taste and knowledge to appreciate those glorious works of Phidias and his successors, whose mutilated fragments we cherish as the choicest of our art treasures. But here, too, what things were gain to him he counted loss for Christ. Before we give a moment's place to the thought that the Apostle disparaged the excellence of art, let us remember that the forms, which to us have lost their profane meaning with their pristine beauty, had then that beauty prostituted to the most degrading use. The very perfection of the art thus perverted would add to the keenness of Paul's indignation at seeing such a city given to idolatry. He could refrain no longer; and so, in addition to his usual discussions in the synagogue with the Jews and proselytes, he began to discourse every day in the Agora (the market-place) with all who frequented that public resort, like Socrates on the same spot five centuries before. The mutations which had brought down the city of Pericles from her political and martial glory had made no essential change in the character of the Athenian people. They were still the lively, keen-witted, impressible *Demus*, using the leisure of ancient freemen, to whom work was a degradation, in the open-air life of the Agora, lounging there in body, but in mind restlessly active and eager after every novelty: “For all the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing.”

Here at length the utmost efforts of the highest human intellect, in search of that philosophy in the light of which man was to live and to die, were placed in direct contrast with the truths revealed by God to the chosen people. The Apostle proclaimed *Jesus and the Resurrection* as the means of conferring that spiritual life which the philosophers had given up in despair, taking refuge in the two great theories of the Porch and the Garden,—the triumph over the accidents of life by a proud independence, or the fruition of its blessings by using them before they perish. The philosophers of both schools encountered Paul with a mixture of curiosity and contempt. The *Epicurean*, teaching himself to seek for tranquil enjoyment as the chief object of life, heard of ONE claiming to be the Lord of men, who had shown them the glory of dying to self, and had promised to those who fought the good fight bravely a nobler bliss than the comforts of life could yield. The *Stoic*, cultivating a stern and isolated moral independence,

heard of ONE whose own righteousness was proved by submission to the Father in heaven, and who had promised to give his righteousness to those who trusted not in themselves, but in him. To all, the announcement of a PERSON was much stranger than the publishing of any theories would have been. They would not concede to such a teacher the rank of a philosopher; but, while some despised him as a mere babbler (a *sower of words*), others confounded him with the introducers of foreign superstitions and strange deities. The fact that the first count in the indictment of Socrates was his not believing in the gods in whom the city believed, and introducing other new deities, has offered a coincidence too inviting to be neglected; and it has been supposed by some that St. Paul was arraigned on a similar charge before the court of Areopagus. But the narrative of St. Luke does not give any indication of a judicial process; and it seems clear that "they took him and brought him to the Hill of Ares" with the simple object expressed in their own words, "We wish to learn what these things mean." The result of Paul's contemptuous reception by the philosophers was that, instead of wasting his time in fruitless discussions with them in the Agora, he obtained a public audience of the people for the Gospel message.

No locality of St. Paul's ministry is more deeply interesting or better known than this. The Agora of Athens lay in the deep valley enclosed between the Hill of the Muses (*Museum*) on the south, and the Pnyx, Areopagus and Acropolis, which curve round it on the north. The Areopagus directly overhangs the north side of the Agora; and a flight of sixteen steps, cut in the rock, leads up to the south-eastern summit of the rock, where the most venerable court held its sessions in the open air. At the head of the staircase is a rock-hewn bench, forming three sides of a quadrangle; with two raised blocks,—the one on the eastern, the other on the western side,—the stations probably of the accuser and the accused. We may imagine the Apostle led up these steps and placed on one of the stones, whence, as from a pulpit, he might address the philosophers and distinguished persons who occupied the benches of the Areopagites, and the multitude on the steps and in the valley. Here, directly opposite to the great gateway (*Propylæa*) of the Acropolis, and the western front of the Parthenon,—at a time, be it remembered, when the Panathenaic procession was still wont to carry up to the Virgin goddess her mystic robe, while the thousand altars of the city smoked daily with the offerings of all the world,—a Jew for the first time taught the people of Athens, and the foreigners who flocked to the University of the



THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS, AS IT WAS.

World, what their own religion testified of the true God—though darkened and dishonored by idolatry—and thence led them up to the full knowledge of Him whom they ignorantly worshipped.

This "Sermon at Athens"—as it is commonly called—presents a new type of the Apostle's discourses, and an example of the fittest mode of approaching the minds and hearts of heathens in every age. Addressing an audience of cultivated Greeks, he no more insulted them by saying at the outset—"Ye are too superstitious," than he belied their conscience and philosophy by declaring them utterly ignorant of God. His real exordium was, "Athenians, I observe you to be in all things *eminently religious*." As an example of that tendency, which formed one chief spring of Hellenic vigor, to trace in everything the hand of God, he singles out, from all those temples and shrines which he had been contemplating for several days, an altar which bore the inscription TO GOD UNKNOWN. Whether set up in a spirit like that of the ecclesiastical calendar, with its supplemental day for "All Saints," or whether connected with the esoteric worship of the mysteries, or whether meant to expiate some calamity for which all the known gods had been propitiated in vain, as tradition says of one of these altars (for we know from eye-witnesses that there were several of them at Athens), the inscription confessed a truth to which Greek poetry and philosophy, nay, the whole voice of heathenism, bears continual witness. Beneath the veil of polytheism, we always find some idea of a God who is above all the deities of the Pantheon, from whom gods, men, and nature alike derive their being. The Apostle, therefore, had the fullest right to use that inscription as

the foreshadowing of the truths he had now to proclaim—"Whom therefore ye worship without knowing, HIM declare I unto you." The simple grandeur of this revelation stood in marked contrast to the vain speculations of the philosophers, and re-echoed the primal truth set forth "in the beginning" of both covenants:—"GOD, *that made the world, and all things that are therein*"—"the Lord of heaven and earth"—"HE giveth to all life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;"—while, in harmony with the key-note of the whole discourse, he appeals to their own poets, who had already borne witness to this truth, "FOR WE ARE ALSO HIS OFFSPRING."

Nothing, however, could be more alien to the Apostle's argument than the inference that it mattered not how men worshipped this

"Father of all, in every age,
In every clime adored,"

and that every form of service under every name was equally acceptable, whether

"By saint, by savage, or by sage,
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord."

From the universal fatherhood of God, Paul deduces the folly of idolatry, as a degradation of that nature which man derives from God. If we are his offspring, made in *his likeness*, surely "we ought not to think that the Godhead (*τὸ θεῖον*) is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, on which a form is stamped by man's art or imagination." As for his dwelling-place, Paul dared to repeat the same truth, as he stood facing the Parthenon, which Solomon had proclaimed when he dedicated the Temple, that the Creator of the world, the Lord of heaven and earth, "*dwelleth not in temples made with hands*, neither is he served by men's hands as though he (the giver of all) needed anything to be added to him." This ignorant worship belongs to the dispensation of his forbearance, during which the vague efforts of the heathen world—"feeling after God, if haply they might find him, though he is not far from any one of us, for in him we live, and move, and have our being"—taught them the same lesson of their helplessness that the Law was designed to teach the Jews. But now the time of that forbearance is accomplished, and Paul amid the temples of Athens repeats to all the world the cry of the Baptist in the wilderness of Judæa—"God commandeth *all men everywhere* to repent." To enforce repentance, he declares that a *day* is appointed by God for the judgment of the world in righteousness—an idea not strange to Greek mythology; and thus he leads up their minds to the very essence of

his message,—that this judgment would be administered by a MAN whom God had set apart, giving to all men a pledge that he had done so, by *raising him from the dead*.

But here the patience of his audience failed. With his wonted consummate prudence, Paul has not yet named the *name* against which rumors from the East had already prejudiced his hearers,—the Galilean peasant, who was, forsooth, to be exalted above Socrates and Plato, Zeno and Epicurus—*Christ crucified*, folly to the Greeks. But the mention of a resurrection was enough to provoke the scorn of the philosophers; and all revolted from the claim of personal allegiance to a *man* appointed to exercise the authority of the one God in the judgment of the world. Some mocked—a mode of debate in which the Athenians of all ages were adepts—others thought they had had enough of the subject for the time, and promised Paul another audience, which he never seems to have had, and so he departed from among them. The intellectual capital of the world was not marked for distinction in the annals of Christianity. No Epistle or visit records any further intercourse of Paul with Athens. But even here a few converts were gained; some of them, as elsewhere, among the most intelligent men and the women of distinction; classes represented by Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris. These believers, if few in number, were firmly attached to the Apostle. The narrative leaves it uncertain how long Paul stayed at Athens, and whether some persecution or danger did not cause him to depart without waiting for Silas and Timothy, who rejoined him at Corinth.

A. D. 52. CORINTH, which now ranked as the Roman capital of Greece, is conspicuous not only in Europe, but above every other city in the world—Jerusalem and Antioch scarcely excepted—in connection with the history and teaching and writings of St. Paul. It claims this distinction as the residence of the Apostle during his most critical contests, both with Jews and Greeks, in defence of the very essence of the Gospel; as the place whence he wrote his first apostolic letters—the two Epistles to the Thessalonians; as the Church to which he addressed those other two Epistles, which not only contain the fullest directions on matters of Christian faith and practice—the order of the Church, and the principles regulating her spiritual gifts and her Christian liberality, her ministry and her sacraments, the supreme law of Christian love, and the clearest statement of the doctrine of the resurrection,—but which reiterate, in terms unequalled in human language, for simplicity and force, the one great central truth of the whole Gospel—JESUS CHRIST AND HIM CRUCIFIED.

There is, moreover, no scene of St. Paul's labors of which the local features are more clearly marked by allusions both in the Acts and the Epistles; and the course of the city's history will help to explain its choice to be the first chief home of Western Christianity. This ancient seat of the Æolian, and afterward of the Dorian race, stood just within that *Isthmus* or neck of land, the name of which has been transferred to every narrow passage between two seas; and this position enabled it to shut the only land route into the Peloponnesus, and to send forth its ships on both the seas which wash the eastern and western shores of Greece. Its command of the Isthmus was rendered perfect by that vast citadel of rock, the *Acrocorinthus*, which rises abruptly to a height of 2000 feet above the level of the sea, and the summit of which is so large as to have contained the original city, the Ephyra of Homer. The prospect from this eminence is one of the most celebrated in the world, embracing a panoramic view of the mountains of the Morea and the Corinthian Gulf, with the ranges that skirt its opposite shore, terminating in the snowy heights of Parnassus; while on the east, beyond the Saronic Gulf, dotted with its islands, the hills of Attica and the Acropolis of Athens are distinctly visible at a distance of forty-five miles. Immediately below the Acrocorinthus, to the north, was the city of Corinth, on a table-land descending in terraces to the low plain which lies between Cenchrea and Lechæum, the two harbors on the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs. The eastern port invited the civilizing commerce of the Phœnicians, and from the western issued those earliest of Greek colonies, which the Corinthians founded on the Ionian Gulf, such as Ambracia, Corcyra (*Corfu*), and Apollonia; while Potidæa and other cities attest her colonizing energy in the Ægæan. The first trireme, or model Greek man-of-war, was said to have been built at Corinth, and the first naval battle on record was fought between her fleet and that of her own colony of Corcyra (about B. C. 664). The mythic fame of the Æolid race of Sisyphus was eclipsed in historic times by the tyrants Cypselus and Periander, under whom Corinth, enriched by commerce, became one of the earliest seats of Grecian art. As an aristocratic republic, Corinth yielded only to Sparta the supremacy of the Dorian confederacy, and was often able to force on her hesitating leader—as, for example, into the Peloponnesian war. The Macedonian usurpers, after crushing the opposition of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta, treated Corinth, in whose citadel they placed a garrison, as the capital of Greece; and when Aratus had expelled the Macedonian garrison, the city became the head of the Achæan League (B. C. 243). In this character

she drew down, by an insult to the ambassadors of Rome, that terrible destruction which Cicero describes as the extinction of the "Light of Greece" (B. C. 146). Excepting the temples and the buildings on the Acrocorinthus, the city lay in ruins for a century, till it was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar in B. C. 46, and the new *Colonia Julia Corinthus* was made the capital of the Roman province of Achaia and the residence of the proconsul. Rapidly recovering its ancient wealth, as a place of great commercial and manufacturing enterprise, it regained also its infamous celebrity as the most dissolute of Greek cities, and a chief seat of the worship of Aphrodite; while at the same time it was second only to Athens in intellectual activity.

Besides the native Greeks, the great number of Romans, as might have been expected in a colony so recently sent forth, is attested by the Latin names in the Epistle to the Romans, which St. Paul wrote from Corinth, during his second visit. The many Jewish residents, whom we always find in the Greek commercial cities, are indicated both by the narrative in the Acts, and by the Judaizing factions constantly referred to in the Epistles. Here then were gathered together all the elements on which the Apostle could most desire to act; and all of them in a state of vital activity, which formed a striking contrast to the "strenuous idleness" of Athens amid her old intellectual traditions. It was in places of living activity that St. Paul labored longest and most effectually, as formerly at Antioch, now at Corinth, and afterward at Ephesus.

While at Corinth, as before at Athens, Paul was waiting for the arrival of Silas and Timotheus, he gained unexpected fellow-laborers in AQUILA, a Jew of Pontus, and his wife PRISCILLA, who had lately arrived from Italy, in consequence of the edict of Claudius, expelling all Jews from Rome. Finding them already established at Corinth in the same handicraft as his own—the making of Cilician or hair-cloth tents—Paul took up his abode and wrought with them, and we may imagine his converse during the hours of labor with these who soon became, to use his own affectionate phrase, "his helpers in Christ Jesus." Having thus lived together during the eighteen months of Paul's stay at Corinth, they shared his voyage to Ephesus. Here they remained (while Paul went on to Jerusalem and Antioch) and instructed Apollos in the truth. Besides this intimate converse both with Paul and with Apollos, Aquila and Priscilla have the high distinction of affording a home to Christian churches in their house at Ephesus, and again at Rome when they were able to return thither. To crown their eminence, they earned the thanks, not of Paul only,

but of all the churches of the Gentiles, by incurring the risk of martyrdom to save his life ; we know not upon what occasion ; perhaps it was at Ephesus.

The labors of the Apostle at his craft of tent-making, with Aquila and Priscilla, are the most interesting if we admit the supposition that this was the period of pressing want, from which he was relieved by the arrival of "the brethren" (Silas and Timotheus) from Macedonia with contributions, especially those of the Philippians. This seasonable contribution aided him in his resolve to keep himself from being burdensome to the converts whom he was now about to gather from the Gentiles. It was not the proud assertion of personal independence that dictated this course ; but reasons peculiar to his position among the corrupt Greeks of Corinth and Achaia. Nowhere does he insist so forcibly, as in writing to this very church, on the law that "no man goeth a warfare on his own charges"—that "the ox that treadeth out the corn must not be muzzled"—that "so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel." He tells them plainly that his refraining from using this power was the only disadvantage they had in comparison with other churches ; nay, with his fondness for bold expressions, he says, "I spoiled other churches, taking wages of them for my ministry among you." It is in no spirit of sarcastic irony that he pleads—"forgive me this wrong"—for he calls God to witness that no want of love to them dictated this course, the motive for which he plainly adds :—"For what I do, I also will do, that I may cut off occasion from them that desire occasion [and challenge them to this proof]—wherein they boast, let them be found like us." He foresaw that, among the innumerable pretenders who, in that rich and frivolous province, made a gain of religion, there would soon arise some to abuse the Christian name ; those whom he afterward branded as "false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ," even as Satan, whose ministers they were, transformed himself into an angel of light. These men even boasted of the contributions they exacted, as a proof of their superiority to the Apostle who would receive none. But he was content to suffer this apparent humiliation, and to take this for his sole reward—"That, when I preach the Gospel, I may make the Gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the Gospel." "Nevertheless, we have not used this power ; but suffer all things, *lest we should hinder the Gospel of Christ.*" He resolved not to bring upon the Gospel the scorn of the selfish and quick-witted Greeks, not to sacrifice one iota of the witness which they were

compelled to bear to his asseveration—"I seek not *yours* but *you*"—"As the truth of Christ is in me," so vehemently does he asseverate,—no man shall stop me of this boasting in all the region of Achaia.

With such resolves, from his very first arrival at Corinth, did Paul work daily with Aquila and Priscilla. But, when the rest of the Sabbath came round, he went into the synagogue, according to his custom, and labored to persuade both the Jews and the Greeks who happened to be present. Some weeks passed thus, till the arrival of Silas and Timothy from Macedonia not only gave a new impulse to the Apostle, but marked a crisis in his career. Our abiding sense of the devotedness of St. Paul makes it hard to realize that he also was subject to fits of energy and depression, the latter being connected (it would seem) with that bodily infirmity, the "thorn in the flesh," which buffeted him as a messenger of Satan. He tells the Corinthians that "he was with them in weakness, and fear, and much trembling;" and his adversaries were able, after his departure, to strike at his influence with the taunt:—"His letters are weighty and powerful; but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible." But this constraint, in whatever it consisted, was now swallowed up in that "constraint of the word"—that overwhelming pressure of heart and conscience, binding his whole nature to his work amid all his infirmities, which St. Luke expresses by the very word used by the Lord himself—"I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I *straitened* till it be accomplished,"—which Paul himself describes in the most powerful language ever used by man to utter human motives:—"For the love of Christ *constraineth us*; because we thus judge, that, if One died for all, then were all dead; and that he died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again." This overwhelming sense that "Christ is all and in all," this full meaning of the Gospel of Christ's death and resurrection, seems to have come upon Paul's mind almost with the force of a new revelation, in the light of which he formed the resolution:—"I determined not to know anything among you, save JESUS CHRIST AND HIM CRUCIFIED." It had an equal influence on the manner as on the matter of his preaching. Paul knew that "Christ had sent him to preach the Gospel, not with wisdom of words, lest the *cross of Christ* should be made of none effect." All the arts of rhetoric and philosophic argument, the "excellency of speech and wisdom," the "enticing words of man's wisdom," were abjured by the very Apostle who was qualified to use them on the very field that invited and provoked

their display, in order to give place to the “manifestation of spirit and of power,” to prove that the simplicity of preaching was God’s instrument for saving them that believe, and to assure the converts that “their faith was not in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God.” Great as was the temptation to gratify “the Jews who asked for a sign, and the Greeks who sought after wisdom,” Paul now saw that any such concession would mar the whole simplicity of the Gospel, and he summed up the message of Christ’s heralds in these words:—“BUT WE PREACH CHRIST CRUCIFIED, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, CHRIST THE POWER OF GOD, AND THE WISDOM OF GOD.”

“WE”—the Apostles and Evangelists then—the ministers of the Gospel in every age—but, at Corinth in particular, Paul and the two associates whose aid he thus owns:—“The Son of God, even Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, *by me and Silvanus and Timotheus*, was in him *yea* and in him *Amen*, unto the glory of God by us.” The sense of having their help seems to have given that impulse which caused Paul to testify first to the Jews Jesus the Christ. His new plainness provoked the same animosity as at every former step; and when, like those at Antioch in Pisidia, they opposed themselves and blasphemed, Paul shook his raiment, and said to them, in the words of their own prophet, “Your blood be upon your own heads! Pure from it, I will henceforth go to the Gentiles.” From that day he forsook the synagogue, his first act of open separation from Judaism, but continued to meet his own flock close by, in the house of a proselyte named Justus. He was followed by Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, whose baptism, with his whole house, by the Apostle himself, formed an exception to Paul’s usual practice, for “Christ”—he says—“sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.” The like exception was made in favor of Gaius, whose name stands recorded in Scripture as a great example of Christian hospitality; as well as for the household of Stephanas, afterward described as “the first-fruits of Achaia, who had devoted themselves to the ministry of the saints.”

The news of this division among the Jews, and of the Apostle’s turning to the Gentiles, spread through the city; and many of the Corinthians believed and were baptized, probably by Silvanus and Timotheus. That this movement roused anew the extreme fury of the Jews, may be inferred from Paul’s referring to their opposition with vehement indignation in his First Epistle to the Thessalonians,

which was written from Corinth soon after the arrival of Silvanus and Timotheus:—"Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men: forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved, to fill up their sins alway; for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost." It was at this crisis that the Apostle was favored with another of those supernatural visions, which from the very day of his conversion had directed and cheered his course. The LORD, whom he had seen in the way to Damascus, now spoke to him in the night, and said to him, "Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee: for *I have much people in this city.*" Thus encouraged, he remained in Corinth, teaching the word of God, for a year and six months. During this time he kept up his intercourse with the churches of Macedonia; and the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians was sent not long after the First, chiefly to correct the misapprehensions which some had founded upon the First, respecting the speedy approach of "the day of the Lord," Christ's second advent.

These are the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles which have come down to us; though the salutation at the close of the Second Epistle seems to imply that the Apostle was already in habitual correspondence with the churches he had planted. That salutation, moreover, supplies a fact of the greatest importance in connection with St. Paul's Epistles:—"The *salutation of Paul with mine own hand*, which is the token in every Epistle: so I write." The habit of employing an amanuensis is so frequent that we need not speculate whether St. Paul adopted it on account of his "infirmity in the flesh." He used his own hand, partly to give that attestation to the genuineness of his Epistles which we find already not to have been superfluous, partly to convey that sense of personal regard which we associate with a great man's autograph; and sometimes he adds to the salutation in his own hand statements to which he desires thus to give the greatest emphasis. We can scarcely doubt that the magnificent doxology which follows the salutation in the Epistle to the Romans was of this kind; and Paul has given us an example beyond all doubt in the close of the Epistle to the Galatians. After dictating his unusually severe rebukes of the Judaizing teachers who had beguiled the unstable Gauls, he takes the pen into his own hand; but, before he adds the salutation, he uses it to record the final condemnation of their hollow motives, and the final assertion of that doctrine of the cross, to which this very form of reiteration adds new emphasis.

Nay, more—and it is deeply interesting that such a personal trait of the Apostle has been preserved to us—he appeals to the large, bold hand-writing, so characteristic of his fervid temperament, as a proof of the emphasis with which he wrote:—"See *in what large letters* I have written to you with mine own hand!" It was in those large characters that he traced the words, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ"—"In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature."

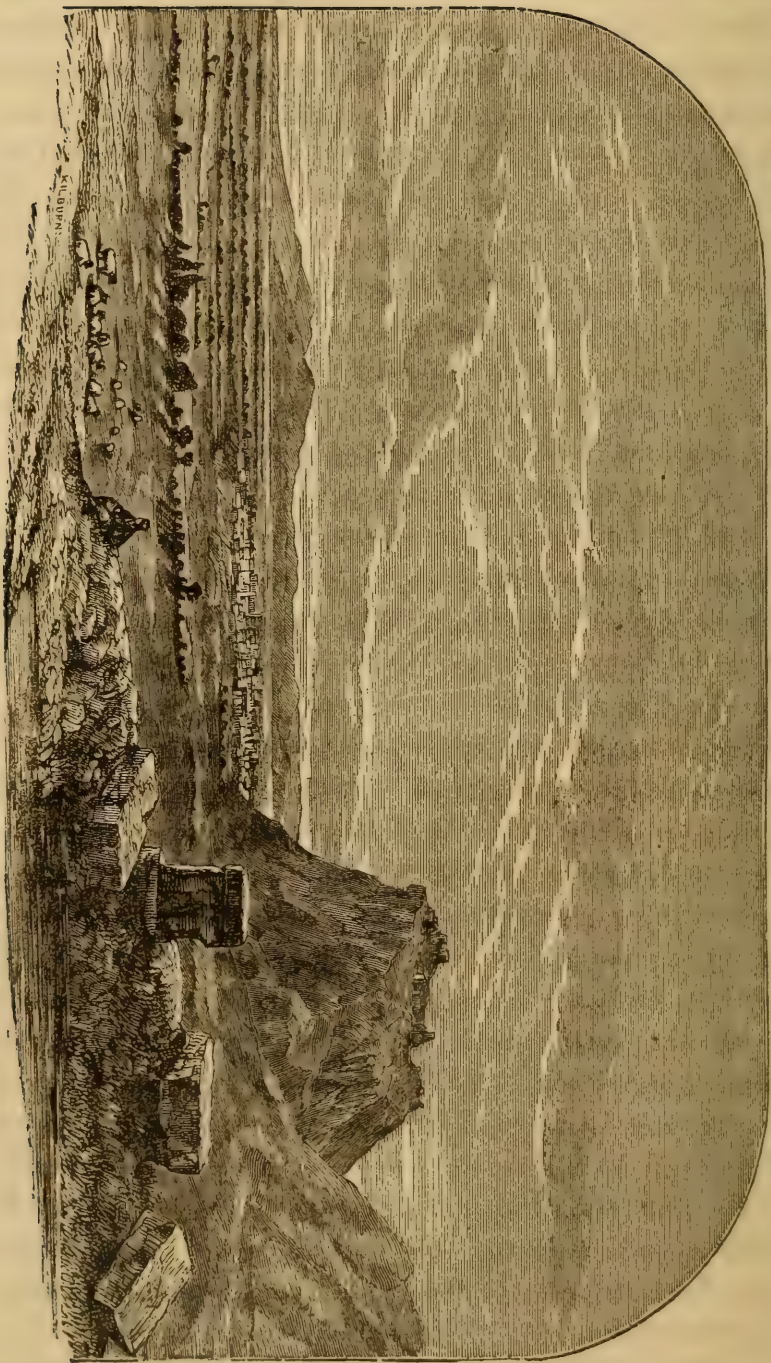
Two general remarks relating to St. Paul's Letters may find a place here. (1.) There is no reason to assume that the extant letters are all that the Apostle wrote. On the contrary, there is a strong presumption, and some slight positive evidence, that he wrote many which have not been preserved. (2.) We must be on our guard against concluding too much, from the contents and style of any Epistle, as to the fixed bent of the Apostle's whole mind at the time when it was written. We must remember that the Epistles to the Thessalonians were written while St. Paul was deeply absorbed in the peculiar circumstances of the Corinthian Church; and that the Epistles to the Corinthians were written *between* those to the Galatians and the Romans. These facts are sufficient to remind us of the *versatility* of the Apostle's mind;—to show us how thoroughly the feelings and ideas suggested to him by the circumstances upon which he was dwelling had the power to mould its utterances.

At Corinth, as afterward at Ephesus, the residence of
A. D. 53. Paul gave occasion to one of those early outbreaks against Christianity at great seats of Greek civilization and Roman power, which portended future persecution. But the time had not yet come when the Gentiles surpassed the hostility of the Jews; and the present danger was averted by the wise and fair, if somewhat contemptuous, toleration of a philosophic governor. GALLIO, the proconsul of Achaia under Claudius, was the brother of the great Seneca, and, like him, imbued with learning from his infancy. When, therefore, the Jews brought Paul before his tribunal, on the charge of persuading men to worship God contrary to the law, Gallio stopped the case, just as Paul was opening his mouth to defend himself, declaring that he would be a judge of actual crimes, but not of doctrine, and *names*, and of their law. Natural indignation at this light treatment of the sacred *Name* has blinded many Christians to the excellence of Gallio's conduct as a magistrate, administering the traditional tolerant policy of Rome. But the "careless Gallio" stands in as honorable contrast to

the Philippian duumvirs, as Festus does to the venal brother of Pallas. Even when he suffered the Corinthian spectators—whether they were favorable to St. Paul, or actuated only by anger against the Jews—to seize on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue, and to beat him before the tribunal, Gallio's calm indifference may have saved Corinth from one of those frightful tumults between Greeks and Jews which desolated such cities as Alexandria and Cæsarea. The result of the tumult seems to have been favorable to the influence of Paul, who remained a good while at Corinth before he took his leave of the brethren and sailed for Syria.

The Apostle was accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla on his departure from Cenchrea, the eastern harbor of Corinth, which lay on the Saronic Gulf. But before they sailed, a ceremony was performed which has given rise to much controversy. The impression on the reader's mind is that Paul himself shaved his head at Cenchrea, because he had a vow; but eminent commentators hold the view, which is at least equally consistent with the grammatical order of the passage, that the ceremony was performed by Aquila. In either case we see the Apostle—as on a subsequent occasion—sanctioning, if not practising, customs which proved that he was in no eager haste to cut himself off from conformity with his Jewish brethren in things indifferent. The question, whether his conduct in these two cases furnishes an example to Christians in support of the practice of vows, is too much a matter of casuistry to be discussed here.

The Apostle's destination was Jerusalem; but the ship in which he sailed followed the most common route across the Ægæan from Corinth to Ephesus. "These were the capitals of the two flourishing and peaceful provinces of Achaia and Asia, and the two great mercantile towns on the opposite sides of the sea. If resemblances may be suggested between the ocean and the Mediterranean, and between ancient and modern times, we may say that the relation of these cities of the Eastern and Western Greeks to each other was like that of New York and Liverpool. Even the time taken up by the voyage constitutes a point of resemblance. Cicero says that, "on his eastward passage, which was considered a long one, he spent fifteen days, and that his return was accomplished in thirteen." Either the ship was bound further for Syria, or Paul found another vessel on the point of sailing, so that he only made a few days' stay at the city, to which we shall presently return, as a chief place of his abode. But in this short interval, and doubtless on the Sabbath, he went into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. They gave an earnest of that readiness



CORINTH.

which they soon after showed to hear the Word, by entreating Paul to remain some time with them ; but, bent as he was on keeping the approaching feast at Jerusalem, he bade them farewell, with the promise, soon so amply redeemed, "I will return again unto you, if God will." It was no small consolation for his departure, that Aquila and Priscilla remained behind, apparently at Paul's express desire. Their house became the home of the infant church of Ephesus, and themselves the instructors of Apollos.

A. D. 53. Meanwhile, Paul pursued his voyage to Cæsarea ; and, landing there, went up to Jerusalem, as he had proposed. That his visit was but hasty, seems indicated by the brevity of the record :—"And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch." But the Apostle's eagerness to pay the visit may assure us of its great importance, which we can understand in the light of his past and approaching career. His salutation to the Jewish Christians, assembled at the feast, would include a full account of the reception of the Gospel by the Gentiles in Roman colonies and Greek capitals ; and the report, while gladdening the sincere believers, and confirming their faith in the full salvation of the Gentiles, would provoke new suspicion and hostility from the Judaizers. Foreseeing, we may feel sure, his great coming conflict with these "false brethren unawares crept in," he would attach more importance than ever to a full understanding and hearty loving union with James and the true Christians at Jerusalem. And, while they learned to appreciate his work, what he saw upon this visit would quicken his desire to cement that union by the means on which he ever insists, "the fellowship of giving and receiving," and to fulfil the old injunction with which his brother Apostles had sent him forth to the Gentiles :—"Only they would that we should *remember the poor*, the same which I also was forward to do." For Judæa was now being ground down to those extremities which soon provoked the great rebellion ; and Felix, who had arrived as the successor of Ventidius Cumanus about midsummer, A. D. 53, had entered on his course of servile despotism and rapacity.

From this visit the Apostle went forth to oppose every art by which the Judaizers tried to rob the Gentiles of their Christian liberty, but to insist no less earnestly on the duty of the Gentile converts to contribute of their wealth to their suffering Jewish brethren. The contributions made by Macedonia and Achaia for the poor of the saints in Jerusalem becomes a prominent object of his labors. He represents it as a debt due from the former to the latter : "For if the Gentiles

have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister to them in carnal things." And it was on the very service of carrying these contributions to Jerusalem, at the Pentecost four years later, that no remonstrances could deter him from risking his liberty and life.

The eagerness of the Apostle, on the latter occasion, to be at Jerusalem on the day of *Pentecost*, raises a presumption that this too was the "feast" which he was now so eager to keep at Jerusalem. (The Pentecost of A. D. 54 fell on May 31.) This festival, rather than the Passover, had now acquired the distinctive appellation of "*the feast*." It was that to which the greatest number of the Jews went up, after the full ingathering of the harvest; and at which, therefore, Paul would find the largest gathering of the brethren at Jerusalem. This view is supported by arguments derived from the season during which navigation was suspended, and the length of the voyage from Ephesus to Cæsarea. On this view it would be in the early summer of A. D. 54 that Paul returned to Antioch, for the last time, having completed his *Second Missionary Journey*. This epoch in the Apostle's life coincides nearly with one equally marked in civil history. It was on the 12th of October, A. D. 54, that the Emperor Claudius was murdered by his infamous consort Agrippina, and succeeded by the young NERO, a name equally hateful in the annals of the Church and of the world.

Mr. Lewin, however, arguing chiefly from the general tenor of the chronological data which have been noticed in the course of the narrative,—and especially from those affecting Paul's stay at Corinth,—holds this feast to have been the *Feast of Tabernacles* of A. D. 53, which fell on Sept. 16. The distinctive name of "the Feast" was certainly applied not only to the Pentecost, but also to the Feast of Tabernacles; which, falling at the conclusion of all the agricultural labors of the year, seems to have been as much frequented by the native Jews, the class whom Paul would be especially anxious to meet on this occasion. This hypothesis, moreover, by allowing us to place the commencement of Paul's Third Circuit at the very beginning of A. D. 54, seems to agree best with the dates of the Apostle's three years' residence at Ephesus.

CHAPTER XL.

ST. PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY—HIS ARREST AT JERUSALEM, AND IMPRISONMENT AT CÆSAREA.

[A. D. 54—A. D. 60.]

IT was—according to the different views explained in the preceding chapter—either in the beginning, or toward the autumn, of A. D. 54, that Paul, after another considerable stay at Antioch, started again upon his old track, and “went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, confirming the disciples,” and also giving directions for the collection on behalf of the poor saints at Jerusalem. This *Third Circuit* included a residence of no less than three years at Ephesus; a journey A. D. 54. through Macedonia, and probably as far as Illyricum, which brought the Apostle to Corinth, where he spent the three winter months of A. D. 57–58. To disconcert a Jewish plot against his life, he returned through Macedonia and embarked at Philippi after the close of the Passover, and rejoined the companions who sailed direct from Corinth at Alexandria Troas. Thence he pursued his voyage, the course of which we are able to trace day by day, along the coast of Ionia, Caria, and Lycia, and across the Pamphylian and Cilician seas, to Tyre, Ptolemais (Acre), and Cæsarea, whence he went up by land to Jerusalem, to the Feast of Pentecost, and was there arrested in the Temple. The duration of the whole circuit was (according to the two dates of its commencement) either a little more, or a little less, than four years. The companions with whom the Apostle started on this journey are not mentioned. It seems probable that Silas remained at Jerusalem, whence he had originally been sent as one of the bearers of the apostolic edict; and we next find him as the associate of St. Peter, and the bearer of his Epistle to the churches of Asia Minor. The Acts and Epistles contain abundant proofs that Timothy was with Paul during part of the circuit. Titus, though not mentioned in the Acts, appears in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians as the Apostle's minister; and, to pass over less known names, Luke, who appears to have joined him at Philippi, furnishes the testimony of an eye-witness to the rest of the Apostle's career, down to both his imprisonments at Rome.

The whole proceedings and writings of the Apostle during this journey have the closest relation to that most important question with which his recent visit to Jerusalem was probably connected :—What was to be the relation of the new kingdom of Christ to the law and covenant of the Jews? Such a church as that at Corinth, with its affiliated communities, composed chiefly of Gentile members, appeared likely to overshadow by its importance the mother Church in Judæa. The jealousy of the more Judaical believers, not extinguished by the decision of the council at Jerusalem, began now to show itself everywhere in the form of an active and intriguing party-spirit. This disastrous movement could not indeed alienate the heart of St. Paul from the Law or the calling or the people of his fathers—his antagonism is never directed against these; but it drew him into the great conflict of the next period of his life, and must have been a sore trial to the intense loyalty of his nature. To vindicate the *freedom*, as regarded the Jewish law, of believers in Christ, but to do this for the very sake of maintaining *the unity of the Church*, was to be the earnest labor of the Apostle for some years. In thus laboring he was carrying out completely the principles laid down by the elder Apostles at Jerusalem; and may we not believe that, in deep sorrow at appearing, even, to disparage the Law and the covenant, he was the more anxious to prove his fellowship in spirit with the Church in Judæa, by “remembering the poor,” as “James, Cephas and John” had desired that he would? The prominence given, during the journeys upon which we are now entering, to the collection to be made among his churches for the benefit of the poor at Jerusalem, seems to indicate such an anxiety. The great Epistles which belong to this period, those to the Galatians, Corinthians and Romans, show how the “Judaizing” question exercised at this time the Apostle’s mind.

His sharp conflict with the Judaizers began in the A. D. 54-57. churches of Galatia, which now showed a lamentable change from the spirit with which they had received the Apostle on his first visit. Their fickle minds had evidently been captivated by the description given by the Judaizers of the privileges of the sons of Abraham, till they even “desired to be under the law.” When Paul found it needful to speak plainly of the bondage into which they were thus bringing themselves, their former impulsive love was turned to resentment, and he “became their enemy because he told them the truth.” His stay among them was probably brief, as he had to redeem his promise to the Ephesians; and, when the restraint of his presence was removed, the Judaizing teachers no longer dissembled

their personal hostility to the Apostle. Like the same class of enemies at Corinth, they assailed his apostolic authority, and represented him as having derived his commission from the older Apostles, whose views (those of Peter and James for example) they probably insinuated that he opposed. Such was the occasion of his writing, most probably from Ephesus (A. D. 55), that short but pregnant *Epistle to the Galatians*, which contains the plainest possible statement of the leading doctrines of the Gospel, with a refutation of the Judaizing heresy, equally conspicuous for ingenuity and force of argument, for indignation against the false teachers, and compassionate love for the deluded disciples who were wronging themselves and him. He recalls to their minds the Gospel which he had preached among them, and asserts in solemn and even awful language its absolute truth. He declares that he had received it *directly from Jesus Christ the Lord*, and that his position toward the other Apostles had always been that, not of a pupil, but of an independent fellow-laborer. He sets before them Jesus the Crucified, the Son of God, as the fulfilment of the promise made to the fathers, and as the pledge and giver of freedom to men. He declares that in him, and by the power of the Spirit of sonship sent down through him, men have inherited the rights of adult sons of God; that the condition represented by the Law was the inferior and preparatory stage of boyhood. He then most earnestly and tenderly impresses upon the Galatians the responsibilities of their fellowship with Christ the Crucified, urging them to fruitfulness in all the graces of their spiritual calling, and especially to brotherly consideration and unity.

The date of the *Epistle to the Galatians* can be fixed with tolerable certainty by internal evidence. That it was written after Paul's second visit, is proved by his allusion to the first; but that the interval was not long, may be inferred from his mention of the speed with which their declension had followed on his departure: and these indications are confirmed by an allusion to the collection which the Apostle had been making for the poor saints of Judæa among the Galatian churches. Mr. Lewin even finds an allusion to the very year, in the remonstrance against the observance of days, and weeks, and months and *years*; as the Sabbatic year began on the 1st of Nisan in A. D. 55. At all events it seems most probable that the *Epistle* was written during Paul's residence at Ephesus.

EPHESUS may be regarded as the central object of this third journey of the Apostle through Asia Minor. The city well deserved the importance which the Apostle evidently attached to the redemption

of the promise he had made during his former hasty visit. What *Antioch* was for the region of Syria and Cilicia, what *Corinth* was for Greece, what *Rome* was—we may add—for Italy and the West, that *Ephesus* was for the important province called ASIA. Indeed, with reference to the spread of the Church Catholic, Ephesus occupied the central position of all. This was the meeting-place of Jew, of Greek, of Roman and of Oriental. Accordingly, the Apostle of the Gentiles was to stay a long time here, that he might found a strong Church, which should be a kind of mother-church to Christian communities in the neighboring cities of Asia.

In the interval between the visits of Paul, a new religious movement had been going on at Ephesus, under the impulse of one whose name, after being made at first the watchword of a rival party, has been handed down by the Apostle himself in close connection with his own. “A certain Jew named APOLLOS, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures, came to Ephesus. This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and, being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently *the things of the Lord*, knowing only *the baptism of John*.” His bold utterances in the synagogue attracted the notice of Aquila and Priscilla, who “received him”—probably into the Christian society meeting in their house—“and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly.” This instruction was doubtless in the way of conference, for we do not read of Aquila and Priscilla acting as public teachers. After spending some time at Ephesus, Apollos, being desirous of passing into Achaia, carried with him letters from the brethren at Ephesus to the Corinthian Church. On his arrival at Corinth, “he helped them much which had believed through grace; for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was Christ.” His eloquence, acquired probably from the teaching of the Alexandrian schools, seems to have presented to some of the Corinthian converts those captivating qualities which they missed in the “plain speech” of Paul; and Apollos was raised, by no choice of his own, into the position of a party leader, with results which we have presently to notice. Meanwhile, the influence of the work which he had begun at Ephesus, before his association with Aquila and Priscilla, survived his departure. Apollos had already reached Corinth, when “Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus.” Here he found twelve men, who, like Apollos, are called disciples; but who, on being asked by the Apostle whether they had received the Holy Ghost when they believed, confessed their ignorance that there was

any Holy Ghost. "Unto what then were ye baptized?" asked Paul; and they said, "Unto John's baptism." Then, in the language of the Baptist himself, Paul explained to them that John's baptism of repentance was but introductory to faith in Him who should come after him, Christ Jesus. Upon this the men were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the imposition of Paul's hands they received the Holy Ghost, and spake with tongues and prophesied.

After this incident Paul entered upon his public ministry in Ephesus, according to his usual plan, and with the usual results. He went into the Jewish synagogues, where, for the first three months, he contended and disputed with the Jews, endeavoring with great earnestness and resolution, to convince them of the truth of the Christian religion. But when, instead of success, he met with nothing but obstinacy and infidelity, he left the synagogue, and taking with him those whom he had converted to the true faith, instructed them and others who resorted to him in the school of one Tyrannus, a place where scholars used to be instructed.

In this manner he continued to preach the Gospel two whole years, by which means the Jews and proselytes had an opportunity of hearing the glad tidings of salvation. And because miracles are the clearest evidence of a divine commission, the Almighty was pleased to testify the doctrine which St. Paul delivered by amazing and miraculous operations, many of which were of a peculiar and extraordinary nature, for he not only healed those that came to him, but if napkins or handkerchiefs were only touched by him, and applied to the sick, their diseases immediately vanished, and the evil spirits departed out of those that were possessed by them.

The Jews were the first to challenge a decisive contest, in the spirit of their countrymen, who had confessed the source of their own exorcisms when they accused our Saviour of casting out devils by Beelzebub the prince of the devils. Every province was infested with itinerant Jewish magicians, like Simon Magus and Elymas. Seeing probably, like Simon, a new form of charm in the *name of Jesus*, certain of these "vagabond Jews, exorcists," attempted to use it upon those possessed with evil spirits, saying, "We adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth." In one case, the experiment led to a result as decisive as it was unexpected. The seven sons of a Jewish chief priest, named Sceva, engaged in such an exorcism; and we can fancy the parade of gestures and mutterings with which they "mopped and mowed" around the patient; when suddenly the evil spirit found a voice to repeat the confessions which the powers of darkness had so

often made of Jesus and of Paul himself, and cried out, "*Jesus* I know (acknowledge), and *Paul* I know; but who are ye?" As the cry was uttered, the possessed man attacked his exorcists and overpowered them, so that they fled out of the house naked and wounded, exposing their shameful failure to the public gaze.

The affair became known to all the Greeks and Jews who dwelt at Ephesus; and this signal proof of the Apostle's command, in the name of Jesus, over the world of spirits, caused fear to fall upon all men, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. A new practical effect was produced even among those who had already believed; and many who seem to have been slow to abandon magic arts, now confessed and showed their deeds. To confession they added sacrifice, bringing forth piles of those books containing the formulæ of magic, which derived their very name from the city, and formed most valuable articles of merchandise, to be publicly burned. The total value of the books thus destroyed was computed at 50,000 *denarii*, or about \$8850. The Evangelist, who records this great blow to magic as a decisive triumph of Christian truth, might well have been astounded, if he had seen such arts revived in Christian countries, and tampered with, if not believed in, by Christian men.

It was shortly after this affair that Paul, having now spent two years and a quarter at Ephesus, began to make arrangements for his further journey into Greece. St. Luke tells that "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season." The natural inference would be that Paul intended to pursue his former route through Macedonia to Corinth, and that the mission of Timothy and Erastus was to prepare the Macedonian and Achaian Churches for his visit, and especially to get ready the contribution for the poor saints at Jerusalem, according to the plan which the Apostle had appointed for the churches of Galatia:—"Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." But to the Church of Corinth the mission of Timothy had a further object:—"to bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ." We shall soon see how needful it was thus to recall to the remembrance of the Corinthians those apostolic lessons and examples, the impression of which had been well-nigh effaced by party spirit and moral corruption.

It is plain that the *order* of this journey is quite of secondary importance, and that St. Luke's "Macedonia and Achaia" may quite as well mean "Achaia and Macedonia," if this order be required by other evidence. Such evidence we seem to have in the words of St. Paul himself; for, in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, written, as we shall presently see, from Macedonia in the course of this journey, he describes his plan as follows. After expressing his earnest hope, confirmed anew from what had occurred meanwhile, that they would continue to acknowledge to the very end the truths that he had preached and written to them, he adds:—"And, *in this confidence*, I was minded to come unto you before, that ye might have a second benefit, and to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way toward Judæa." Here we have the plan of a journey with the same general object as that described in the Acts, embracing both Achaia and Macedonia, only in the opposite order, and ending by a return to Jerusalem, in order, as we afterward learn, to carry thither the contributions of the Gentile churches. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the two passages refer to the same journey, and the variation in the order presents no real difficulty. But, though unimportant as a matter of criticism, this variation is of deep interest in connection with the Apostle's career, and with his relations to the church of Corinth. The strong asseverations which follow the passage just quoted, that there was no fickleness, no *Yea, yea!* and *Nay, nay!* in these his plans, any more than in his doctrine—in language that might seem extravagant in relation to the question of making a journey at one time rather than another—lead up to the very cogent motives that caused the Apostle to change his plan:—"Moreover, I call God as a witness to my soul that *to spare you I came not as yet unto Corinth*: . . . But I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in sorrow:"—and then he says how, amid the former sorrow thus referred to, he had written his First Epistle, "not to grieve them, but that they might know the abundance of his love for them."

That First Epistle explains the source of all this sorrow, and the influence it had on the Apostle's change of plan. Certain brethren, who came to Ephesus from Corinth, and whom, with true Christian honor, he mentions by name, had brought him afflicting news concerning the Corinthian Church: "It hath been declared unto you, my brethren, by those of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you." Nor was this the worst. The Church had been dis-

graced by scandalous immorality, without any censure upon the offender, and, among other grave disorders in worship, the Lord's Supper had been profaned into a riotous feast. Now comes out the character of Paul. A man of his fearless plain-speaking zeal might perhaps have been expected to hasten to Corinth, and combat with the evil in person. But he takes counsel of a kindlier wisdom. *To spare them*, he delays his visit to Corinth, and determines to make his journey by way of Macedonia first; then to stay awhile at Corinth, and probably to winter there, and to be brought on by them on his further journey. Meanwhile he resolved to stay at Ephesus till Pentecost, to improve his growing success—"a great and effectual door is opened unto me"—and to combat the "many adversaries," of whom we shall soon hear more. In case Timothy, who had already been sent into Macedonia, apparently with directions to wait for Paul at Corinth, should arrive there, he is commended to their regard, in terms which imply a fear of insult from the Anti-Pauline party, and they are bidden to send him forth in peace, that he might return to Paul.

While thus arranging his plans so as to give his disciples at Corinth a space for repentance before his arrival, he stimulated them to that repentance, and gave directions for that reformation of their disorders which would prepare for his coming to them in joy and peace, by writing the letter from which the above particulars have been gathered, the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Its contents give decisive indications of its date and place: it was written after Paul's second visit to Galatia; after the mission of Timothy, and Erastus; and after the change in the Apostle's plans. St. Paul alludes to his being still in Asia, and at Ephesus, whence he was contemplating his departure at the ensuing Pentecost; circumstances which fix the date to the spring of his last year's residence at Ephesus (A. D. 57). The suggestion, that the date may be more exactly fixed to the season of the Passover by the allusion to that feast, is both ingenious and reasonable. The Epistle was no doubt sent, as the subscription states, by the hands of Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus, who had lately come from Corinth, as we shall presently see, and who are especially commended to the honorable regard of the Church. The supposition that they were accompanied by Titus seems to be negatived by the absence of any mention in the First Epistle of that mission of his on which so much stress is laid in the second, and which evidently took place shortly after the dispatch of the First Epistle, and while Paul was still at Ephesus; as he expected—though his anxiety caused him

to expect it too soon—to meet Titus at Troas on his return from Corinth. The allusion to the presence of Apollos is not only important as another mark of time, but as an indication of his complete concord with Paul in the reproofs addressed to the Corinthians for making parties in the name of the Apostle and himself. It would seem that Paul wished him to go to Corinth with the bearers of the Epistle and enforce its admonitions, but that Apollos, with wise delicacy, preferred to postpone his visit, lest his presence should rather inflame the dissensions:—"As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come unto you with the brethren: but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come when he shall have a convenient time."

Such were the circumstances under which St. Paul wrote the First Epistle to the Corinthians. But besides the occasion furnished by the information received from those of the house of Chloe, we learn that the Epistle was written in reply to a letter of inquiry from the Corinthians themselves upon certain questions of great importance; which letter was brought to Ephesus by Stephanus and Fortunatus and Achaicus, the same brethren who carried back the Apostle's answer. But further, it is now generally supposed that the Epistle contains allusions to a visit, not mentioned in the Acts, which Paul paid to Corinth, during the first half of his stay at Ephesus, and to a letter which he wrote to the Church soon after this visit, and before that which is now called the First Epistle. The ingenuity of these conjectures has caused them to be perhaps too hastily received. The hypothesis of a former Epistle, which is not now extant, rests on the slight evidence of a single allusion. The arguments for the supposed visit to Corinth are derived entirely from the use in certain passages of the phrases, *the third time, again*, and so forth; but, so long as they are not proved incapable (as Paley has shown) of another interpretation, they cannot be held conclusive in the absence of direct historic evidence. But, at all events, the decision of this doubtful question is of little consequence compared with the ample evidence, furnished by the Epistle itself, of the sleepless vigilance and untiring affection with which Paul kept up communication with the Church at Corinth, amid all his troubles and conflicts at Ephesus,—a striking instance of "that which came upon him daily, the care of all the churches."

This varied and highly characteristic letter, addressed not to any party, but to the whole body of the large Judæo-Gentile Church of Corinth, was called forth first, as we have seen, by the information the Apostle had received from members of the household of Chloe

that there were divisions in the Church ; that parties had been formed which took the names of Paul, of Apollos, of Cephas, and of Christ : —secondly, by the moral and social irregularities that had begun to prevail, of which the most conspicuous and scandalous example was that a believer had taken his father's wife, without being publicly condemned by the Church ; to which we must add one doctrinal error, of those who said “ that there was no resurrection of the dead ; ” —thirdly, by the inquiries that had been specially addressed to St. Paul by the Church of Corinth on several matters relating to Christian practice. It is probable that the teaching of Apollos the Alexandrian, which had been characteristic and highly successful, had been the first occasion of the divisions in the Church. We may take it for granted that his adherents did not form themselves into a party until he had left Corinth, and therefore that he had been some time with St. Paul at Ephesus. But after he had gone, the special *Alexandrian* features of his teaching were remembered by those who had delighted to hear him. Their Grecian intellect was captivated by his broader and more spiritual interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures. The connection which he taught them to perceive between the revelation made to Hebrew rulers and prophets and the wisdom by which other nations, and especially their own, had been enlightened, dwelt in their minds. That which especially occupied the Apollos school must have been a *philosophy of the Scriptures*. It was the tendency of this party which seemed to the Apostle particularly dangerous among the Greeks. He hardly seems to refer specially in his letter to the other parties, but we can scarcely doubt that in what he says about “ the wisdom which the Greeks sought ” he is referring not only to the general tendency of the Greek mind, but to that tendency as it had been caught and influenced by the teaching of Apollos. It gives him an occasion of delivering his most characteristic testimony. He recognizes wisdom, but it is the wisdom of God ; and that wisdom was not *only* a *Σοφία* or a *Λόγος*, through which God had always spoken to all men ; it had been perfectly manifested in Jesus the Crucified. Christ crucified was both the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. To receive him required a spiritual discernment unlike the wisdom of the great men of the world ; a discernment given by the Holy Spirit of God, and manifesting itself in sympathy with Christ's humiliation and love.

Having dispatched his epistles, St. Paul remained in A. D. 57. Ephesus, improving his success, and preaching the Gospel with renewed vigor, intending to leave the city after the Pentecost,

which was drawing near. His departure was hastened by a tumult which now broke out, and of which he was the innocent cause.

There stood in Ephesus a magnificent Temple of Diana, which was so famous for its beauty that it was considered one of the seven wonders of the world. It was held in the greatest veneration by all the believers in the faith of the Greeks and Romans, for it contained an image of Diana, which was said to have been made by Jupiter himself, and dropped down from heaven. The silversmiths of Ephesus carried on a large trade in gold and silver models or shrines of this temple, some of which were so small as to be carried in the pocket as charms. One Demetrius, the chief of the silversmiths, perceiving that the establishment of the Christian faith would do away with his trade, stirred up the Ephesians against the Apostles, by working on the popular zeal for Diana. The result was, that failing to find Paul, the mob seized two of his companions, Gaius and Aristarchus, and hurried them to the theatre, intending to throw them to the wild beasts. Paul, hearing of this, prepared to go to the theatre, to endeavor to plead in behalf of his brethren, but was prevented by the Christians of the place, and by several of the prominent Gentiles who were his friends, who represented to him that he would only expose himself to the popular rage without accomplishing any good for his companions.

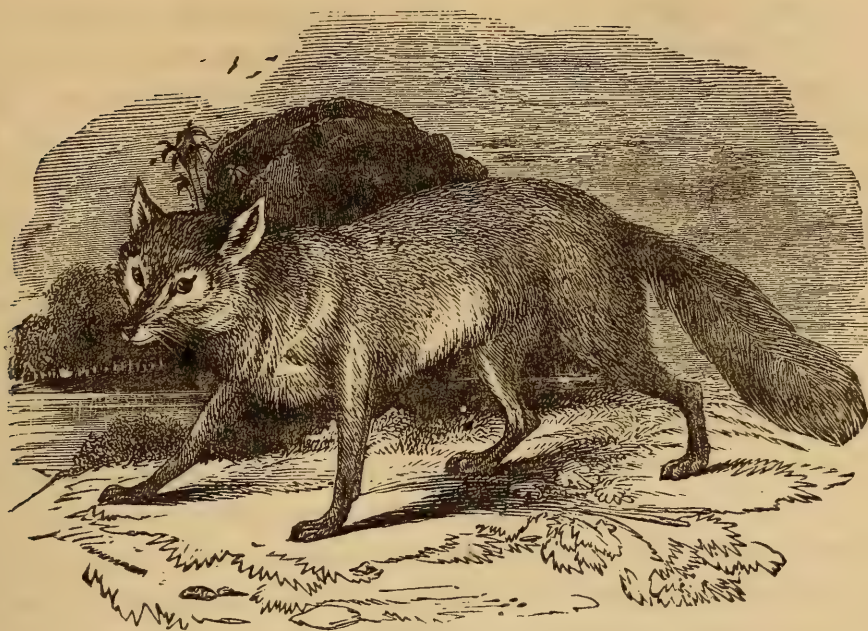
The mob created a frightful tumult, and nothing prevented the murder of the friends of the Apostle, but the timely interposition of the town-clerk, who having obtained silence reminded the people that their zeal in behalf of Diana was too well known throughout the world to need any such bloody attestation, and declared that if the silversmiths had anything to charge against Paul and his friends, they ought to do so through the civil courts, which were then in session and open to them, and reminded them that they would do well to put up with peaceable measures as they had already rendered themselves liable to be punished by the Imperial government for inciting so great a tumult. His words had the desired effect. Gaius and Aristarchus were released, and the crowd dispersed. St. Paul regarded the escape of himself and his friends as miraculous, and so speaks of it in his writings.

A. D. 57. After the cessation of the tumult, in which, for the first time, we see the spirit, no longer of Jewish, but of heathen hostility, breaking out in full fury against the Gospel, Paul set out for Macedonia. His journey already fixed for Pentecost (May 28), would naturally be somewhat hastened by the riot; but that he made

no precipitate flight is shown by his calling the brethren together and embracing them, before his departure. St. Luke briefly records his passage through Macedonia, exhorting the disciples in many a discourse; and his arrival in Greece, where he abode three months (Nov. to Feb. A. D. 57-8). Important light is thrown upon the interval by the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, which was written upon the journey. Pursuing the usual route along the coast, probably by sea, Paul reached Troas, the port of departure for Europe, bent on his evangelic work, and found a door opened to him of the Lord. But his own peace of mind was broken by the disappointment of not finding Titus, whom he had expected to meet him there with the tidings of the reception of his First Epistle. That his success at Troas was mingled with fresh outbreaks of heathen opposition, may be inferred from that solemn passage in which, while thanking God that the Gospel preached by him was nowhere without effect, he records, with overwhelming emotion, its two opposite results:—"Now thanks be to God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savor of his knowledge by us in every place. For we are unto God a sweet savor of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish: to the one we are the savor of death unto death; and to the other the savor of life unto life. And *who is sufficient for these things?*" These are the words of an Apostle seeing many of those whom he was laboring to save reject the counsel of God against themselves; but that many received it, is seen by the state in which he found the Church of Troas on his return.

These complicated anxieties still distracted the Apostle when he landed, as before, at Neapolis, and crossed the mountains to Philippi:—"When we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears." This was the time chosen by "God that comforteth those that are cast down" to comfort the Apostle by the arrival of Titus, and still more by the news he brought from Corinth. There can be little doubt that the meeting took place at Philippi; and here also, if not before, Paul was rejoined by Timothy, whether he had made that place the headquarters of his work, with Erastus, in Macedonia, or whether he also had reached it on his return from Corinth.

These circumstances concur with all the internal evidence, to mark both the time and place of St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. It was written after the troubles that had befallen the Apostle in Asia; after his preaching and disappointment at Troas, his arrival in Macedonia, and the consolation received there by his meeting with



THE SYRIAN FOX.

Titus ; while he was engaged in making the collection for the poor at Jerusalem ; and in immediate anticipation of a renewed visit, whether it were his second or third, to Corinth. One specific date is furnished by the mention of his rapture fourteen years before ; but as this is the sole allusion to that event, we can only say that the fourteen years carries us back to one of the epochs at which we know that St. Paul was at Jerusalem on the mission from Antioch with Barnabas in A. D. 44 or 45.

The Epistle was written under the impulse of deep and complex emotions, which we have the Apostle's own authority for tracing to the news brought to him by Titus. But here a most interesting question is opened by various points of internal evidence, concerning the several missions of Timothy and Titus to Corinth, and their combined influence in exciting the feelings under which the Apostle wrote. We have already seen that Timothy had been sent into Macedonia, with the express intention that he should proceed to Corinth, there to discharge the mission of recalling the wavering Church to the Apostle's "ways in Christ." On the view that Timothy fulfilled this part of his mission, it is supposed that the intelligence which he brought upon his return—that a certain faction in the Corinthian Church had now gone the length of openly questioning Paul's authority—made the Apostle feel the necessity of at once dispatching to the contentious Church one of his immediate followers, with instructions to support and strengthen the effect of the First Epistle, and to bring back the

most recent tidings of the spirit that was prevailing at Corinth: and hence the mission of Titus, accompanied by another brother, whom some suppose to have been Luke. It has been further conjectured, that the Apostle, provoked by the open attack upon his authority, made Titus the bearer of another Letter (supplementary, so to speak, to the First Epistle), containing the sharpest rebukes, *using* the authority which had been denied, and threatening to enforce it speedily by his personal presence. This, it is supposed, was the letter written “out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears,” and in a tone so severe that the Apostle at first repented having written it, though he repented no longer when he found that the sorrow it had caused the disciples for a time was “a godly sorrow, working repentance unto salvation not to be repented of.” But there seems quite enough severity in the First Epistle to have moved the disciples to such feelings, and so to have caused the Apostle these alternations of regret and satisfaction. After the distinct intimation of his intention of following up that letter by his personal presence, another letter in the same tone would have looked like the weakness of repeating threats in place of action. Sound criticism forbids the assumption of unrecorded facts and non-extant documents, till every other explanation fails; and we may justly suspect the conjectures, however ingenious, which result in there having been *four* epistles to the Corinthians instead of two. All, therefore, that we can affirm with certainty is, that Paul, while still in Asia, and probably some little time after the writing of the First Epistle, sent Titus on a mission to Corinth, the result of which, awaited with the utmost anxiety, and received by the Apostle in Macedonia, roused those mingled and passionate emotions, under which—in conjunction with Timothy, who had rejoined him at some uncertain period, whether from Corinth or not—he wrote the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. It was sent by the hands of Titus, who showed a spontaneous readiness to accept the Apostle’s proposal that he should return to Corinth, and finish the collection, which he had begun on his former visit with a success that had caused him great joy, and had justified the boast which the Apostle had made of the liberality of the Corinthians. Titus was accompanied by two brethren, not mentioned indeed by name, but recommended to the Church in very emphatic terms as among the most eminent and faithful of Paul’s companions.

This Epistle reveals to us what manner of man St. Paul was when the fountains of his heart were stirred to their inmost depths. How the agitation which expresses itself in every sentence of this letter was excited, is one of the most interesting questions we have to con-

sider. Every reader may perceive that, on passing from the First Epistle to the Second, the scene is almost entirely changed. In the *First*, the faults and difficulties of the Corinthian Church are before us. The Apostle writes of these, with spirit indeed and emotion, as he always does, but without passion or disturbance. He calmly asserts his own authority over the Church, and threatens to deal severely with offenders. In the *Second*, he writes as one whose personal relations with those whom he addresses have undergone a most painful shock. The acute pain given by former tidings—the comfort yielded by the account which Titus brought—the vexation of a sensitive mind at the necessity of self-assertion—contend together for utterance. What had occasioned this excitement?

The solution of this question must be sought in the contents of the Epistle itself. They are very varied; but may be arranged generally under the three following heads:—1st, The Apostle's account of the character of his spiritual labors, accompanied with notices of his affectionate feelings toward his converts; 2d, Directions about the collections; 3d, Defence of his own Apostolical character. A close analysis is scarcely compatible with our limits, as in no one of the Apostle's epistles are the changes more rapid and frequent. Now he thanks God for their general state; now he glances to his purposed visit; now he alludes to the special directions in the first letter; again he returns to his own plans, pleads his own Apostolic dignity, dwells long upon the spirit and nature of his own labors, his own hopes, and his own sufferings, returning again to more specific declarations of his love toward his children in the faith, and a yet further declaration of his views and feelings with regard to them. Then again, in the matter of the alms, he stirs up their liberality by alluding to the conduct of the churches of Macedonia, their spiritual progress, the example of Christ, and passes on to speak more fully of the present mission of Titus and his associates, and to reiterate his exhortations to liberality. In the third portion he passes into language of severity and reproof; he gravely warns those who presume to hold lightly his Apostolical authority; he puts strongly forward his Apostolical dignity; he illustrates his forbearance; he makes honest boast of his labors; he declares the revelations vouchsafed to him; he again returns to the nature of his dealings with his converts, and concludes with grave and reiterated warning, brief greetings, and a doxology.

The remaining part of the interval between Paul's departure from Ephesus in May and his arrival at Corinth for the winter—an inter-

val which he would naturally prolong, to give time for the Epistle to do its work—affords time, not only for his finishing the collection in Macedonia, but for that advance westward toward the shores of the Adriatic which he mentions in words that seem to contain an emphatic allusion to the completion (at least in outline) of the evangelization of the eastern division of the empire, preparatory to a movement upon Rome itself:—"So that from Jerusalem, and in a circuit as far as *Illyricum*, I have fulfilled the Gospel of Christ." This view agrees well with Luke's brief notice of Paul's visit to Macedonia:—"When *he had gone through those parts*, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months." This passage, in which it is remarkable that even the name of Corinth is not mentioned, looks almost as if left to be filled up from the Apostle's letters. Among the many allusions to Corinth as the object of this journey, there is one in which he declares the distinct intention of wintering there; and, as we shall presently see, the time of his departure makes it clear that his three months' abode at Corinth extended from about the end of November, A. D. 57, to about the end of February, A. D. 58. Those three months might well have been fully occupied with the final settlement of the questions, and correction of the disorders, which fill so large a space in the two Epistles to the Church, and in visits to the other churches of the province of Achaia. But, amid these labors, the Apostle found time for the composition of that wonderful work, which has ever since formed the chief foundation of Christian theology. The blank left in the narrative of St. Luke is filled up by that colossal monument of the inspired genius of St. Paul, the *Epistle to the Romans*. The internal evidences, both of place and date, are not only perfectly distinct, but they show why the Epistle was written at this juncture. Paul writes as the guest of Gaius, whom we know as one of the most conspicuous members of the Corinthian Church. He sends salutations from Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, from Timotheus his fellow-laborer, and from Sosipater, whom we presently find accompanying him on his voyage from Greece to Asia. He mentions the completion, not only in Macedonia, but also in Achaia, of the collection, which he was then on the point of carrying to the poor saints at Jerusalem.

This sacred mission of charity was now the only remaining hindrance to the gratification of a desire which he had cherished for many years, but which his labors in the East had hitherto postponed, to visit the Church of Rome, and even to extend his western mission as far as Spain. We have contemplated the Apostle on the track of

Alexander: we now see him yearning, but in how much nobler a spirit, for the conquest of new worlds. His great work of breaking up new ground, of planting the Churches, which his successors, like Apollos, were to water, was now done in the Greek division of the Roman world. "But now *having no more place in these regions*," is a striking description of a completed work, as coming from one who, in every word as well as deed, lived in all good conscience toward God. May we not also regard them as a lesson when to leave to God the issues of a work, begun in faith and diligence, but far too vast to be finished in all its details? Nor must we overlook the prominence which the Apostle assigns to one character of his work: "Yea! so have I strived to preach the Gospel, *not where Christ was named*, lest I should build upon another man's foundation: but as it is written, to whom he was not spoken of, they shall see; and they that have not heard shall understand." This he held to be an essential feature of that mission on which he was sent to the Gentiles, "ministering as a priest in the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost;" and, while he does not hesitate to declare that "he had something to boast of through Jesus Christ in the things pertaining to God," as to the fruits of his past labors, the same rule was to be his guide for the future. It is very striking that, ardent and long-cherished as was his desire to see his Christian brethren at Rome, he speaks of its approaching fulfilment as but a passing visit, on his way to break up virgin soil for the good seed in Spain. And accordingly (as also in the Epistle to the Hebrews) the powerful arguments and earnest exhortations of the Epistle are marked by a tone different from that in which he addresses his own converts, as if they were the substitute for a more direct ministration of the Word.

A. D. 58. The providence of God had appointed that Paul should do a greater and more permanent work at Rome, as the result of movements which form an affecting contrast to those which he thus shadows forth. The very errand of mercy to Jerusalem, which he regards as but a temporary delay of his inroad upon the West, was the cause of his being sent as a prisoner to the capital, where his two years' enforced residence provided for the work he had to do both among Jews and Gentiles. Nor does he write without a presentiment of this result, which was soon to ripen into a prophetic certainty. He entreats the Roman Christians, by their common Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit, to wrestle together with him in their prayers to God on his behalf, "*That I may be delivered*

from the unbelievers in Judæa, and that my service for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints; that I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed."

The Epistle itself throws a clear light upon the peculiar motives, added to the general interest attaching to the capital of the world, which led the Apostle so ardently to cherish the desire, "I must also see Rome." The twofold aspect of his life, as the converted Jew and the Apostle of the Gentiles, as the Christian missionary ever invading new provinces of heathendom, and the Hebrew of the Hebrews yearning for the salvation of Israel, would move him to deep sympathy with the Church of Rome; nor could his honest pride in his Roman franchise fail to be another motive to labor for the spiritual freedom of his fellow-citizens. Regarding Rome solely from the classical point of view, we might be surprised—as many doubtless have felt surprise—at the perpetual appeal to Jewish feelings and associations, and the perpetual contest with Jewish prejudices, which runs through the whole Epistle. But the readers of Horace and Juvenal are aware how strong was the Jewish element in Roman society. We have already had occasion to notice the early propagation of Christianity among the Roman Jews; and we shall soon see Paul, on his first arrival at this city, addressing himself as specially to them and meeting with the same obstinate unbelief, save from the few, as when he preached in the Eastern synagogues. Moreover, as if to anticipate the great usurpation of the later Romish Church, this Christian society owed its foundation neither to St. Peter nor to any other Apostle, but appears, so to speak, as the spontaneous development of the Christian faith, introduced probably by the Jews who went up to the great Pentecost. It was natural that such a community should have within it a peculiar element of Judaism, needing the correction which the Apostle supplies in the wonderful arguments of the Epistle, and exciting the ardent interest on behalf of Israel which is no less conspicuous throughout it. But it is equally clear that there was a strong, and perhaps even more numerous Gentile element in the Church; an element, however, which seems to have been rather Greek than Roman. It may have been that foreigners resident in the capital had a tendency to gravitate toward one another, and that the Greeks, more familiar with the "peculiar people," did not regard them with the same aversion as the Romans did: but, whatever the explanation, nothing is more certain than the apparent paradox, that the Church of Rome was Greek rather than Latin. A curious indication of the relative proportion, both of Jews to Gentiles, and of Greeks

to Romans, in the Church, is furnished by the long list of names in the salutation at the end of the Epistle. These names belong, for the most part, to the middle and lower grades of society. Many of them are found in the *columbaria* of the freedmen and slaves of the early Roman emperors. It was among the less wealthy merchants and tradesmen, among the petty officers of the army, among the slaves and freedmen of the imperial palace, "those that are of Cæsar's household"—whether Jews or Greeks—that the Gospel would first find a footing. The intimate personal element in some of the salutations at once attests the presence of Hellenist Jews, and adds another motive for St. Paul's deep interest in the Roman Church:—"Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the Apostles, who also were in Christ before me;" a graceful and affecting recognition of Christian precedence. Among Paul's personal friends at Rome were now numbered Aquila and Priscilla, whose claims on the Apostle's affection and the gratitude of all the Church were enhanced by some special danger that they had incurred for his sake (the cause, perhaps, of their having left Ephesus again for Rome), and whose house, as at Ephesus, was the place of meeting of a Christian society, which Paul recognizes as a church. We cannot doubt that many converts, made by Paul himself and the other ministers of the Gospel throughout the empire, were continually converging to Rome, and adding to the vigor of the Church, which had by this time gained such distinction that "their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world."

This composition of the Church, and these personal relations of the Apostle to it, account for the peculiar tone which distinguishes the Epistle to the Romans. While earnestly praying that he might at length have a prosperous journey to come to them, as he had often proposed, that he might have some fruit among them, as among the other Gentiles—for, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, he was debtor both to the Greeks and the barbarians, to the wise and unwise, and was ready, to his utmost ability, to preach the Gospel at Rome also—he supplies the lack of his personal presence, and prepares for his coming by a *grand manifesto of the Gospel* as the one salvation for all the classes that were gathered in the composite Roman Church. "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." That Gospel was invariably the announcement of Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Lord of men, who was made man, died, and was raised again, and whom his heralds present to the faith and obedience of mankind.

The Epistle was sent by the hands of Phœbe to Rome, on the eve of St. Paul's departure for Jerusalem, which may be fixed about the end of February, as he was at Philippi at the Passover A. D. 58. (March 27, A. D. 58). He was on the point of starting by sea for Syria, when the discovery of a Jewish plot to waylay him caused him to take the overland route by way of Macedonia. But his travelling companions from the various places he had visited—associated with him, probably, in the mission of carrying the contributions of their respective churches—went on by sea to Troas, doubtless carrying the money with them. The resumption of the first person in the Acts indicates that Luke was the immediate companion of St. Paul; and the details of the voyage are given with such precision that we can fix the daily dates with high probability.

The narrative of the Apostle's voyage begins from Philippi, whence Paul sailed "after the days of unleavened bread," that is, on the day following the eighth day of the feast (Tuesday, April 4th), and he reached Troas in five days (Saturday, April 8th). He had remained there a full seven days, when, on the return of the first day of the week (Sunday, April 16th), the disciples came together to break bread, and Paul preached to them, ready to depart on the morrow. Here we have one of the incidental notices—more valuable than any formal statement, because they show how regularly the custom was established—of those meetings of the Christians on the Lord's Day for social converse and divine worship, which Pliny mentions as their only known institution. Unable, for the most part, to withdraw from the service of their masters during the day, they met either—as Pliny tells us—before day-light, or, as on this occasion at Troas, after sunset. The congregation, like that of the first disciples at Jerusalem, met in an upper chamber, where Paul—for the time was not come when utterances out of the abundance of the heart were measured by the minute—continued his discourse till midnight, and was only then interrupted by an accident. A youth named Eutychus, who was sitting in the window, overpowered with drowsiness through the heat of the many lamps, fell down from the third story and was taken up dead. The miracle by which Paul restored him to life resembled in form those performed by Elijah and Elisha, while it again illustrated the compassionate saying of our Lord,—“The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.” Returning to the upper chamber, without waiting till the youth's friends had the comfort of seeing his full recovery (ver. 12), Paul broke bread and ate with the disciples, and having talked with them till the break of day, departed.

To gain time for this protracted farewell, Paul had sent his companions before him to the ship, and, while they doubled the promontory of Lectum, he took the shorter route by land to join them at Assos, whence they crossed to Mitylene (Monday, April 7th). Avoiding the windings of the coast, they sailed from Lesbos to Chios on the Tuesday, and on the next day to Samos, whence crossing over to the mainland, they stayed at the promontory of Trogyllium, and reached Miletus on Thursday, April 20th. Here they stopped, while Paul sent for the elders of the Church of Ephesus; for his direct course had carried him across the bay at the bottom of which that city lies; as the staying any time among his converts in Asia would have risked his purposed arrival at Jerusalem by the day of Pentecost. The distance between Ephesus and Miletus being about forty miles, the interval from the Thursday to the Sunday would give time for the arrival of the elders, with whom Paul held solemn converse, as on the Sunday before at Troas (Sunday, April 23d), warning them of the dangers which would threaten them in the future, and exhorting them to cling to the faith of Jesus Christ. Finally, "he kneeled down and prayed with them all: and they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him to the ship."

From this most affecting leave-taking the Apostle hastened on his voyage by the most direct course. Embarking immediately on the close of his address, he sailed straight to the island of Cos (Monday, April 24th), thence to Rhodes (Tuesday), and thence to Patara in Lycia (Wednesday), where, finding another ship bound direct for Phœnicia, he went on board (Thursday, April 27th), and, sighting Cyprus on the left hand, arrived at Tyre, where the ship was to unload. The ordinary course of such a voyage would bring the Apostle to that ancient city on Sunday (April 30th); and another Lord's Day was cheered by a welcome from certain disciples, of whose existence in the city he seems not to have been aware. With them he spent a whole week, in the course of which the prophetic gifts poured out upon these Tyrian Christians were used to warn Paul against going on to Jerusalem. How, in that one week, the Apostle gained the affection of these new-found brethren, was proved by the concourse in which, with their wives and children, they brought him and his company out of the city to the sea-shore, where all kneeled down together and prayed before the voyagers went on board.

Supposing that, as at Troas and Miletus, Paul spent the Lord's

Day with the Tyrian Christians, his voyage to Ptolemais (Acre) would occupy the Monday, and his one day's stay there with the brethren, the Tuesday (May 9). On the following day Paul and his company proceeded, apparently by land, to Cæsarea, and took up their abode with "Philip the Evangelist, one of the Seven," a description which doubtless refers to those who are usually called Deacons. The four virgin daughters of Philip prophesied, probably repeating former warnings, which were now most plainly uttered by Agabus, whom we have already seen predicting the famine in the reign of Claudius. This prophet came down from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, apparently for the express purpose of staying Paul's course. Imitating the symbolic methods of the ancient prophets, he bound his own hands and feet with Paul's girdle, declaring, in the name of the Spirit, that the Jews at Jerusalem would even thus bind the owner of that girdle, and deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. Upon hearing this, even St. Paul's own companions joined in the entreaties of the brethren of Cæsarea, that he would not go up to Jerusalem. The Evangelist, who tells us of this final appeal in which he himself joined, thus records its issue:—"Then Paul answered, What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? For I am ready, not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus. And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done." So, after a stay of several days at Cæsarea, they packed up their little baggage, and went up, doubtless on foot, by the usual road to Jerusalem, accompanied by an aged disciple of Cyprus, named Mnason, who had offered them a lodging in the crowded city.

This fifth visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem since his conversion is the last of which we have any certain record. The state of the city, thronged with the excited multitudes who had come up to the Feast of Pentecost, might well recall to him, not only the warnings that had encountered him at every step, but the deed of blood in which he himself, twenty-five years before, had played the part for which he never ceased to feel remorse. He was welcomed with joy by the brethren, and on the following day (Thursday, May 18th) he had an interview with James and all the elders of the Church, to whom "he declared particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry." Among those things, besides the spiritual fruits which he had raised, the temporal fruits of charity which he had gathered in return for his poor Jewish brethren would naturally find a place, and we may assume that Paul and his delegated com-

panions handed over the contributions from the respective churches. But St. Luke passes over this incident, to relate the events that led to the Apostle's apprehension; and, indeed, concern for his character and safety seems to have been the thought uppermost in the minds of the brethren. For the great crisis had now come in the relations between the spirit of Judaism and the Apostle of the Gentiles; nor was it only from the unconverted Jews that the danger threatened. The Jewish Christians, whether resident at Jerusalem or present at the feast, now amounted to "many thousands," but their understanding of the Gospel had not kept pace with their numbers: they were "all zealous of the law." To them, and to the unconverted Jews, Paul was known as one who had taught with pre-eminent boldness that a way into God's favor was opened to the Gentiles, and that this way did not lie through the door of the Jewish Law. He had founded numerous and important communities, composed of Jews and Gentiles together, which stood simply on the name of Jesus Christ apart from circumcision and the observance of the Law. He had thus roused against himself the bitter enmity of that unfathomable Jewish pride, which was almost as strong in some of those who had professed the faith of Jesus as in their unconverted brethren. This enmity had for years been vexing both body and soul of the Apostle. He had no rest from its persecutions; and his joy in proclaiming the free grace of God to the world was mixed with a constant sorrow that in so doing he was held to be disloyal to the calling of his fathers. He had now come to Jerusalem "ready to die for the name of the Lord Jesus," but he had come expressly to prove himself a faithful Jew, and this purpose emerges at every point of the history. His brethren at Jerusalem now suggest to him a mode of accomplishing this object. While glorifying God for the work which had been done among the Gentiles, they do not conceal from Paul that the calumnies against him have gained belief among the Jewish Christians. The specific charge was, not simply that he kept Gentile believers free from the yoke of the Law—for this was in accordance with the decision of the Jewish Church itself—but that "he taught all *the Jews among the Gentiles* to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after their customs." To refute this charge, there was a practical opportunity.

Four men connected with the Church had bound themselves, as we have seen Paul himself doing, by a temporary Nazarite vow, and their purification upon the completion of the vow was at hand. This ceremony involved a considerable expense for the offerings to be pre-

sented in the Temple; and it was a meritorious act to provide these offerings for the poorer Nazarites. St. Paul was requested to put himself under the vow with the other four, and to supply the cost of the offerings. He at once accepted the proposal, and on the next day, having performed some ceremony which implied the adoption of the vow, he went into the Temple, announcing that the due offerings of each Nazarite were about to be presented, and the period of the vow terminated, a process which would occupy seven days (Friday, May 19th).

A. D. 58. The week was almost accomplished, when certain Jews from Asia, probably some of Paul's old antagonists at Ephesus, recognized him in the Temple. They had already seen with him in the city Trophimus, an Ephesian Greek, whom they chose to think that Paul had brought into the Temple. So they roused a tumult among the people, and seizing Paul dragged him out of the Temple into the outer court. The Levitical guard shut the doors of the sacred edifice to prevent Paul's return, and the Apostle would have been murdered without a hearing had he not been rescued by a detachment of the Roman cohort, stationed in the fortress of the Antonia, which promptly arrived on the spot and charged the mob. The soldiers bound Paul in order to carry him into the fort, but as they reached it a rush was made upon them by the mob, and they were obliged to carry him into the tower in their arms, in order to save him.

The whole scene and the vigorous measures of the Roman tribune commanding the Antonia, will be better understood in their connection with the existing state of Judæa. The energetic but cruel government of Felix had goaded the disaffected Jews to desperation. In the preceding year (A. D. 57), the high-priest Jonathan had been murdered in the Temple; an act followed by the organization of the bands of terrorists called *Sicarii* or *Assassins*. Next after this murder, Josephus relates the appearance of an Egyptian impostor, who led out 4000 of these Assassins into the Desert, and, returning at the head of 30,000 men, whom he had deluded into the belief that he was the Messiah, and that he would restore the kingdom to Judah, he encamped on the Mount of Olives, threatening to overpower the Roman garrison, and promising that the walls of Jerusalem should fall down. He was attacked by Felix, and his followers dispersed or slain, the Egyptian himself escaping.

The idea now occurred to Lysias that Paul was this Egyptian, and great was his surprise when his prisoner, just as they reached the



PAUL PARTING FROM HIS DISCIPLES.

entrance to the castle, addressed him *in Greek*, asking leave to speak with him. Paul removed his suspicion by telling him who he was:—"I am a Jew of Tarsus, in Silicia, a citizen of no mean city; and, I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people." The permission was granted, and Paul, standing on the stairs, and having with a sign of his hand gained the silent attention of the people, began to address them: "Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence now made unto you." As soon as they heard that he spoke in Hebrew, that is, in the then current Aramaic dialect of Palestine, the silence became the more profound, and Paul had at length the opportunity, to gain which was one motive of his pressing on to Jerusalem, of addressing the angry Jews in his own justification. His defence consists of a simple recital of the events of his early life, his miraculous conversion, and a statement of his great commission from Christ to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. The Jews, who despised the Gentiles, now refused to listen to him any longer, and breaking into cries of furious opposition threw dust into the air, and tore off their clothes as if about to stone him; and the tribune, ignorant of the language in which Paul had spoken, could only suppose that he had given some strong ground for such indignant fury. To learn what this was, he brought him into the castle, and commanded him to be examined by scourging. The soldiers were already binding him with thongs to the post, when Paul calmly asked the centurion in command, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?" The warning was forthwith carried by the centurion to the tribune, who, hastening to learn the truth from Paul, was more and more surprised to hear that the prisoner, on whom he had already inflicted the indignity of chains, was free-born, while he himself—doubtless as an imperial freedman—had only obtained the franchise for a large sum.

Having now learned that the question at issue regarded the Jewish religion, the tribune summoned the chief priests and Sanhedrim to meet on the following day, when, having loosed Paul from his bonds, he placed him before them. We need not suppose that this was a regular legal proceeding. If, on the one hand, the commandant of the garrison had no power to convoke the Sanhedrim, on the other hand, he would not give up a Roman citizen to their judgment. As it was, the affair ended in confusion, and with no semblance of a judicial termination. St. Paul appears to have been put upon his defence; and, with the peculiar habit, mentioned elsewhere also, of looking steadily when about to speak, he began to say—"Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience"—or, to give full force

of the original, "I have lived a conscientiously loyal life unto God, until this day,"—when a scene was enacted which is most interesting in a historical as well as a personal point of view.

A. D. 58. ANANIAS, who presided over the Sanhedrim as high-priest, had been appointed to that office by Herod, king of Chalcis, in A. D. 48. In A. D. 52 he was sent to Rome by the prefect Ummidius Quadratus, to answer before Claudius on a charge of oppression brought against him by the Samaritans. The result is doubtful; but the best solution seems to be that Ananias was not formally deposed, but as, during his suspension, Jonathan had been appointed in his place, the latter had continued to exercise the office till his murder by the Sicarii in A. D. 57, when Ananias resumed his functions. The high-priest's character for violence and lawlessness suggests that a guilty conscience assumed the guise of zeal against blasphemy, when he at once interrupted Paul by ordering the by-standers to smite him on the mouth. "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall!" exclaimed the Apostle; "for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" The by-standers, who seem to have hesitated to execute the high-priest's hasty order, now remonstrated with the Apostle, "Revilest thou God's high-priest?" Paul answered, "I did not know that Ananias was appointed by God to be an high-priest. But as he is invested with authority, it is unjust to revile him. God himself commanded that no man should speak evil of the rulers of the people." Paul perceiving that the council consisted partly of Sadducees, who denied the resurrection from the dead, and partly of Pharisees, who affirmed it, cried aloud, "Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee, and am now brought before this tribunal for asserting the resurrection from the dead."

This declaration threw the whole court into confusion, the Pharisees inclining to take sides with Paul, and the Sadducees demanding his punishment. The dissensions spread to the spectators, and produced such a commotion that the captain of the guard, to save Paul from being torn to pieces, took him back to the castle. During the night God comforted him with a revelation that he should live, in spite of the malice of his enemies, to bear the gospel to Rome itself.

The next day Paul's sister's son detected a plot on the part of the Jews to kill the Apostle, and accordingly the governor sent Paul to Cæsarea, under a strong military escort, with letters to Felix, the Roman governor of that province, relating the whole transaction. Paul's accusers were also ordered to appear before Felix, who, finding

that the Apostle was a native of Cilicia, told him he would determine the matter as soon as his accusers presented themselves. Meanwhile, he ordered Paul to be confined as a prisoner in the place called Herod's judgment hall.

Soon after this Felix heard the case. Tertullus made an A. D. 59. eloquent speech against Paul, charging him with heresy, sedition, and the profanation of the Temple; but Paul replied with such force that Felix refused to pass any sentence until he could consult the governor of the castle at Jerusalem, who had first arrested Paul. He remanded the Apostle to prison, but allowed him to receive the visits and kind offices of his friends.

Among those friends, besides Luke and Aristarchus, and the family of Philip the deacon, may have been Cornelius, the centurion, whom Peter had received into the Church, as the first Gentile convert, in that very garrison in which Paul was now in a centurion's custody. It seems to have been to gratify the curiosity of his Jewish wife Drusilla, the daughter of Herod Agrippa I., that, on his return to Cæsarea after an absence, Felix again sent for Paul, to hear him concerning the faith in Christ. But the Apostle, who could at the proper time discourse with the most powerful arguments concerning Christian doctrine, now saw before him only the violent and unjust governor, with the paramour whom he had seduced from her husband Azizus, king of Emesa; and he reasoned of righteousness, temperance and judgment to come. A licentious Roman officer, with a brother able to protect him at the imperial court, was not the man to be easily alarmed; but a more mighty force even than his dread of Cæsar assailed his conscience; and he only retained the self-destructive power of warding off repentance by delay. "Felix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee." It is a trite comment, that the convenient season never came; but the truth was worse than this. Felix often sent for Paul, and communed with him during the two years of his detention, but with no higher object than the sordid hope of being bribed to free him.

In the following year, the city of Cæsarea, where Paul was thus kept a prisoner, was the scene of one of the frequent and frightful tumults between the Jews and the Syrian Greeks, A. D. 59. Felix was denounced to the emperor for either ordering or conniving at a massacre of the Jews, and he was recalled to answer for his conduct at the same time that Domitius Corbulo succeeded Ummidius Quadratus as prefect of Syria. This was two full years after the beginning

of St. Paul's imprisonment in May, A. D. 58, and PORCIUS FESTUS, who accompanied Corbulo as procurator of Judæa, would reach his destination about July, A. D. 60. How the arrival of the new governor obtained for Paul the hearing which Felix had so long postponed, and how the Apostle's appeal to Cæsar led to his imprisonment at Rome, will be related in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XLI.

ST. PAUL'S FIRST IMPRISONMENT AT ROME—FROM HIS HEARING BEFORE FESTUS TO HIS RELEASE.

[A. D. 60-63.]

THE whole career of the Apostle Paul is an illustration of that special providence of which he himself was assured by a series of divine revelations. Many an outburst of indignation has been provoked by the sordid injustice which kept him in prison for two years; many a sigh of regret upon reading the sentence, "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed to Cæsar." But, as Paul's transference to Rome as a prisoner "fell out for the furtherance of the Gospel" at A. D. 60. the very centre of Roman power, so his detention in Roman custody at Cæsarea proved his protection not only from the murderous plots of the Jews, but from the bloody conflict between them and the Syrian Greeks in the very city where he was confined (A. D. 59). Nor is this the only reason that can be discovered for an interruption of two whole years in the last part of the Apostle's life. "As Paul might need the repose of preparation in Arabia, before he entered on his career, so his prison at Cæsarea might be consecrated to the calm meditation, the less interrupted prayer, which resulted in a deeper experience and knowledge of the power of the Gospel. Nor need we assume that his active exertions for others were entirely suspended. 'The care of all the churches' might still be resting on him; many messages, and even letters, of which we know nothing, may have been sent from Cæsarea to brethren at a distance. And a plausible conjecture fixes this period and place for the writing of Luke's Gospel under the superintendence of the Apostle of the Gentiles."

At length the great Corbulo succeeded Ummidius Quadratus as prefect of Syria; and Felix, having been sent to Rome to answer the complaints of the Jews and Samaritans, was succeeded by PORCIUS FESTUS, whose arrival may be placed about the midsummer of A. D. 60. The procurator gave an earnest of his honest vigor by going up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem three days after his arrival. A new Governor, anxious to gain favor with his subjects, was naturally assailed with petitions; and so Festus was now met by the chief priests and

elders with urgent informations and demands for judgment against Paul. They entreated as a favor that Festus would send for him to Jerusalem, while they had laid an ambush to kill him on the way. Festus, without seeing through their plot, defeated it by keeping to his duty as a magistrate:—"It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him." So he told them that Paul should be kept at Cæsarea, whither he ordered the accusers to accompany him. He returned thither after ten days, and on the next day Paul was placed before the tribunal. The charges brought against him by the Jews from Jerusalem were many and grievous according to their law; but they were unable to prove them; and Paul was content to protest his innocence, "Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cæsar, have I offended anything at all." The governor, fresh from Rome, and ignorant apparently of the interest which Christianity had excited even there, was surprised to hear nothing of the charges he had expected; but that, as he contemptuously tells Agrippa, they had certain questions against him of their own superstition, and of *one Jesus, which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive*—an incidental proof of what we have seen before, that the controversy between Paul and his accusers turned upon the resurrection.

This theological complexion of the case gave Festus an excuse for the proposal, which he really made in order to gratify the Jews, when he asked Paul whether he would go to Jerusalem and there be judged before him of these matters. Enough had transpired already of the murderous plots of the Jews to put the Apostle on his guard; and he had in his power a certain means of averting the danger of the governor's compliance—the *Cæsarem appello*—which was the ultimate safeguard of the Roman citizen. We cannot but suppose that a sudden inspiration opened his eyes to the path by which he might be carried to the long-desired goal of his hopes at Rome. Once more, as at Philippi and in the Antonia, he asserts his rights with a dignified composure, which rebuked the judge's vacillation and reminded him of his limited power:—"I stand at *Cæsar's* judgment-seat, where I ought to be judged: to the *Jews* have I done no wrong, *as thou very well knowest*. For if I be an offender, or have committed anything worthy of death, *I refuse not to die*: but if there be none of these things whereof they accuse me, *no man may deliver me unto them*. I APPEAL UNTO CÆSAR." These two bold words, uttered by a Roman



PAUL BEFORE AGRIPPA AND FESTUS.

citizen, were a spell which a far less worthy magistrate would not have dared to resist; and Festus, after consulting with his assessors, had only to declare—"Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar. Unto Cæsar shalt thou go." It is hardly clear whether these abrupt words indicate the procurator's annoyance at having the decision taken out of his hands, in which he probably desired to do justice in the end, or his satisfaction at getting rid of a case difficult in itself, and likely to embroil him with the Jews at the very outset of his government.

The case before the procurator was now at an end; and it only remained to send the prisoner to Rome. While waiting for an opportunity, Festus had to draw up an account of the charge
 A. D. 60. on which Paul was sent for trial; and it was no easy matter to place a mere question of Jewish "superstition" before Nero in a satisfactory form. He was in this difficulty, when Agrippa and his sister Bernice arrived at Cæsarea to congratulate the new governor. Several days were spent in ceremony and festivity before Festus mentioned the case of Paul to Agrippa, who, being informed by the governor of all that had passed, expressed a desire to hear the man. On the following day, Agrippa and Bernice took their seats on the tribunal beside Festus, with that royal pomp to which Luke refers as an eye-witness, surrounded by the military tribunes and the chief men of the city; and Paul, bound by a chain to his warder, was set before them. Not withholding his judgment that the prisoner had done nothing worthy of death, Festus explained the motive for this renewed hearing, namely, to avail himself of the advice of the king and the council as to what precise charge he ought to lay before Augustus:—"Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and especially before thee, O king Agrippa, that, after examination had, I might have somewhat to write. For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him." Such was the occasion given to the Apostle to "bear the name of Jesus before Gentiles and before kings;" and to this audience, composed of all that was most august both of the Jews and Romans at Cæsarea, he pronounced the most memorable and impressive of his great apologies for Christian truth, and for his own mission as the Apostle to the Gentiles, a point on which he now fitly lays especial stress, while vindicating also his consistency as a faithful Jew.

In this discourse, we have the second explanation from St. Paul himself of the manner in which he had been led, through his conversion, to serve the Lord Jesus instead of persecuting his disciples, and the third narrative of the Conversion itself. Speaking to Agrippa as to one thoroughly versed in the customs and questions prevailing among the Jews, Paul appeals to the well-known Jewish and even Pharisaical strictness of his youth and early manhood. He reminds the king of the great hope which continually sustained the worship of the Jewish nation,—the hope of a deliverer, promised by God himself, who should be a conqueror of death. He had been led to see that this promise was fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth; he proclaimed his resurrection to be the pledge of a new and immortal life. What

was there in this of disloyalty to the traditions of his fathers? Did his countrymen disbelieve in this Jesus as the Messiah? So had he once disbelieved in him, and had thought it his duty to be earnest in hostility against his name. But his eyes had been opened; he would tell how and when. The story of the Conversion is modified in this address as we might fairly expect it to be. We have seen that there is no absolute contradiction between the statements of this and the other narratives. The main points,—the light, the prostration, the voice from heaven, the instructions from Jesus,—are found in all three. But in this account, the words, “I am Jesus whom thou persecutest,” are followed by a fuller explanation, as if then spoken by the Lord, of what the work of the Apostle was to be. The other accounts defer this explanation to a subsequent occasion. But when we consider how fully the mysterious communication made at the moment of the Conversion *included* what was afterward conveyed, through Ananias and in other ways, to the mind of Paul, and how needless it was for Paul, in his present address before Agrippa, to mark the stages by which the whole lesson was taught, it seems merely captious to base upon the method of this account a charge of disagreement between the different parts of the history. They bear, on the contrary, a striking mark of genuineness in the degree in which they approach contradiction without reaching it. It is most natural that a story told on different occasions should be told differently; and if in such a case we find no contradiction as to the facts, we gain all the firmer impression of the substantial truth of the story. The particulars added to the former accounts by the present narrative are, that the words of Jesus were spoken in Hebrew, and that the first question to Saul was followed by the saying, “It is hard for thee to kick against the goads.” (This saying is omitted by the best authorities in the 9th chapter.) The language of the commission, which St. Paul says he received from Jesus, deserves close study, and will be found to bear a striking resemblance to a passage in Colossians. The ideas of light, redemption, forgiveness, inheritance and faith in Christ, belong characteristically to the Gospel which Paul preached among the Gentiles. Not less striking is it to observe the older terms in which he describes to Agrippa his obedience to the heavenly vision. He had made it his business, he says, to proclaim to all men “that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance:”—words such as John the Baptist uttered, but not less truly Pauline. And he finally reiterates that the testimony on account of which the Jews sought to kill him was in exact agree-

ment with Moses and the prophets. They had taught men to expect that the Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should show light unto the people and to the Gentiles. Of such a Messiah Paul was the servant and preacher.

At this point Festus began to apprehend what seemed to him a manifest absurdity. He interrupted the Apostle discourteously, but with a compliment contained in his loud remonstrance. "Thou art mad, Paul; thy much learning is turning thee mad." The phrase *τὰ πολλὰ γράμματα* may possibly have been *suggested* by the allusion to Moses and the prophets; but it probably *refers* to the books with which St. Paul had been supplied, and which he was known to study, during his imprisonment. As a biographical hint, this phrase is not to be overlooked. "I am not mad," replied Paul, "most noble Festus: they are words of truth and soberness which I am uttering." Then, with an appeal of mingled dignity and solicitude, he turns to the king. He was sure the king understood him. "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest." The answer of Agrippa can hardly have been the serious and encouraging remark of our English version. Literally rendered, it appears to be, "You are briefly persuading me to become a Christian; and it is generally supposed to have been spoken ironically. "I would to God," is Paul's earnest answer, "that whether by a brief process or by a long one, not only thou but all who hear me to-day might become such as I am, with the exception of these bonds:"—he was wearing a chain upon the hand he held up in addressing them. With this prayer, it appears the conference ended. Festus and the king, with their companions, consulted together, and came to the conclusion that the accused was guilty of nothing that deserved death or imprisonment. And Agrippa's final answer to the inquiry of Festus was, "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar."

At each step in the record of the Acts, we have found some fresh occasion to admire the exact knowledge and truthfulness of the writer, as confirmed by every incidental allusion that he has occasion to make. Indeed, if the life of St. Paul is of itself a sufficient moral evidence of the truth of Christianity, the narrative of his labors by St. Luke is a critical evidence no less conclusive. And as the former has been summed up in the narrow issue of Paul's conversion, so we might even be content to stake the latter on the story of his voyage and shipwreck. It is just where a landsman makes the most ridicu-

lous exposure of his ignorance, that the historian has ventured on details as minute as those of a Marryat or a Cooper, but with the addition of other allusions to matters of fact, as to places, seasons, winds, and currents; without, in either case, exposing one single flaw to the keenest professional criticism. Of this there can be but one explanation: that, being an eye-witness of all the incidents, and an observer as intelligent as he was honest, he simply recorded in plain words what he saw and heard. Nor can we doubt that the Spirit, under whose guidance he wrote, led him to place these minute details upon the record, expressly to afford a test of that record itself; and we have reason for devout thankfulness that the test has been most thoroughly applied, and most satisfactorily borne, in our own time. The result of this investigation has been that several errors in the received version have been corrected, that the course of the voyage has been laid down to a very minute degree with great certainty, and that the account in the Acts is shown to have been written by an accurate eye-witness, not himself a professional seaman, but well acquainted with nautical matters.

A. D. 60. The Roman empire had no packet service, nor were ships of war usually employed for the transport of prisoners from the provinces to Rome. But for such a purpose, as well as for ordinary passengers, ample opportunities were furnished by the great lines of commercial traffic over the seas which had been long since effectually cleared of pirates. There were the main lines, of which the most important, in the East, was that of the vessels that carried the corn of Egypt from Alexandria to Italy, and particularly to the port of Puteoli; and it was in two such ships that Paul made the chief portions of his voyage. Then there was the coasting trade, which (in the Levant) was chiefly conducted by the Greeks of Asia Minor, of whose vessels we have already seen Paul making use. It was in such a ship, belonging to Adramyttium, that he now set sail, with other prisoners, under the care of Julius, a centurion of the Augustan cohort, whose conduct in the sequel entitles him to a place among the military worthies of the New Testament. The number of the prisoners appears to have been considerable; and, from the then state of Judæa, we may infer that there were among them leaders of the Sicarii, and other fierce fanatics, who would be no friendly company for Paul. But he was cheered by the society of "the beloved physician," and of the Thessalonian Aristarchus, his constant fellow-traveller, who had accompanied him from Macedonia, and now became his fellow-prisoner at Rome. That the voyage was commenced about the end

of summer, in order to reach Italy before winter, is evident from the subsequent mention of the Great Fast.

The ship, in which Julius embarked with his prisoner, intended to touch at several places on the coast of proconsular Asia, on the way to her own port of Adramyttium; but an opportunity might offer, even sooner, of finding some vessel bound direct for Italy, at one of the Lycian ports (Patara or Myra) or at Cnidus, where the lines of traffic met. Launching from Cæsarea, they touched on the following day at Sidon, where, by the kindness of Julius, who doubtless already saw the difference between Paul and his other prisoners, he was permitted to visit his friends and received their affectionate care. Here the delays of the voyage began with contrary winds,—doubtless the west and northwest winds which prevail during the late summer, directly in the teeth of their proper course for Patara or Cnidus, past the south of Cyprus. So they sailed under the lee of that island, and through the seas of Cilicia and Pamphylia; where, beside the land winds moderated by the shelter of the chain of Taurus, they would have the aid of the current which sets northwest and west past the eastern point of Cyprus and along the south coast of Asia Minor into the Ægean. Thus they reached the port of Myra in Lycia, where they fell into the great line of the Egyptian corn-trade, and found a corn-ship of Alexandria bound for Italy; and to this vessel Julius transferred his prisoners.

The voyage was very slow as far as Cnidus, at the southwest headland of Caria, where “they lost the advantages of a favoring current, a weather-shore, and smooth water, and encountered the full force of the adverse wind as they opened the Ægean.” They made Cnidus with difficulty, and, finding it impossible to pursue their direct course for Cythera (off the southern point of Peloponnesus) against the northwest wind, they ran down to the southward, and, doubling Salmone, the eastern headland of Crete, they beat up with difficulty under the lee of the island, as far as the fine harbor, near Lasæa, which still bears its ancient name of the *Fair Havens*. Beyond this the coast runs out to the south in the headland of *Cape Matala*, on doubling which they would have met the full force of the northwest wind over an open sea and on a lee shore; so that they were altogether wind-bound, and remained here a long time.

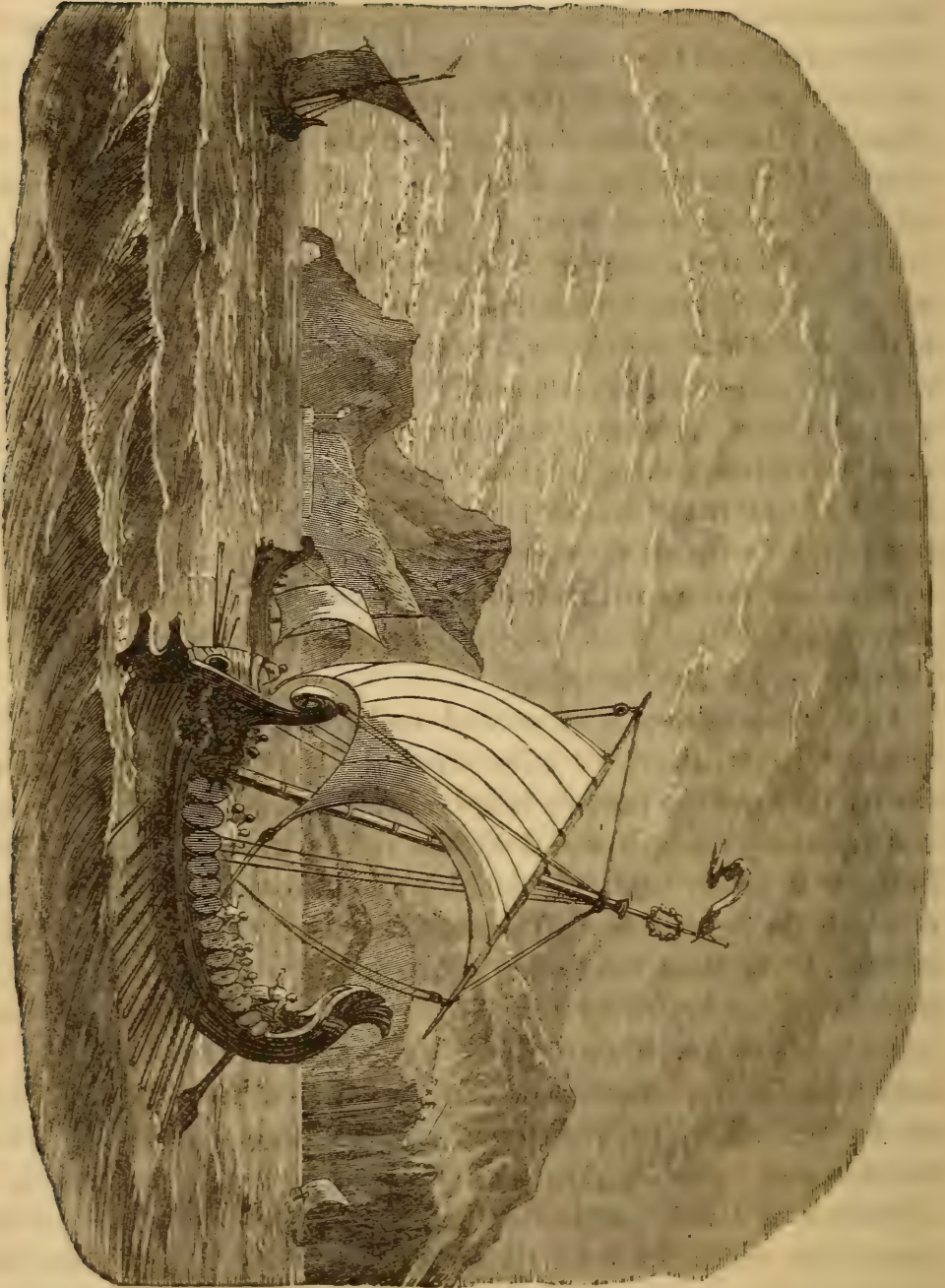
Meanwhile the navigation had grown dangerous, for it was past the season of the great Jewish Fast (the Day of Atonement), which fell this year exactly at the autumnal equinox (Sept. 23d), the limit fixed by ancient writers to sea voyages. Paul now interposed the

first of his warnings, in terms which imply that he spoke under divine guidance, as well as with much former experience of "perils in the sea:" "Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives." But the centurion, with whom the decision rested, preferred the judgment of the owner and the master of the ship. Fair Havens was incommodious to winter in, and the majority advised attempting to run for Phoenix, a harbor sheltered alike from the northwest and southwest winds, and described by modern sailors as the only secure harbor, in all winds, on the south coast of Crete.

It was about the 18th of October when the mariners were tempted out of Fair Havens by a soft south wind, which would enable them to double *Cape Matala* (only 5 miles distant), and then to make a fair run of 35 miles to Port Phoenix. They had already weathered the cape, and were keeping close under the land, when, without a moment's warning, an east northeast wind came sweeping down the gullies of Mount Ida, "descending from the lofty hills in heavy squalls and eddies" with all the fury of a typhoon. The sailors, accustomed to those seas, recognized their dreaded enemy by its well-known name, *Euroclydon*. Unable to bear up into the wind, they could only let the ship scud before the gale.

In this course they were carried under the lee of a small island named *Clauda*, about 20 miles from the coast of Crete. Under its shelter they got the boat on board, always a difficult matter in a gale, and especially when it was doubtless full of water. This could only be done at all by bringing the ship's head round to the wind, a fact of which the importance will presently appear. The next preparation is one of the most interesting points in the whole narrative; "they used helps, *undergirding* the ship." The ancient ships were peculiarly liable to loosen their frame-work and start their planks, not only from the imperfections of their build, but from the strain upon the hull caused by the single mast with its large square-sail. Hence the frequent foundering at sea, of which we have other cases in the shipwreck of Jonah, and in that of Josephus on his way to Rome four years later, which forms a striking parallel to the voyage of St. Paul. As a precaution against this danger, ships were provided with cables or chains, which could be passed around the hull at right angles (not, as some have supposed, from stem to stern), as "helps" to its strength, the ends being secured on deck; and this was the process described as "undergirding the ship." Another motive for this precaution was the risk that, in that narrow part of the Mediterranean, the ship

ANCIENT SHIPS.



should be driven across to the Libyan coast, and fall upon the quicksands of the Great Syrtis, where the undergirding would delay her going to pieces.

To keep the vessel from this dangerous course, and to make her more steady, they "lowered the gear, and so were driven." This cannot mean that the ship scudded before the wind; for that course would have driven her right on the Syrtis, if she had not first been swamped by the sea breaking over her stern; but that she lay to under a storm-sail with her starboard (or right) side to the wind, the very position in which she had been brought up to the wind to take the boat on board. This manœuvre would keep her head well off the African coast, and cause her to drift a little to the north of west at the rate of about a mile and a half an hour, or thirty-six miles a day. The next day they began to lighten ship, by throwing overboard all that could be spared; and on the day after, the passengers helped to cast out the spare gear that had already been sent down on deck.

All was now done that the best seamanship of that age could suggest, and there followed the far more trying interval of suspense for several days, the tempest continuing at its height, and neither sun nor stars appearing to give them an idea of their position. All hope of safety was now abandoned. "No one," says Dr. Howson, "who has never been in a leaking ship in a continued gale can know what is suffered under such circumstances. The strain both of mind and body—the incessant demand for the labor of all the crew—the terror of the passengers—the hopeless working at the pumps—the laboring of the ship's frame and cordage—the driving of the storm—the benumbing effect of the cold and wet—make up a scene of no ordinary confusion, anxiety, and fatigue. . . . To this despair was added a further suffering from want of food, in consequence of the injury done to the provisions, and the impossibility of preparing any regular meal. Hence we see the force of the phrase which alludes to what a casual reader might suppose an unimportant part of the suffering, that there was *much abstinence*."

But under that dark sky, and in that hopelessly drifting ship, there appeared the light of joy and life; for it held no Jonah, fleeing from duty, but a Paul bound in spirit to testify for God also at Rome. As in so many a former crisis of his life, a vision was vouchsafed to him in the night; and, when another day broke, as dark and hopeless as those before, he announced the good news to the sailors and passengers gathered round him on the deck. After gently reminding them of the claim which his former rejected advice gave him to their belief, he

went on in the kindly words:—"And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship. For there stood by me this night the ANGEL OF GOD, *whose I am and whom I serve*, saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cæsar: and lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer; for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me. Howbeit, we must be cast upon a certain island." The same power that gave this assurance could have caused the ship to arrive safe in port with her cargo as well as her crew; but it is the law of God's providential discipline that the deliverances he grants from the consequences of our errors should be at the expense of that degree of suffering but for which they would pass unvalued, and that those who have received such deliverances should remain

"Thankful for all God takes away,
Humbled by all he gives."

The storm still raged with unabated fury, and the ship was drifting in the sea of *Adria*, when, on the fourteenth night after their departure from *Clauda*, some of those indications which a sailor's ear detects so quickly—doubtless, as we shall soon see, the roar of breakers—gave a warning of land near, which the soundings confirmed. Fearing to be driven on the rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and "longed for day-break." For in such a storm, to anchor off a lee shore is a forlorn hope; and the sailors conspired to desert the ship by letting down the boat, on the pretence of casting more anchors out of the prow. Paul once more interposed with words which furnish a marked illustration of the working of human effort with divine decrees. These sailors were still wanted for the last act of seamanship in the morning; and the same voice that had promised, in God's name, that not a life should be lost, now said to Julius, "Except these abide in the ship ye cannot be saved." The soldiers cut the ropes by which the sailors were already lowering the boat, and the last visible means of safety was swept away into the darkness.

All were now shut up to the unknown escape which the Apostle had promised; and this last act of decision seems to have given him that ascendancy over the crew which he had already secured over the soldiers and all the rest. As the day began to break, he gathered around him his fellow-voyagers (276 souls in all), and besought them to eat after their fourteen days' fast, as it was needful for their salvation to be strengthened for the last exertions; and once more he assured them, "there shall not an hair fall from the head of any one

of you." "When he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in the presence of them all; and when he had broken it, he began to eat. Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took some food." Surely the Evangelist's use of language so similar to the Gospel record of the Lord's Supper indicates more than a "grace before meat," and goes far to justify our putting the highest sense upon the words—"God hath given thee—as a *gift of grace*—all those that sail with thee." Dr. Howson observes of Paul's former address:—"Sailors, however reckless they may be in the absence of danger, are peculiarly open to religious impressions; and we cannot doubt that they gathered anxiously round the Apostle and heard his words as an admonition and encouragement from the other world, that they were nerved for the toil and difficulty which was immediately before them, and prepared thenceforward to listen to the Jewish prisoner as to a teacher sent with a divine commission;" and so we venture to regard that breaking of bread is an eucharistic feast, in which—as we infer from the numbers being mentioned just here—none on board failed to share.

They ate with a good appetite, and thus refreshed in body, mind, and soul, they used the first dawn to lighten the ship by casting out the cargo of wheat into the sea, "to enable them by a lighter draft of water either to run into any small harbor, or at least closer in with dry land, should they be obliged to run the ship on the rocks or beach." This took some time; and now that it was broad daylight, the sailors could examine the shore. At first they did not recognize it as known land; but they saw what appeared to be a creek or bay, with a smooth beach, into which they decided, if possible, to run the ship.

Nov. What followed is explained by looking at the spot, thus
A. D. 60. far unknown to them, but now identified beyond any reasonable doubt. The perverse ingenuity which, misled first by the word *Adria* (ver. 27), proceeded to discover a *MELITA* high up the Dalmatian coast of the Adriatic, raised a controversy which has been completely settled. The island was unquestionably *Malta*; and it is almost equally certain that the scene of the shipwreck was that to which local tradition has given the name of *St. Paul's Bay*, on the northeast coast of the island. The direction of the ship's head when she lay to off *Clauda*, and her estimated rate of drift, were just such as to carry her to *Malta* in the fourteen days, and she could make *St. Paul's Bay* without first touching any other part of the island, which from this point trends to the southeast. A glance at

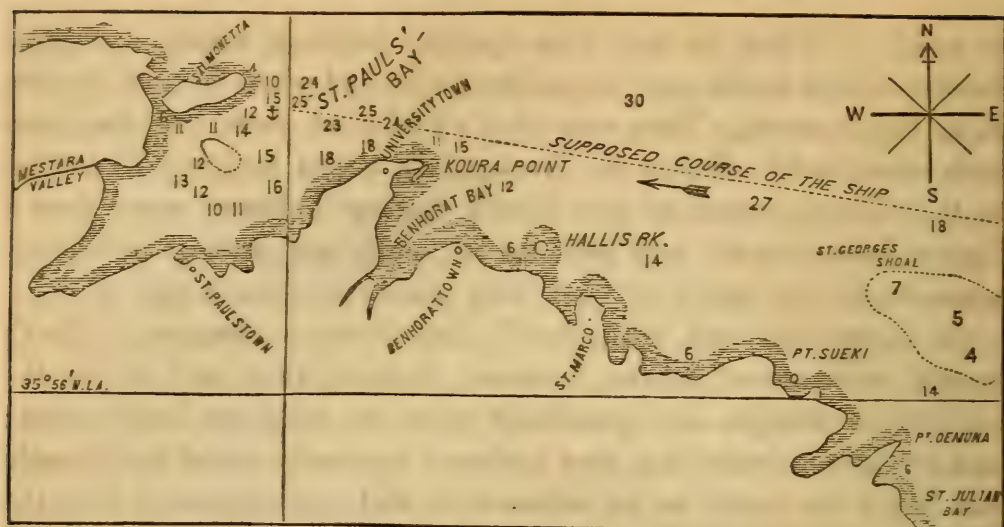


CHART OF PART OF THE COAST OF MALTA.

the chart is of itself enough to show how her course was guided by that *special providence* which so plainly announced itself to Paul. The ship was borne in the darkness so near to *Koura Point*, the southeast headland of the bay, that the breakers striking its rocks gave the warning to anchor just in time to avoid striking on the opposite shore; and the soundings are precisely those mentioned in the narrative. She anchored off the east point of the islet of *Salmonetta*, which would appear from that point of view to join the mainland, with its beach of sand or mud.

The preparations to run in the ship sustain the character of the Alexandrian mariners for seamanship. "While cutting the anchors adrift, they unloosed the lashings with which the rudder had been secured, that they might steer freely, and hoisted the foresail, both to steady the vessel's course and to *press her further on upon the land*. These three things were done simultaneously (*ἀμα*), and there were a sufficient number of hands on board." Thus they drove right ashore, stem on, and the bow stuck fast on the muddy beach. But then it proved that the spot they had mistaken for the bottom of a creek was at the mouth of the little strait separating the islet of *Salmonetta* from the mainland, "a place where two seas met." The swell of the open sea, rolling in from the north through this channel, dashed the hinder-part of the ship to pieces; but the fore-part, fixed "upright and immovable," afforded a refuge to the voyagers while preparing to escape to shore. A new danger now arose from the savage temper of the Roman soldiers, who would have killed the prisoners, lest any of them should swim ashore and escape. Even the centurion would probably have seen nothing strange in such an act; but, for the sake

of saving Paul, he prevented its execution; and, assuming the command with that military discipline which we have so often seen triumphant over the confusion of a shipwreck, Julius ordered that those who could swim should first plunge into the sea and get to land; while the rest followed as best they could, some on spars, and some on pieces of the wreck: "and so it came to pass that they all escaped safe to land."

As to Paul himself, it was not the first time that he had had such an escape from even greater dangers. Long before this time he tells the Corinthians of his three shipwrecks, in one of which he had passed "a night and a day on the deep," floating about probably on a spar, like Josephus when shipwrecked in this very Adrian Sea. Nor will it be out of place here to observe how, with this experience, and ministering so constantly among sea-faring Greeks, he makes a most impressive though unfrequent use of nautical images. The fate of those apostates who, swerving from the direct course of good conscience and faith unfeigned, which guides to perfect love, have "made shipwreck concerning faith," may be contrasted with the Apostle's repeated avowal uttered in the port of Miletus, as he was hastening on his voyage to Jerusalem, that he had never "furled his sails in the onward course of declaring all the counsel of God:" and we may well suppose that the remembrance of the night when his ship rode out the storm in the Maltese bay, with her straining cables passed out into the darkness, suggested the image of the Christian's sole but certain hope, "which we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that which is within the veil."

And now, like the shipwrecked mariners, we are once more on firm land, after this intricate but most interesting voyage. They had not recognized the land at first, but—says St. Luke—"When we had escaped, then we discovered that the island was called MELITA." Malta was at this time a dependency of the province of Sicily, governed by an officer who is mentioned on inscriptions by the very title given to him by St. Luke, of *Primus*. From its position in the Mediterranean, and the excellence of its harbors, Melita has always been important both in commerce and war. It was a settlement of the Phœnicians at an early period, and their language, in a corrupted form, continued to be spoken there in St. Paul's day. From the Carthaginians it passed to the Romans in the Second Punic War. It was famous for its honey and fruits, for its cotton fabrics, for excellent building-stone, and for a well-known breed of dogs. A few years before St. Paul's visit, corsairs from his native province of

Cilicia made Melita a frequent resort. This one fact is enough to prove that the island was then thinly peopled, and consequently it may have been well-wooded. The extraordinary increase of its population in modern times accounts for the disappearance of many indigenous animals that once harbored in its forests, and disposes of the objection that no venomous snakes are now found in the island.

The inhabitants received the shipwrecked mariners with kindness, and kindled a fire, which was most needful in the cold and rain. Paul was helping to gather sticks, and had just laid a bundle on the fire, when a viper, driven out by the heat, fastened on to his hand. Possessed with a superstition, not extinct in our day, about the safety from one death of those who deserve another, and knowing Paul to be a prisoner, the natives said among themselves, "At all events this man is a murderer, whom, saved from the sea, justice suffereth not to live." But when, after Paul had quietly shaken off the reptile into the fire, they watched a long time in vain to see him swell or fall down dead, they changed their minds and said that he was a god,—a conclusion the more natural from the belief of a people of Eastern origin in serpent-worship and serpent-charming. The incident not only gave Paul that ascendancy over the people which we well know how he would use, but it would naturally attract the attention of Publius, the primate of the island, whose estates were in the neighborhood. He received the Apostle's party with courteous hospitality; and was rewarded by the cure of his father, who lay ill of fever and dysentery, through the prayer of Paul with the laying on of his hands. The fame of the miracle spread through the island, and others who had diseases came and were healed. We cannot doubt that these miracles were followed by the preaching and belief of the Gospel, through the winter months, during which Paul and his companions were detained in Malta by the suspension of navigation. His success is attested by the honors paid to him in the island, and the supplies with which he was loaded on his departure.

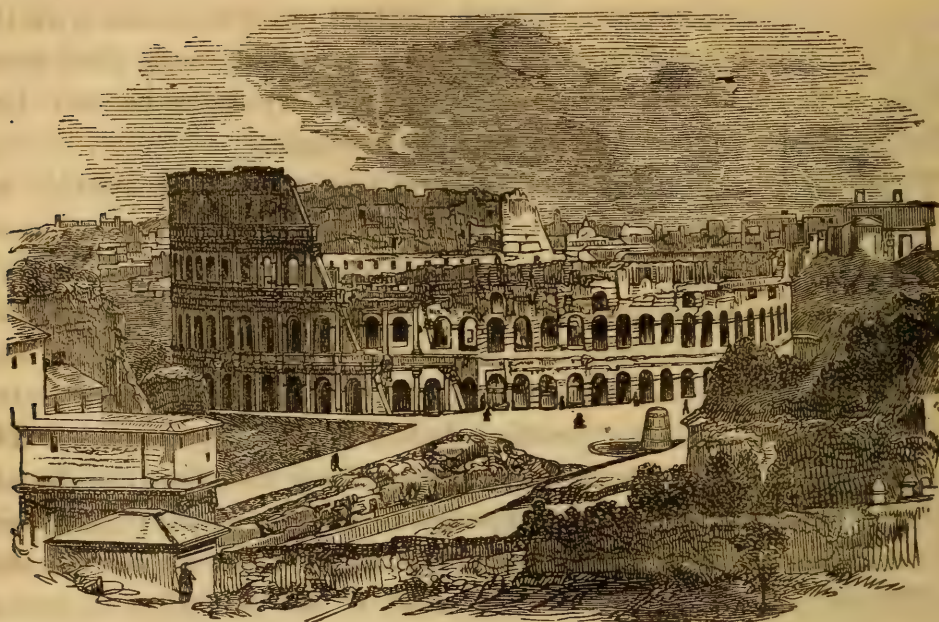
Feb.
A. D. 61. After a detention of three months, Julius placed his prisoners on board another Alexandrian ship, the "Castor and Pollux," which had wintered in the island. About the beginning of February (A. D. 61) they sailed first to Syracuse, where they remained three days; and thence they beat up to Rhegium on the Italian side of the straits of Messina. After a day's waiting for the weather, a fair south wind sprang up, and carried them on the following day to their destination at Puteoli, one of the chief ports for the corn-trade, and therefore for the landing of passengers. As might

have been expected at a port in such constant communication with the East, they found here Christian brethren, at whose desire Paul spent a week with them, the centurion being evidently eager to show him unbounded courtesy—"And so went on to Rome."

These words imply that they followed the usual route trodden by so many travellers—the *Appian Road*. How many travellers must have looked down upon the Apostle and his escort with the same feelings with which we regard the weary, dismal march of a chained gang of convicts; little dreaming that he came a truer conqueror than any general who had led his legions along that road to enter Rome in triumph. He had another greeting before his journey's end. "The Italian Christians had long been looking for a visit from the famous Apostle, though they had not expected to see him arrive thus, a prisoner in chains, hardly saved from shipwreck" (Howson). The stay at Puteoli had given time for the news of his arrival to be sent to Rome; and the Christians of that city sent to meet him as far as the stations of *Appii Forum* and the *Three Taverns*. This double welcome was the earnest that Paul's long desire, both to preach the Gospel at Rome and to have fellowship with the Church already founded there, was now to be fulfilled; and, when he saw them, he thanked God, and took courage.

It must be remembered that this whole journey was made in custody of the centurion, who, on reaching Rome, delivered up his prisoners to the prefect of the Prætorian Guard, who was at this time the celebrated Burrus. The report of Julius, and in some degree probably the interest already excited about Christianity at the imperial court, procured special favor for St. Paul. Though still, like state prisoners even of the highest rank (as in the case of Agrippa under Tiberius), having one arm bound to the soldier who kept him night and day, with that chain to which he makes touching allusions, he was suffered to dwell by himself in his own hired house, of course within the precincts of the *Prætorium*, and what he valued far more—to receive visitors and discourse freely with them of the Gospel.

Beginning here also with his own nation, the Apostle, three days after his arrival, invited the chief men among the Jews to come to him, and, addressing them as *brethren*, he freely explained to them his present position. Though innocent of any crime against the Jewish law or customs, he had been given at Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans, and when they were ready to acquit him, the opposition of the Jews had constrained him to appeal to Cæsar. He was now at Rome, not to accuse his nation, but a prisoner, "bound with this



RUINS OF THE COLISEUM, AT RÔME.

chain," to answer for his faith in "the hope of Israel." Therefore had he invited them to this conference. The Jews replied, that they had received no letters from Judæa about him, nor had any of the brethren coming thence spoken any harm of him. As for this sect (or "heresy"), they knew that it was everywhere spoken against:—a phrase which seems to betray the germs of that ill-will which so soon broke out, but which may have been at first suppressed by their own curiosity as well as by St. Paul's courteous bearing. They named a day to give him a full hearing, and came in large numbers to his lodging.

From the hour of admission in the morning, till the closing of the gates at evening, did Paul "expound and testify the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses and out of the prophets." His method was the same that it had ever been, from the day when he opened his mouth in the synagogue of the Pisidian Antioch. And so was the result. Some indeed believed; but others believed not; and these were clearly the most. They went away disputing with one another; and the interview, which Paul had begun with that ardent desire for their salvation which had already breathed in his Epistle, was closed with the same prophetic denunciation with which he had sorrowfully followed up that utterance of his love,—the words of Isaiah, which Christ himself had applied to the unbelieving nation, whose every sense was wilfully closed to the truth:—the five gates of Mansoul blockaded against

Emmanuel, "And wisdom at *each* entrance quite shut out." So he once more repeated the announcement that he had so often made before:—"Be it known therefore unto you that the salvation of God is sent unto the *Gentiles*, and that they will hear it." His last warnings were not altogether in vain; for after the Jews had left him, "they had *much reasoning among themselves*"—not only disputation, but inquiry, concerning what they had heard.

Here, so far as the Scripture narrative is concerned, the curtain falls upon the contest of Jewish unbelief against the things that concerned their salvation. And this we incline to regard as the very reason why the history of the Acts breaks off. As the narrative which illustrates the command of Jesus to his Apostles, to "preach the Gospel to the whole world, beginning at Jerusalem," it opens with the opening of that commission at the religious centre of the world; it traces the successive offers to the Jews of Judæa, Samaria and the Dispersion; to proselytes and Hellenists, in all the provinces that they frequented; and, it shows how their general disbelief caused the Gentiles to be received step by step into their place of privilege; till the Apostle, bringing back the offerings of those Gentile converts to bless his countrymen at Jerusalem, was finally rejected by them, and sent in chains to Rome. There, in the capital of the world, the unbelief of the last section of the Jewish family, to whom he revealed their Messiah, completed the first stage in the history of the diffusion of Christianity, at which the mass of the Jewish race are, for the time, cut off from the kingdom of God.

They are not, however, finally left in this fallen state. If the last recorded words of the Apostle's living voice proclaimed at Rome their present sentence, the enduring records of his pen, gathering up the substance of the ancient promises, had already embodied, in writing to the Church of Rome, that prophetic announcement of their restoration, the mystery of which remains to be fulfilled, and those three wonderful chapters of the Epistle to the Romans may be regarded as a supplement to the Acts. The spread of the Gospel over the purely heathen portion of the world belongs to the new chain of history which comes down to our own time, and the end of which will be found linked with the fulfilment of the promises concerning the Jews. Of this all that St. Luke deems it necessary to record is the happy commencement of Paul's labors in the capital, where "he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him; preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence (or boldness of speech), no man forbidding him."

These are the last words of the Acts. This history of the planting of the kingdom of Christ in the world brings us down to the time when the Gospel was openly proclaimed by the Apostle in the Gentile capital, and stops short of the mighty convulsion which was shortly to pronounce that kingdom established as the divine commonwealth for all men. The work of St. Paul belongs to the preparatory period. He was not to live through the time when the Son of Man came in the destruction of the Holy City and Temple, and in the throes of the New Age. The most significant part of his work was accomplished, when in the Imperial City he had declared his Gospel "to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." But his career is not abruptly closed. Before he himself fades out of our sight in the twilight of ecclesiastical tradition, we have letters written by himself, which contribute some particulars to his external biography, and give us a far more precious insight into his convictions and sympathies.

St. Paul's *Imprisonment at Rome* lasted two full years; nor is it difficult to account for the delay of his hearing before the emperor. It was necessary to the prosecution of such a case that the accusers should attend in person; and that they had not yet arrived is clear from the statement of the Roman Jews. In the first year of Paul's imprisonment, an embassy was sent from Jerusalem to Rome, headed by Ishmael the high-priest and Helcias the treasurer of the Temple, concerning the triple dispute between the Jews, Agrippa, and the Procurator, about the Temple wall. If they were also charged with the case against St. Paul, they would have little encouragement or motive to its active prosecution. The success of their principal object, through the mediation of Poppæa—who was a Jewish proselyte as well as Nero's mistress—doubtless exhausted all their influence with the emperor, who seems to have detained them at Rome in a spirit of suspicion. Nor could they hope, from that sense of justice which Nero brought to bear upon cases in which his passions were not excited, any reversal of the decision virtually pronounced by Felix. But the pretext of bringing up their witnesses from all the eastern provinces, and the forms of procedure in appeals to Cæsar, would give ample opportunities of delay; and they would be glad at least to keep Paul a prisoner.

Thus, through adversity and injustice, Paul obtained the fulfilment of his earnest desire "to preach the Gospel to them that are at Rome also." He tells us of the spiritual children whom he had begotten in his chains; of his converts among Cæsar's household; and in one passage he gives a vivid description of the interest excited on behalf of

the Gospel by his state and labors. He comforts his faithful and loving converts at Philippi, who now, as in the beginning of their Christian profession, were zealous in ministering to his wants, with the news that the troubles in which they sympathized with him "had fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the Gospel." So manifest had it become, in the Prætorium and elsewhere, that the cause of his imprisonment was *for Christ*, that even his bonds made other Christian brethren venture to speak the word more freely and fearlessly. The very Judaizers took courage to preach their version of the Gospel in their usual spirit of personal hostility to the Apostle, hoping to add to the affliction of those bonds which prevented his coming forward to refute them. But Paul knew that his controversy with them was ended, and he magnanimously rejoices that even they helped to make known the name of Christ.

Meanwhile, amid the restraint, humiliation, and even pain of being constantly chained to a soldier, he was comforted by the society of some of his most attached disciples. LUKE shared the greater part, at least, of his imprisonment; and TIMOTHY, of whose presence on the voyage to Rome we have no indication, seems to have joined him there at a later period. That ever honorable title of his "fellow-prisoners" is applied to ARISTARCHUS of Thessalonica, who had been Paul's companion from Philippi, and to EPAPHRAS, a Colossian. In the same salutation with these, and in close connection with Luke, appear two names peculiarly interesting. MARK is mentioned as "cousin to Barnabas," as if expressly to remove all doubt as to his identity, and at the same time to assure us that the breach caused by his departure from Perga had been entirely healed; and he is joined with Luke and DEMAS, as the *fellow-laborers* of the Apostle, in an association peculiarly touching from the contrast in which the three names afterward stand: Luke, steadfast from first to last; Mark, who had failed in the first trial, ardently desired as "profitable for the ministry;" Demas dismissed with the sorrowful sentence which has passed into a by-word. With these may be mentioned TYCHICUS of Asia, who had been, with Aristarchus, the Apostle's companion from Corinth, and who now carried back to his native province those Epistles which form the great enduring work of Paul's imprisonment.

For, so long as he lived, whether free to travel or shut up in prison, Paul would not resign the daily "care of all the churches." One means he had of promoting their welfare daily and hourly—the constant and earnest *prayer*, which his Epistles prove to have been a chief occupation of his solitude. But he was not shut out from intercourse

with the churches themselves. Now that he was tied down to one spot, but free to speak and write to whom he pleased, he would be the more earnest in making use of that mode of impression in which he had always excelled, chastened by the solemn sadness natural to a prisoner advanced in age. The four Epistles, which are perhaps but some among many that he wrote from Rome, are linked together by a striking resemblance of tone, thought, and argument, as well as by internal marks which place the time of their composition beyond reasonable doubt. They were all written toward the latter part of his imprisonment at Rome, for all refer to the expectation of his release; and those to the *Colossians*, to *Philemon*, and to the *Ephesians*, were somewhat earlier than that to the *Philippians*. The three former were sent to Asia by the same messengers, their salutations exhibit nearly the same names, and, besides their general likeness, those to the two churches contain identical passages, such as naturally occur in letters written by the same person at the same time. They were written after Paul had been long enough at Rome for the Philippians to have heard of his imprisonment, and to have sent relief to him by the hands of Epaphroditus, who was now with him. The interval before the return of Epaphroditus, bearing the letter to the Philippians, has to be extended so as to not only embrace his dangerous illness, but to allow for the news of it having been carried to the Philippians, and for the report of their sorrow at the tidings having been brought back to Rome. As also the expectations of a speedy issue of his cause are expressed more distinctly in this Epistle, and Paul forms his plans for coming to Philippi, its date may be safely placed just before the expiration of his two years' imprisonment, *in the spring of* A. D. 63; and then, allowing for the necessary interval, the three others may be referred to the *autumn of* 62. Some, however, assign an earlier date to the three, from a supposed contrast between the mildness of the earlier part of Paul's imprisonment and the severer suffering which seems to be reflected in the Epistle to the Philippians: a change which might be due to the death of Burrus (in January, A. D. 62) and the declining influence of Seneca.

A. D. 62. COLOSSÆ is a place that has not yet appeared in the records of St. Paul's labors. It was an ancient but somewhat decayed city of Phrygia, on the high-road between Ephesus and the Euphrates. It stood on the river Lycus, in the upper basin of the Mæander, and in the immediate neighborhood of Laodicea and Hierapolis, cities by whose growth it had been eclipsed. The foundation of a church here may have been one of the indirect results of Paul's

ministry in Asia, and now he had heard with deep gratitude of the fruits of faith and love wrought among the Colossians by the word of Gospel truth, which had come to them as it was taught by EPAPHRAS, a native of the city, who, having been to them a faithful minister of Christ, had now brought to Paul in his imprisonment the glad tidings of their love in the Spirit.

The *Epistle to the Colossians* was doubtless called forth by the tidings brought by Epaphras, and was sent to the Colossians by the hands of Tychicus. It was intended to congratulate the Church there upon its zeal and piety, and to warn it of dangerous heresies.

But another person had come to Rome from Colossæ about the same time, and now returned as a sharer in the mission of Tychicus. This was ONESIMUS, who is described in the Epistle, as "a faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you," that is, evidently, a Colossian. Such was the kindly and honorable introduction with which the Apostle sent back to Colossæ the man who had left the city and fled to Rome as the runaway slave of PHILEMON, a wealthy and distinguished member of the Colossian Church; and with him he sent that brief but pregnant *Letter to Philemon*, which contains the germs of the eternal principles of Gospel morality in relation to slavery. It is evident, from the letter to him, that Philemon was a man of property and influence, since he is represented as the head of a numerous household, and as exercising an expensive liberality toward his friends and the poor in general. He was indebted to Paul as the medium of his personal participation in the Gospel, as the Apostle reminds him in that most expressive phrase, "not to say to thee how thou owest unto me even thine own self besides." His character, as shadowed forth in the Epistle to him, is one of the noblest which the sacred record makes known to us. He was full of faith and good works, was docile, confiding, grateful, was forgiving, sympathizing, charitable, and a man who on a question of simple justice needed only a hint of his duty to prompt him to go even beyond it. Any one who studies the Epistle will perceive that it ascribes to him these varied qualities; it bestows on him a measure of commendation which forms a striking contrast with the ordinary reserve of the sacred writers. It was through such believers that the primitive Christianity evinced its divine origin, and spread so rapidly among the nations.

The tone in which Paul asks forgiveness for Onesimus is worthy alike of such a man and of himself. He might have used his authority in Christ to enjoin what was right; but he preferred to exhort Philemon from motives of love, "being such an one as Paul the

elder, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ." *He* also had a claim upon Onesimus, his "son, begotten in his bonds," and now doubly "profitable" (as he does not disdain to say playfully) "to thee and to me." He would have kept him with himself, to minister in the Gospel, but he would not even seem to force Philemon to confer the favor except of his free-will; and so he sends Onesimus back, having no doubt persuaded him to return as an act of Christian duty. But, while thus respecting the legal right of the master over the slave, he clearly intimates that the law of Christ would not be fulfilled by the simple return of Onesimus to slavery:—"Perhaps for this cause he departed for a season, that thou shouldest receive him forever; *not now as a slave, but above a slave, a brother beloved*, first of all to me, and how much more to thee, both in the flesh and in the Lord. If thou count me therefore in fellowship with thee, *receive him as myself*." Thus completely identifying himself with Onesimus, the Apostle engages to make good any loss that he had caused to his master; and, as if to make the promise legally binding, he writes this passage at least of the Epistle with his own hand; not, however, without gently reminding Philemon that he would still owe him his own soul over and above. Such is the Apostle's practical comment on his own text, "In Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all;" teaching which is the more interesting when viewed in its connection with the passages in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians concerning the duties of masters and servants.

Onesimus accompanied Tychicus, the bearer of the Apostle's letter to the Colossians, as well as of a very similar Epistle to the Church of Ephesus, through which city he would pass on his route. His mission to both churches is described in almost the same terms: to let them know the Apostle's condition while inquiring into their own, and to comfort their hearts. The *Epistle to the Ephesians*, however, does not seem to have been called forth by any special circumstances, nor even to have involved any distinctly precautionary teaching, whether against Oriental or Judaistic theosophy, but to have been suggested by the deep love which the Apostle felt for his converts at Ephesus, and which the mission of Tychicus, with an Epistle to the Church of Colossæ, afforded him a convenient opportunity of evincing in written teaching and exhortation. The Epistle thus contains many thoughts that have pervaded the nearly contemporaneous Epistle to the Colossians, reiterates many of the same practical warnings and exhortations, and bears even the tinge of the same diction. The highest characteristic which these two Epistles have in common is

that of a presentation of the LORD JESUS CHRIST, fuller and clearer than we find in previous writings, as the HEAD of creation and of mankind. All things created through Christ, all things coherent in him, all things reconciled to the Father by him, the eternal purpose to restore and complete all things in him—such are the ideas which grew richer and more distinct in the mind of the Apostle, as he meditated on the Gospel which he had been preaching, and the truths implied in it.

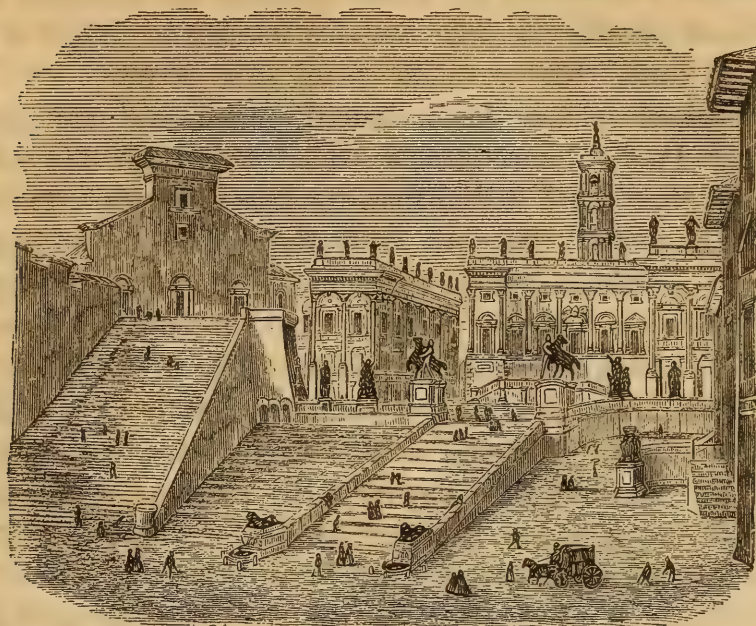
These three Epistles were followed—but, as we have seen, at some considerable interval—by the *Epistle to the Philippians*, whose date nearly all critics concur in fixing toward the end of Paul's imprisonment, in the latter part of A. D. 62, or the beginning of A. D. 63. The Epistle to the Philippians resembles the Second to the Corinthians in the effusion of personal feeling, but differs from it in the absence of all soreness. It contains less of censure, and more of praise than any other of Paul's extant letters. The Christians at Philippi had regarded the Apostle with love and reverence from the beginning, and had given him many proofs of their affection. They had now sent him a contribution toward his maintenance at Rome, such as we must suppose him to have received from time to time for the expenses of "his own hired house." The bearer of this contribution was Epaphroditus, an ardent friend and fellow-laborer of St. Paul, who had fallen sick on the journey or at Rome. The Epistle was written to be conveyed by Epaphroditus on his return, and to express the joy with which St. Paul had received the kindness of the Philippians. He dwells therefore upon their fellowship in the work of spreading the Gospel, a work in which he was even now laboring, and scarcely with the less effect on account of his bonds. His imprisonment had made him known, and had given him fruitful opportunities of declaring his Gospel among the Imperial guard, and even in the household of the Cæsar. He professes his undiminished sense of the glory of following Christ, and his expectation of an approaching time in which the Lord Jesus should be revealed from heaven as a deliverer. There is a *gracious* tone running through this Epistle, expressive of humility, devotion, kindness, delight in all things fair and good, to which the favorable circumstances under which it was written gave a natural occasion, and which helps us to understand the kind of ripening which had taken place in the spirit of the writer.

The allusions in this Epistle to the relief of Paul's necessities raise the question of how he was maintained during his imprisonment, and whether he was still able to labor with his own hands. Thus much

we know, that, while sometimes pinched with want, he so husbanded what resources he had, as to be able (for he was not the man to make a vain promise) to repay Philemon whatever he might have lost by Onesimus.

When this Epistle was written, Paul was expecting the crisis of his earthly fate, as nearer in prospect, but even less hopeful in its issue, than when he wrote the other three. Then, he was so confidently anticipating a favorable answer to the prayers for his release, that he asks Philemon to prepare him a lodging. Now, while still trusting in the efficacy of those prayers, he is above all anxious that they should be directed to his support in the coming trial, "That in nothing shall I be ashamed, but that with boldness, as always, so now also, *Christ shall be magnified* in my body, whether *by life or by death*." There is a striking resemblance, but also a striking contrast, between these utterances and his last in the Second Epistle to Timothy. The noble note of perfected resignation—"I am now ready to be offered"—is preluded by the comparison—"To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." But still it is a comparison, an alternative, in which the decision (if it were his to make) seems to him most difficult; and his own earnest "desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better," is overborne by the need that the Church still had of his service; and so he comes to the confident conclusion, "I know that I shall abide and continue with you all, for your furtherance and joy of faith." Still, however, the conflict may be traced throughout the Epistle; and the passage in which he comes nearest to planning his future movements, if released, stands in close connection with the opposite alternative:—"Yea, *and if I be offered on the sacrifice and service of your faith*, I joy, and rejoice with you all. . . . But *I trust in the Lord Jesus* to send Timotheus shortly unto you Him, therefore, I hope to send presently, *so soon as I shall see how it will go with me*. But I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly."

It is not difficult to find reasons for all this in the altered state of affairs at Rome. The second year of Paul's imprisonment marks the most unfavorable crisis in the court and character of Nero. The death of Burrus (Jan., A. D. 62) deprived the emperor of his most manly councillor, and the Apostle of that "captain of the guard" to whom he had been recommended by Julius, and by whom he had been leniently treated. The office was divided, and Fenius Rufus proved too weak to check his colleague Tigellinus, the worst of Nero's satellites. The influence of Seneca was declining, though we may



STAIRS OF THE MODERN CAPITAL AT ROME.

doubt whether the philosopher would have had much sympathy with the Apostle. Worst of all, Nero cemented by a marriage his connection with Poppæa, for whose sake he divorced and murdered his young wife Octavia; and the birth of a son, at the beginning of A. D. 63, gave her a paramount influence, which, as a Jewish proselyte, she would naturally use against the Apostle. Paul's very success in gaining converts in the imperial household would increase his danger; and he now complains of that disheartening abandonment by friends which is the very gall of adversity.

But, while borne up inwardly by faith, prayer, and re-
 A. D. 63. signation, he found a safeguard in the emperor himself. Among the sentiments and tastes, the unbridled indulgence of which proved the ruin of Nero's character, the sentiment of justice to his subjects survived. Paul probably knew this when he appealed to Cæsar; nor was the appeal made in vain. In those cases which Nero reserved for his own hearing, he was conspicuous for the precision which he demanded of the pleaders, and for the care with which he delivered his judgments in writing, after taking the opinion of competent advisers. There is the best reason to believe the prevailing tradition that, after an imprisonment of two years, Paul's case was heard by the emperor and decided in his favor. We have no positive contemporary record of the fact; but there is one piece of direct historic evidence, from which it seems fairly to be inferred.

The precision with which St. Luke specifies the duration of Paul's imprisonment justifies the inference that it came to an end at the close of the "two years," that is, in the spring of A. D. 63.

Some modern writers have, indeed, maintained the paradoxical theory that Paul's imprisonment ended only with his martyrdom, which they place much earlier than the received date. Their reasons are purely negative. They set aside the statements of ecclesiastical tradition as worthless. The testimony of the Pastoral Epistles to St. Paul's freedom, his use of it in fresh apostolic circuits in Asia and Europe, and his renewed imprisonment at Rome, with the prospect of death before him, is got rid of generally by a denial of the genuineness of these Epistles, or by referring them to a much earlier period of the Apostle's life; but the latter view seems clearly untenable, so that the objection is resolved into the former. The whole argument will be examined presently.

There remain the indications in the four Epistles written during his imprisonment at Rome, of Paul's assurance of his coming release and his plans in reference to it, besides the celebrated project, in the Epistle to the Romans, of a visit to Spain. But it is contended that St. Paul's expectations were not always realized, and that the passages from Philemon and Philippians are effectually neutralized by Acts xx. 25—"I know that ye all (at Ephesus) shall see my face no more;"—inasmuch as the supporters of the ordinary view hold that St. Paul went again to Ephesus. This is a fair answer to the argument from *intention alone*, leaving out of view the testimony of tradition and the authority of the Pastoral Epistles. But this is not all. The testimony of Luke places the objectors in this dilemma: if Paul had been martyred at the end of two years, Luke would certainly not have broken off without recording so important a fact: if his imprisonment had been prolonged beyond the two years, Luke could not have named this as its precise duration; and so the conclusion seems irresistible, that he was then set free.

Before we consider the light thrown upon the remainder A. D. 63. of the Apostle's life by the Pastoral Epistles and by the ancient Christian writers, it is necessary to notice the relation of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to his first imprisonment at Rome. This is not the place to discuss the authorship of that marvellous composition. It will be enough here to say that the striking resemblances between this Epistle and those to the Colossians and Ephesians, on the doctrine of the Headship of Christ over the creation—not only as to the general principle, but in the details of its expression—have long since

wrought in our mind the growing conviction that the great mass of the ancient Church was right in regarding the Epistle as Paul's, and not only that these works were the product of the same mind, but at the same stage of its development, and under the same circumstances. And what is more probable and consistent than that, in the leisure and retirement of his prison, amid the vain pomps and assumptions of Cæsarism, and when his last attempt to convince the Jews had been frustrated,—that the Jew, who had been brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, who had made advances in his national faith above his equals, and who could now review his rabbinical lore in the light of Gospel truth,—that such a man, under such conditions, should work out, for the benefit of Jewish Christians, especially in Palestine, the great doctrine of Christ's pre-eminence above all creatures, in earth or heaven, as established by the covenant of God with his ancient people, and illustrated by all the symbols of their worship?

The other element, which runs through the whole Epistle, tends to the same conclusion. The writer, whoever he may be, is addressing a persecuted body of Christians, whose faith was sorely tried; and each point of his great argument is intertwined with the most earnest exhortations to constancy, the most glowing examples of faith triumphing over suffering and death, the most solemn warning against apostasy, ever embodied in human language. And if we know of no writer of the apostolic age, but Paul, capable both intellectually and spiritually of writing the Epistle, so we know of no Church except that of Judæa at this very crisis, to which both the doctrinal and practical parts of the Epistle would be pre-eminently adapted. Troubled within by the Judaistic conflict, they wanted a full and final demonstration of the true relation of Judaism to Christianity. Drawn on, with the rest of their countrymen, nearer and nearer to the verge of that frightful national convulsion in which all that was external in Judaism was to perish, they needed to be consoled and fortified by the lesson that all that was vital had been first absorbed into Christianity, so that the rest "having decayed and grown old, was ready to vanish away." Exposed doubly, as Christians to the malice of the Jews, and as Jews to the hatred of the Greeks, under a government which, since the death of Festus, was hurrying on to anarchy, they required to be fortified against persecution and apostasy.

Nay more, there seem to be distinct allusions to the recent martyrdom of their own rulers, of which they themselves had been spectators, which enable us to specify, with great probability, the very persecution under which they suffered. Besides reminding them of "the great

conflict of sufferings" which they had endured in "the former days, in which they were enlightened,"—the persecutions in the first age of Christianity,—and after recounting the "great cloud of martyrs" of ancient times—he comes to the recent examples of a faith parallel to theirs, and exhorts the brethren to "remember *their own leaders*, who had spoken to them the word of the Lord, and *reviewing* (as spectators) *the end of their course*, to imitate their faith." Now it was in the second year of Paul's imprisonment at Rome (A. D. 62), that the high-priest Ananus availed himself of the vacancy in the procuratorship, between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus, to perpetrate the judicial murder of St. James the Just and other leaders of the Church of Jerusalem, according to the account of Josephus. How precisely does the language of the Epistle apply to the martyrdom of the Apostle who is usually regarded as the first bishop of Jerusalem, and who certainly had a special oversight of that Church! This allusion, moreover, confirms the ancient opinion that "the Hebrews," to whom the Epistle was addressed (according to the title, for it begins without a superscription), were the Jewish Christians of Palestine, and of Jerusalem in particular. Its direct personal appeals and salutations prove that it had some such original destination; while the superscription may have been omitted to denote its wider destination for Jewish Christians everywhere.

Besides these general indications, there are specific allusions, which not only confirm the authorship as St. Paul's, but throw light upon the Apostle's movements. Foremost of these is the request, so strikingly parallel to passages in the Epistle to the Philippians, for the prayers of the brethren, first that the writer might be able to keep *a good conscience*, and to maintain an *honorable course*—words precisely suited to his trial before Nero—and next that, as the result of his being thus supported, he might be restored to them the sooner. Next comes the passage—"Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty (or rather, *has departed*), with whom, if he come quickly, I will see you." Compare this with what Paul wrote to the Philippians—"I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you . . . so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord that I also shall come shortly." Few can doubt that the two passages come from the same pen and refer to the same *series* of intended movements, though, as intentions only are spoken of in the briefest terms, the details are somewhat obscure. Thus much seems clear, that the passage in Hebrews was written when, even if the trial was not concluded, its issue was so well foreseen the writer could ex-

change "*I trust*" for "*I will see you*;" and when Timothy had departed, probably on his mission to the Philippians, to carry to them the good news, as Paul had promised, and to bring back word of their state. Such a mission would supersede the *immediate* execution of Paul's design of visiting Philippi; and he may have been urged to go straight to Jerusalem by the same motives that induced him to write the Epistle to the Hebrews. The news of the persecution of the Christians by Ananus would doubtless be brought to Rome by some of the fugitives; and Paul, desiring to strengthen his brethren by his personal presence, may have resolved to sail for Judæa, as soon as the navigation opened, in company with Timothy, if the latter returned soon enough from Philippi. Meanwhile he probably sent the Epistle to Jerusalem, to prepare the brethren for his coming. As to the *place* from which he wrote it, the words "*They of Italy salute you*" are decisive, if we accept, as we probably should, the rendering of our version.

This reasoning would lead us, with more than probability, to the *first step* of the Apostle's course after his release from his imprisonment. For the question is not (as in cases before noticed) of a mere intention; but of a positive intention to be executed so immediately that he would not wait long for Timothy's return:—"With whom, *if he come the quicker* (ταχύτερ) *I will see you.*" This seems almost decisive for the direction of Paul's course straight to Jerusalem, on his liberation in the spring of A. D. 63.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE LAST DAYS OF ST. PAUL AND ST. PETER—AND THE COMPLETE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH, FROM THE RELEASE OF ST. PAUL TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

[A. D. 63-70.]

THE argument at the end of the last chapter led us to the conclusion that, after his imprisonment at Rome had lasted for two years, Paul was heard by Nero and set at liberty. Moreover, we inferred from the Epistle to the Hebrews that he was purposing to make use of his recovered freedom in order to pay a visit to his brethren in Judæa, who needed the strongest comfort and confirmation in the terrible trials which now beset both their

Church and nation. For further light our only certain guidance is to be found in the Pastoral Epistles; of which the first to Timothy and that to Titus are nearly contemporaneous, and the second to Timothy the latest. From them, without encroaching on the domain of conjecture, we draw the following conclusions: (1.) St. Paul, at some time after leaving Rome, must have visited Asia Minor and Greece; for he says to Timothy, "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I was setting out for Macedonia." After being once at Ephesus, he was purposing to go there again, and he spent a considerable time at Ephesus. (2.) He paid a visit to Crete, and left Titus to organize churches there. He was intending to spend a winter at one of the places named Nicopolis. (3.) He travelled by Miletus, Troas (where he left a cloak or case and some books), and Corinth. (4.) He is a prisoner at Rome, "suffering unto bonds as an evil-doer," and expecting to be soon condemned to death. At this time he felt deserted and solitary, having only Luke, of his old associates, to keep him company; and he was very anxious that Timothy should come to him without delay from Ephesus, and bring Mark with him.

The *end* of the period covered by these movements is that also of the Apostle's whole career, and the Epistles themselves furnish strong arguments for placing them near together and at a date as advanced as possible in the history of the Apostle and the Church. The peculiarities of style and diction by which these are distinguished from all his former Epistles, the affectionate anxieties of an old man and the glances frequently thrown back on earlier times and scenes, the dis-

position to be hortatory rather than speculative, the references to a more complete and settled organization of the Church, the signs of a condition tending to moral corruption, and resembling that described in the apocalyptic letters to the Seven Churches, would incline us to adopt the latest date which has been suggested for the death of St. Paul, so as to interpose as much time as possible between the Pastoral Epistles and the former group. This view would allow for the *possibility* of a period between *Philippians* and *Hebrews* and *I. Timothy*, covered by no scriptural records or even allusions.

As to further details, we are encountered by immense difficulties from the paucity of materials and the multitude of opinions. The simplest and most condensed scheme is that of Mr. Lewin, based entirely upon the Epistles, to the exclusion of ecclesiastical tradition, except for the time of the Apostle's martyrdom. He supposes that St. Paul, released from his imprisonment in the spring of A. D. 63, sailed, as he had promised, for Jerusalem. Here he would be in no small danger, especially from his old enemy, the ex-high-priest Ananias, whose influence (Josephus tells us) was now at its height. Besides, he would be eager to revisit the scenes of his special labors, and to execute his purpose of confirming those Asiatic churches which "had not seen his face in the flesh," but for which he had "had so great a conflict" in spirit, Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis. When, therefore, we meet him next, leaving Ephesus, on his way to Macedonia, it is reasonable to suppose that he made a circuit—like those of former days—by Antioch and Asia Minor, staying at Colossæ, where he had asked Philemon to prepare him a lodging.

That the Apostle would spend a considerable time at the city which had been so long the scene of his former labors is probable in itself; and the First Epistle to Timothy proves the magnitude of his work there. The Gentile Churches, left to themselves during the Apostle's five years' absence—and in particular that of Ephesus, which we may, perhaps, regard as a type of the rest—had begun to feel the want of a more perfect organization; and we may venture to say that to complete that organization was a chief providential end of the Apostle's release. Beginning it himself, and carrying it out through the ministry of Timothy here, as of Titus in Crete, he had occasion to place on permanent record, in the Epistles written to direct their action, the great principles of ecclesiastical order.

These Epistles also prove that heretical opinions, corrupt practices, and personal ambitions—the evils of which he forewarned the Ephesian Elders when he parted from them at Miletus—had grown

to a head during his long absence, and needed to be firmly repressed. It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that Paul spent the whole winter of 63-64 at Ephesus, if indeed that time be not all too short for what he had to do. In fact he seems to have made the city his headquarters at this period, for, when he leaves it for Macedonia, he contemplates returning as soon as possible, and treats the commission that he leaves with Timothy as an episode in his own government of the Ephesian Church.

Early in A. D. 64 (according to Mr. Lewin's scheme) A. D. 64. Paul left Timothy at Ephesus as his representative—a *vicar-apostolic* rather than a *bishop*—while he himself sailed with Titus to Crete, to correct abuses similar to those which had grown up at Ephesus. Leaving Titus there to complete this work, with the same authority with which Timothy was invested, he returned to Ephesus, to prepare for a visit to his other chief field of labor in Macedonia and Greece, according to his promise to the Philippians. Timothy, who would gladly have accompanied his spiritual father, as on former journeys, was prevailed upon to continue his work at Ephesus, for which Paul gave him a solemn charge. It is important to observe how emphatically St. Paul dwells on this idea of a *charge* throughout the Epistles to Timothy and Titus—a charge for them to keep themselves, and to enforce on all the Church—bishops and deacons, men and women, rich and poor, faithful disciples and factious opponents. Nor is it less interesting to notice the new phase which this arrangement exhibits in the history of Christianity. The Churches, hitherto accustomed to look for guidance to their apostolic founders, are now entrusted to the delegated authority of comparatively young men, who, furnished by Paul with full instructions, are to train them for self-government in the coming age, when the Apostle shall have departed from the earth.

The experiment is the more interesting from its being made in no quiet times of settled faith and union; and, perhaps, the difficulties that surrounded it may have been a reason for the Apostle's withdrawal for a time, to watch from a distance the working of his exhortations in other hands. It is clear from the First Epistle to Timothy that at Ephesus, as formerly at Corinth, there was a factious opposition against himself; and, like Lycurgus or Solon, retiring from the republics where they left their laws to work the more freely, Paul might feel that his admonitions would be better felt in their own intrinsic force, when worked out by other hands.

The work and difficulties that were thus handed over are vividly

portrayed in the First Epistle to Timothy. He had to rule presbyters, most of whom were older than himself, to assign to each a stipend in proportion to his work, to receive and decide on charges that might be brought against them, to regulate the alms-giving and the sisterhoods of the Church, to ordain presbyters and deacons. There was the risk of being entangled in the disputes, prejudices, covetousness, sensuality, of a great city. There was the risk of injuring health and strength by an overstrained asceticism. Leaders of rival sects were there—Hymenæus, Philetus, Alexander—to oppose and thwart him. The name of his beloved teacher was no longer honored as it had been; the strong affection of former days had vanished, and “Paul the aged” had become unpopular, the object of suspicion and dislike. Only in the narrowed circle of the faithful few—Aquila, Priscilla, Mark, and others, who were still with him—was he likely to find sympathy or support. We cannot wonder that the Apostle, knowing these trials, and, with his marvellous power of bearing another’s burdens and making them his own, should be full of anxiety and fear for his disciples’ steadfastness; that admonitions, appeals, warnings, should follow each other in rapid and vehement succession.

It is a deeply interesting question in the early history of Christianity, what were the precise evils and errors in the Church of Ephesus which moved all this anxiety. The answer is furnished by those many allusions which show the sad spectacle of new forms of error infecting the Church. It is indeed most strange that this should have been turned into an argument against the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, when we trace the rapid spread of Oriental mysticism and asceticism on the one hand, and of the Alexandrian philosophy on the other—among Jews as well as Greeks—as seen in the Cabbala and in Philo, and when we have heard Paul already denouncing the like mixture of errors in his Epistle to the Colossians. It was expressly against new forms of error, about to rise among them after his departure, that the Apostle had warned the Ephesian Elders at Miletus; nor will any one acquainted with the history of heresies be surprised that five years were sufficient for their development, much less when he sees how many were rife in these very Asiatic churches, when St. John wrote to them in the Apocalypse. The fatal though seemingly unnatural alliance had already been contracted between ritualism and rationalism, as we now say, or, in the language of that age, between Judaism and Gnosticism. “The East and West were infusing their several elements of poison into the

pure cup of Gospel truth. In Asia Minor, as at Alexandria, Hellenic philosophism did not refuse to blend with Oriental theosophy; the Jewish superstitions of the Cabbala, and the wild speculations of the Persian Magi, were combined with Greek craving for an enlightened and esoteric religion. *The outward forms of superstition were ready for the vulgar multitude; the interpretation was confined to the aristocracy of knowledge, the self-styled Gnostics.*"

The simple and sad truth is, that as soon as Christianity was generally diffused, it began to absorb corruptions from all the countries that it covered, and to reflect the complexion of all the religious and philosophic systems to which it was opposed. But, in the Apostolic age, the Judaizers are still the leaders of the hosts of error, and gather all the rest under their banner. And this can only seem an anomaly to those who confound Judaism with Pharisaism, forgetting the Sadducean element: or who overlook the latitudinarian opinions of the Hellenists. Side by side with the old Jewish spirit of self-righteousness, there had grown up a Jewish libertinism, which, satisfying the conscience by insisting on the outward forms of the Mosaic Law, embraced the wildest errors from every quarter of the heathen world. Both forms of Judaism soon infected the Christian Church, which—as Paul expressly tells us—was corrupted not only by the errors of sincere converts, but by false brethren who had crept in unawares. The open opponents, who had sacrificed Christ for fear of Cæsar, were succeeded by feigned disciples, who found in Christian liberty an excuse for the dissolution of social and political bonds, and the hope of a millennium of sensuality and self-will.

The chief seat of this heresy was in Asia Minor, where the Jewish synagogues had been brought into close contact with the remnants of Hellenic liberty and the practice of Oriental licentiousness. In the remoter provinces of the peninsula, where the Oriental element was strongest and the Jews of the Dispersion were the most numerous, the heresy assumed those grosser forms which are exposed in the Epistles of Peter and Jude, and which, as we learn from the Apocalypse, soon became rampart even in the refined province of Asia. But the evil had not as yet reached this height at Ephesus. Libertinism of opinion was kept in countenance by ritualistic zeal, and a pretended asceticism had as yet but partially given place to its natural successor, libertinism in practice. The false teachers of the Pastoral Epistles are predominantly Jewish, "claiming to be *teachers of the law*, not understanding either what they talk or what they are confident of," whose "vain janglings" (*ματαιλογία*) consisted in those "*foolish ques-*

tions, fables, endless genealogies, contentions and strivings about the law," which formed the mass of Rabbinical learning. "*The law is good,*" seems to have been the catch-word which they opposed to the doctrine of grace taught by Paul, who replies with as keen irony as profound truth, *the law is good if used lawfully*,—as a restraint on those crimes of which these teachers were ready to be at least tolerant, but which he sternly denounces as *contrary to sound doctrine*, "according to the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, which was committed to my trust."

The combination of Oriental theosophy and reverence for intermediate spirits with asceticism, which Paul had already opposed in the Colossian Church, he now speaks of as working in germs which the Spirit expressly foretold by him were to receive a fearful development in "the latter times," as he elsewhere calls them, the "last days:" those *perilous times* of which John, Peter and Jude also write, with more special reference to their moral enormities. The use of the *same word*, added to the like features, marks this as the *Great Apostasy* of which Paul had long since written to the Thessalonians, where—lest any should suppose that we are confounding prophecies with facts—he expressly says, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work." The "last time" of conflict between truth and error had, in fact, begun. Whatever future development this *mystery of Antichrist* might hereafter assume in positive systems of superstition or infidelity, or both combined, its principles were already at work. Some had begun to depart from the faith, seduced by "erratic spirits" into the belief of "doctrines about inferior deities through the hypocrisy of false teachers who had first their own conscience hardened as by a cautery," and who, as at Colossæ, mingled asceticism with their mysticism, "forbidding to marry, and enjoining abstinence from foods—things which God had ordained to be received with thanksgiving by those who believe and know the truth." In opposition to all such teaching, the Apostle lays down the great principle—"Every creature of God is good, and none to be rejected, when taken with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." All these errors are summed up—in opposition to that truth which Paul describes as a *trust* (or *deposit*) committed to Timothy—as "the profane babblings and oppositions of the *falsely named knowledge*," a word which not only suggests the fearful developments of these errors in the *Gnosticism* of the next century, but indicates that the name had already been assumed. In contrast with this summary of the mysteries of error, the Epistle gives us a noble epitome of the Christian faith, in-

troduced by words which have been thought to indicate a passage from a hymn or creed: "And, *as is confessed*, great is the mystery of godliness [or religion]: God was manifested in the flesh; justified by the spirit; seen of angels; preached among the Gentiles; believed on in the world; received up into glory;" and he points to the Church as the pillar and foundation laid on earth for the support of this doctrine.

Another significant link between this and the next age of the Church, as to the growing sharpness of the conflict with error, is seen in the fact that the Apostle, who had written to the Corinthians so tenderly, though firmly, of an arch-offender, now first brands opponents by name; and, though his injunctions to deal firmly with the offence are not plainer than before, he speaks with more severity of the offenders, as men who, "having put away a good conscience, have made shipwreck concerning faith, of whom is *Hymenæus* and *Alexander*, whom I have delivered unto Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme." The Epistle to Titus enjoins the like firmness in dealing with HERETICS, *a word which here first occurs in its common ecclesiastical sense.*

When we pass to the Second Epistle to Timothy, we learn *what* was the precise heresy thus denounced, and now in terms of increased severity. For the "profane and vain babblings" had themselves "increased unto more ungodliness," and their word was beginning "to devour like a cancer: of whom are *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, who concerning the truth have erred, saying that *the resurrection has taken place already.*" The denial of a resurrection of the body was no new error in the Church; but was the natural result of Sadducean corruption. The famous argument of the Apostle seems to imply that in the Church of Corinth it did not go beyond the simple negation—"that there is no resurrection of the dead." But these pretenders to a higher spiritual philosophy than the Gospel held that *it was already accomplished*; no doubt in the sense soon after taught by the Gnostics, that the only Resurrection was the rising of the soul from the death of ignorance to the life and light of knowledge.

Nor is the transition less marked to a more severe denunciation of moral corruption. The chief evil rebuked in the First Epistle is that love of riches which was a natural corruption in the wealthy province of Asia, and which gave occasion to Paul's magnificent homily on their true use. But now he draws a picture of sensual vice, and self-willed rebellion against the first laws of social order, precisely parallel to the description of Peter and Jude. And a comparison of the Epistle to Titus with the First to Timothy proves that this class of

evils had made more rapid progress among the coarser Dorians of Crete, whose character the Apostle describes by a verse of their own pet poet Epimenides—

Κρῆτε ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κατὰ θηρία, γαστερές, ἀργαί,
 “Always liars are the Cretans, evil beasts and natures slow.”

In this Epistle, as in the First to Timothy, Paul sums up the principles opposed to these errors in a formula of truth; which he finally condenses in the Second Epistle to Timothy, into a twofold motto, fit to be inscribed on the two faces of that base on which the Church was reared as the pillar of the truth—the one looking toward heaven, and the other toward earth: “Nevertheless the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal:

“THE LORD KNOWETH THEM THAT ARE HIS. And:

“LET EVERY ONE THAT NAMETH THE NAME OF CHRIST DEPART FROM INIQUITY.”

At what stage of Paul’s journey westward these Epistles were dispatched is altogether uncertain. Mr. Lewin thinks from Corinth, which the Apostle, travelling by way of the Isthmus, would visit on his way to Nicopolis, and where he would be likely to make a considerable stay. The direction of his journey is fixed by his determination to winter at Nicopolis, at least if it is rightly assumed that he means Nicopolis in Epirus; and the importance of his visit to this city may be inferred from his direction to Titus to join him there, with Zenas the lawyer and Apollos, in case he should send for him.

The winter spent by Paul at Nicopolis closed a year A. D. 64–65. marked by great events, which were destined to hasten both his own end and his country’s (A. D. 64). Cestius Gallus became prefect of Syria, and Albinus was succeeded in the procuratorship of Judæa by Gessius Florus, who in less than two years provoked the Jewish war, the portents of which were clearer in the sufferings that grew intolerable on the land, than in the comet that blazed in the sky at the end of the year. Meanwhile a great part of Rome was laid in ruins by the fire that broke out on the anniversary of the burning of the city by the Gauls, and raged nine days. While Nero took possession of a large part of the space thus cleared (as some said, by his own contrivance) for the erection of his immense palace, called the *Golden House*, he satiated the public indignation, to use the words of Tacitus, by “casting the charge of the crime and visiting it with exquisite tortures upon those whom, already hated for their wickedness, the people

called Christians. This name was derived from one CHRISTUS, who was executed in the reign of Tiberius by the procurator of Judæa, Pontius Pilate; and this accursed superstition, for a moment repressed, broke forth again, not only through Judea, the source of the evil, but even through the city, whither all things outrageous and shameful flow together, and find many adherents. Accordingly, those were first arrested who confessed, afterward a vast number upon their information, who were convicted not so much on the charge of causing the fire as for their hatred to the human race. To their execution were added mockeries such as these: they were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts and torn in pieces by dogs, or crucified, or set on fire and burned, when day-light ended, as torches to light up the night. Nero lent his own gardens for the spectacle, and gave a chariot race, at which he mingled freely with the multitude in the garb of a driver, or mounted on his chariot. As the result of all, a feeling of compassion arose for the sufferers, though guilty and deserving of condign punishment, on the ground that they were destroyed, not for the common good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man."

A. D. 65. Mournful as it is to hear the great historian venting upon the Christians the same prejudices that we have seen him uttering against the Jews, it may be that evils such as we have seen Paul rebuking at Ephesus had given a pretext for his charges against some who bore the Christian name. Nor should it be overlooked that his historical testimony to the death of Christ, at the time and manner related in the Gospels, is the more valuable for the very scorn that he shows toward the Christians. It was while these events were taking place at Rome that the Temple at Jerusalem was at length completed, more than eighty years after its commencement by Herod, and only five before its final destruction. The discharge of the workmen employed upon the edifice added to the seething materials of the coming eruption.

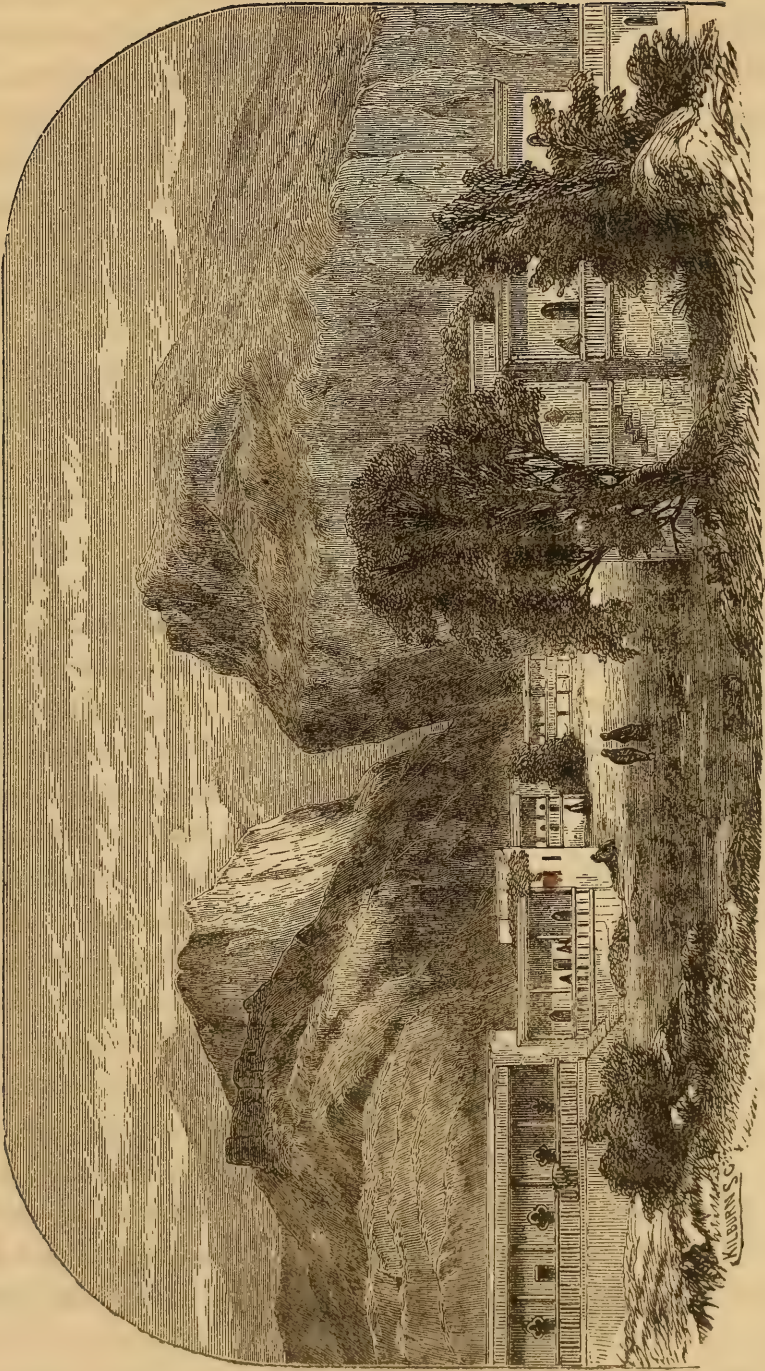
To what extent the cruelties against the Christians at Rome were followed up throughout the empire by what ecclesiastical historians call the *First General Persecution*, is a disputed point; but we have sufficient evidence that now the chief leaders of the Christians became obnoxious to the Roman government. The martyrdoms both of Paul and Peter, whatever their precise date, may certainly be referred to this new hostile movement; and Clement of Rome, an authority almost contemporary, tells us that their fate was shared by "a great multitude of the elect, who, suffering many insults and torments through the envy of their adversaries, left the most glorious example among us."

It is supposed by some that St. Paul was now arrested at Nicopolis, and thence carried a prisoner to Rome; but the allusions in the *Second Epistle to Timothy* seem, as we shall see presently, scarcely consistent with any hypothesis but that of a recent departure from Ephesus, under circumstances of sorrow that had arisen after the date of the Epistle to Titus. Besides, Paul's return to Ephesus is just what we should expect from the intentions expressed in the First Epistle to Timothy. If, then, he returned, was it at such a time as to fulfil his hope of "coming shortly," or the other alternative, "if I tarry long?" and, in the latter case, what was the cause of the delay? and was it connected with the motive that carried him to Nicopolis, a station where his face was once more turned toward the Western division of the Empire?

These questions are connected with that most obscure but deeply interesting problem in the Apostle's life, his alleged journey to the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire, and in particular to SPAIN. We have seen him informing the Church at Rome of such an intention, as one of the motives that impelled him to visit the capital. Now, besides the general argument, previously referred to, that the mere statement of an intention cannot *of itself* be evidence of its fulfilment, we know, in this case, that the plan was not executed *at the time and in the manner* contemplated by the Apostle. That deliberate and steadfast character of his plans, on which he himself lays so much stress, suggests a presumption that he would ultimately execute this design if the opportunity ever came; but, on the other hand, the same presumption *may be* the only basis for the ecclesiastical tradition, which at first sight appears to furnish independent evidence. There is another presumption, but purely negative, from the internal evidence of Scripture, compared with the date of the Apostle's martyrdom. If the latest date of A. D. 67-8 be accepted, we have an interval of four or five years from the end of his first imprisonment to his death, a period which the movements referred to in the Pastoral Epistles are insufficient to fill up. It is inferred that this gap may be supplied by the journey to the West, either before or after the writing of the First Epistle to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus. The former alternative is usually preferred, in order to bring the Pastoral Epistles close together; while the latter suggests a motive for the wintering at Nicopolis. Another indirect argument is found in the greater safety which the Western Provinces, then under the government of distinguished men who chafed under the tyranny of Nero (Galba and Vindex), would afford to the Apostle during the Neronian persecution, while he was prosecuting his cherished purpose of evangelizing those regions.

It remains to see what positive evidence we have for the general belief of antiquity, that Paul visited the West. The first writer quoted in support of the journey to Spain is one whose evidence would indeed be irresistible, if the language in which it is expressed were less obscure. CLEMENT OF ROME, in a hortatory and rather rhetorical passage, refers to St. Paul as an example of patience, and mentions that he preached "both in the East and in the West," and that before his martyrdom he went "to the goal of the West," which may describe either Spain or some more distant country. Another testimony, which mentions less ambiguously a "*profectionem Pauli ab urbe in Spaniam proficiscentis*," is doubtful through the imperfection of the text. Chrysostom says that after Paul had been in Rome, he again departed to Spain; and Jerome speaks of the Apostle as set free by Nero that he might preach the Gospel of Christ "in the parts of the West." It is worthy of notice that all these testimonies make the visit to Spain an *immediate* consequence of the Apostle's liberation. Ewald, who denies the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, and therefore rejects the journeyings in Greece and Asia Minor, yields to the testimony of tradition in favor of the journey to Spain.

Returning from this doubtful ground, we come to the evidence furnished by the *Second Epistle to Timothy* to the last stage of the Apostle's course. The main fact, that he was now a prisoner at Rome, with a certain and immediate prospect of his martyrdom, admits of no doubt to those who receive the Epistle as genuine; nor are indications wanting of the steps that had led him to this his last imprisonment. The allusions to various details, personal as well as public, bear all the impress of what is *recent*. One of these seems to prove that Titus had joined him at Nicopolis, as Paul had wished, and had been sent into the neighboring region of Dalmatia; and we gather from others that the Apostle had recently been at Corinth, at Troas, at Miletus, and at Ephesus, where he had been subjected to the bitter trial of a general desertion on the part of the Asiatic Christians, under two leaders, whose names now first appear—*Phygellus* and *Hermogenes*—but where he had been ministered to by ONESIPHORUS, the same devoted disciple who, regardless of disgrace and danger, had diligently sought him out at Rome. Lastly, those *tears* of Timothy, the tender recollection of which the Apostle carried into his person, not only point—as all agree—to a recent separation, but to such a scene as must have taken place if Timothy saw his father in the faith dragged away from Ephesus as a prisoner; such a scene as had formerly been witnessed at Paul's parting from the Elders of



COLOSSEÆ.

Ephesus, and again at Cæsarea, when he seemed to be advancing to a martyr's death at Jerusalem.

These indications tend to confirm the theory that St. Paul was arrested at Ephesus during the Neronian persecution; a cause to which we may refer the desertion of the Asiatics. Indeed the later treatment of the Apostle by this church is in striking agreement with the remonstrance of St. John, "*Because thou hast left thy first love.*" There remains one indication, which has been generally overlooked, of the very circumstances that led to St. Paul's arrest. The sentence—"Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil: the Lord reward him according to his works!"—has suggested painful feelings to many a reader, which assuredly would not be soothed by the belief that it is the utterance of resentment for the part taken by Alexander in the riot at Ephesus some ten years before! But the passage appears in a very different light in the version of Dr. Howson: "*Alexander the brass-founder charged me with much evil in his declaration; the Lord shall reward him according to his works!*" Whether we suppose the Alexander whom the Jews put forward to make his defence to the Ephesians at the great riot to have been a Jew or a Christian, we are not surprised to meet him again as a Judaizing teacher in the Church; nor that, in revenge for his excommunication, he should have laid an information against Paul during the great Neronian persecution; for in all such proceedings informers were numerous and busy. That Alexander was now at Ephesus seems clear from the charge to Timothy, "Of whom be thou ware also." It is of little consequence to inquire whether the allusions to the Apostle's touching at *Troas*, where he left with Carpus the books and parchments, with the travelling-case, which he desires Timothy to bring with him; at *Miletus*, where he left Trophimus sick; and at *Corinth*, where Erastus stayed behind; whether these refer severally to the journey by which he reached Ephesus, or to his voyage thence to Rome as a prisoner. It seems natural that this voyage should have been by way of Corinth and across the Isthmus, as the shortest route, and its commencement might have been either from Ephesus itself, or from Miletus, or from Troas, as the ship happened to be sailing.

If we are right in referring these allusions to recent events, it will follow that no long interval elapsed from Paul's arrival at Rome to his writing the Epistle. We have one mark of its date in the fact that there was time left, after its transmission to Ephesus, for Timothy to make the journey thence and reach Rome *before winter*, by using

diligence. Meanwhile, accused no longer merely about questions of the law, but as a common malefactor (for so the Christians were regarded in the Neronian Persecution)—with no Julius to recommend and no Burrus to protect him—Paul's state may be inferred from the words, feebly rendered in our version, “wherein I *suffer trouble*, as an *evil-doer* (or felon), even unto bonds”—bonds more like those at Philippi than his former chain at Rome. But even now, as well as then, he could add, “but the word of God is not bound;” and the converts, whose names appear for the first time in this Epistle—Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia—derive a special lustre from their profession being made amid such dangers, and from its contrast to the falling away of older friends. The Apostle seems gratefully to acknowledge that his apparently certain fate had been postponed by God's special providence, expressly to give him new opportunities of proclaiming the Gospel.

In so simple a case as Paul's must now have seemed, there would be no reason to delay his trial, which might seem indeed a mere form, when Rome rang with the cry *Christianos ad leones*. But still the forms of Roman justice gave the innocent some shelter. We may assume that Paul established his right as a Roman citizen to be heard in his own defence; and, as this is called his *first*, it would seem that his case was regulated by Nero's rule, of giving a separate hearing to each count in the indictment. In spite of the virulence of his accusers, probably including Alexander—perhaps even because they overreached themselves—either this count broke down or the hearing was adjourned. The Apostle's own account of the trial is poured out from the fulness of his heart, in terms less calculated to gratify the curious than to impress the devout. “At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me—may it not be reckoned to them! But the Lord stood by me, and strengthened me, that through me the preaching might be accomplished and all the Gentiles might hear: *and I was delivered from the mouth of the lion.*” Is this merely a proverbial expression? Or does it refer to the lions of the amphitheatre? or to the mighty monster, who now well deserved to be described by the same figure which Peter applies to the arch-enemy, and which is often used in Scripture for fierce and malignant foes. The sense of fitness might well make us content with the last interpretation; but that there hangs upon it the other question, whether Paul was heard by Nero in person. If the affirmative be chosen, this first trial must have taken place before Nero's departure for Greece in the spring of A. D. 66, which seems the earliest date that can be assigned to it.

Then comes the question, what interval is to be allowed between this first trial and the Apostle's martyrdom? For this we have no decisive data. While the tone of the Epistle denotes Paul's certain expectation of the issue, his urgency for Timothy to come before winter implies the probability of considerable delay. It must be left undecided whether Nero passed sentence on the Apostle before departing for Greece, or whether Paul received the martyr's crown while that of Olympia was bestowed by flattery on the prince: and whether he was executed with or without another trial.

The interval, whether longer or shorter, exhibits the Apostle to us in one of the most interesting aspects of his life, as "a pattern to them which should hereafter believe on Christ to life everlasting." Deeply feeling, as we have seen, the pain and indignity of his bonds, he was still more deeply tried by a sense of loneliness. Crescens and Titus had been sent on missions to Galatia and Dalmatia; Tychicus was the bearer of the Epistle to Timothy; and, when there remained with him only Luke and Demas, the latter forsook him, "having loved the present world," and departed for Thessalonica. But there was another who had repented of his former desertion; and Paul now desires the ministry of Mark, while he looks to Timothy above all for his remaining comfort upon earth.

There seems to be a deeper meaning than has usually been observed in these repeated and urgent invitations to Timothy. If any one should be tempted to discover an element of selfishness in the willingness of Paul to expose so attached a friend to the dangers of Rome, we will not say merely that the peril was probably equally great at Ephesus—especially from the machinations of Alexander—but that Paul seems to invite Timothy to Rome expressly to confront its dangers. "His own son in the faith" had not only to render the last ministrations to a father, and to receive that father's last counsels; but to see him "finish his course with joy," that he might "arm himself with the like mind." There comes to all a time when the chief work of life is to prepare for death; and it seems most probable that Timothy would not long survive the blow aimed at Paul, or at least that he would be in constant danger of martyrdom from a popular tumult or a new outbreak of persecution. An attentive reader will observe how closely the admonitions to make full proof of his ministry are connected with exhortations to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ; and how the glorious principles which sustained the Apostle in the prospect of martyrdom are stated for the very purpose of fortifying the disciple. "Be not thou ashamed of

the testimony (τὸ μαρτύριον) of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner; but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel, according to the power of God." "If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we suffer, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he also will deny us." Such are the last counsels of the spiritual Father to the son whom he desired to be his follower in all things, even to the martyr's death, that so he might share with him the martyr's crown.

And how these principles sustained the Apostle's own mind, and put the climax to the moral grandeur and spiritual glory of his career, can be told in no words except his own. The contrast is indeed striking between the Epistles written during his former imprisonment and this last letter to Timothy. Then, even while brought face to face with death, and desiring it as gain, he looks back to the world, in which he had yet much to do for Christ; and he feels too that his own spiritual life is not yet perfect:—"Brethren, *I count not myself to have apprehended*; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forward unto those things that are before, *I press toward the mark* for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." But now his work is done; the last tie of service that bound him to the world is severed; the goal to which he had pressed forward is within his reach:—"I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought the good fight, I HAVE FINISHED MY COURSE, I have kept the faith. For the rest, there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day: and not to me only, *but unto all them also that love his appearing*." The last words put the finishing stroke to the Apostle's course: he ends, as he began, "a pattern for them that should hereafter believe on Christ." We may well be content, though our curiosity about the precise time and manner of his departure remain unsatisfied, when we have this last view of him in his own writings:—"The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom: to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

A. D. 66. We have the concurrent testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity, that St. Paul was beheaded at Rome during the Neronian persecution. The earliest allusion to his death is in the same passage of Clemens Romanus which has been quoted as the authority for his journey to the West:—"Having gone to the boundary of the West, and borne witness before the governors, he was

thus released from the world.” The next authorities are those quoted in the “Ecclesiastical History” of Eusebius, the contemporary of Constantine the Great;—Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (A. D. 180), says that Peter and Paul went to Italy, and taught there together, and suffered martyrdom about the same time:—Caius, a learned presbyter of Rome, supposed to be writing within the 2d century, names the grave of St. Peter on the Vatican, and that of St. Paul on the road to Ostia. Eusebius himself entirely adopts the tradition that St. Paul was beheaded under Nero at Rome. The next testimony in importance is that of Tertullian (early in the 3d century), who says that at Rome “Peter was conformed to the passion of the Lord; Paul was crowned with the death of John the Baptist.” The Martyrdom of the Apostles Peter and Paul, under Nero at Rome, is mentioned in the “Chronicle” of Eusebius, which is the earliest authority for the date. The twofold event is placed under the year 2083 from the birth of Abraham, Olymp. 2114, and the 13th year of Nero, data which, though not free from difficulties of interpretation, point to A. D. 67. Jerome (about A. D. 480) places the event in the 14th of Nero; but he probably means the 13th, being misled by an error in the “Chronicle,” which he translated: he also specifies the mode and place of St. Paul’s death and burial. The anonymous author of the “Martyrdom of St. Paul” states that he was beheaded under Nero, on June 29th, in the 36th year from the Passion of the Saviour, 330 years before the time at which he himself wrote, which was in the 4th consulship of Honorius and the 3d consulship of Arcadius, A. D. 396, which would bring us to A. D. 66; and this agrees with Epiphanius, who places it in the 12th of Nero. The choice seems to lie between 66 and 67: Mr. Lewin adopts the former. The mode of St. Paul’s death, by simple beheading (without scourging), which was the military form of execution at this time, was doubtless the last privilege of his citizenship. Like his Master, he suffered “without the gate,” on the busy road leading to the port of Ostia; probably under the shadow of the sepulchral pyramid of Caius Cestius, which now overhangs the Protestant cemetery.

We have no very trustworthy sources of information as to the personal appearance of St. Paul. Those which we have are referred to and quoted in Conybeare and Howson. They are the early pictures and mosaics described by Mrs. Jameson, and passages from Malalas, Nicephorus, and the apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*. They all agree in ascribing to the Apostle a short stature, a long face with high forehead, aquiline nose, close and prominent eyebrows.

Other characteristics mentioned are baldness, grey eyes, a clear complexion, and a winning expression. Of his temperament and character St. Paul is himself the best painter. His speeches and letters convey to us, as we read them, the truest impressions of those qualities which helped to make him the The Great Apostle. We perceive the warmth and ardor of his nature, his deeply affectionate disposition, the tenderness of his sense of honor, the courtesy and personal dignity of his bearing, his perfect fearlessness, his heroic endurance; we perceive the rare combination of subtlety, tenacity, and versatility in his intellect; we perceive also a practical wisdom which we should have associated with a cooler temperament, and a tolerance which is seldom united with such impetuous convictions. And the principle which harmonized all these endowments and directed them to a practical end was, beyond dispute, a knowledge of Jesus Christ in the Divine Spirit. Personal allegiance to Christ as to a living Master, with a growing insight into the relation of Christ to each man and to the world, carried the Apostle forward on a straight course through every vicissitude of personal fortunes and amid the various habits of thought which he had to encounter. The conviction that he had been entrusted with a Gospel concerning a Lord and Deliverer of men was what sustained him and purified his love for his own people, while it created in him such a love for mankind that he only knew himself as a servant of others for Christ's sake.

It would also be beyond the scope of this book to attempt to exhibit the traces of St. Paul's Apostolic work in the history of the Church. But there is one indication, so exceptional as to deserve special mention, which shows that the difficulty of understanding the Gospel of St. Paul, and of reconciling it with a true Judaism, was very early felt. This is in the apocryphal work called the "Clementines" (*τὰ Κλημέντια*), supposed to be written before the end of the 2d century. These curious compositions contain direct assaults (for though the name is not given, the references are plain and undisguised) upon the authority and the character of St. Paul. St. Peter is represented as the true Apostle of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, and St. Paul is ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος, who opposes St. Peter and St. James. The portions of the "Clementines" which illustrate the writer's view of St. Paul will be found in Stanley's "Corinthians;" and an account of the whole work, with references to the treatises of Schliemann and Baur, in Gieseler.

In direct contradiction to these malicious figments, the latest evidence of Scripture and the testimony of the early Church exhibit the

two chief Apostles as true fellow-laborers in the work for their common Lord, and "in their death not divided." Their harmonious working had been thoroughly established by the celebrated agreement made at Jerusalem, that the one should go to the Jews and the other to the Gentiles; nor was it interrupted even by that painful collision at Antioch, when Peter submitted to Paul's reproof for his weak compliance with the Judaizers. From that time to his death, all that we learn of St. Peter in the New Testament is the little that can be inferred from his own Epistles. Indeed the consecutive history of his part in the foundation of Christianity ceases with his miraculous deliverance from the prison where he lay condemned to death by Herod Agrippa.

The special work assigned to him by the symbol of the *keys* was now completed. He had founded the Church, *opened the gates* to Jews and Gentiles, and distinctly laid down the conditions of admission. Almost direct from his prison door he left Jerusalem, but we are not told whither he went: certainly not to Rome, where there are no traces of his presence before the last years of his life. He probably remained in Judæa, visiting and confirming the Churches: some old but not trustworthy traditions represent him as preaching in Cæsarea and other cities on the western coast of Palestine. He makes one more appearance in the Acts at the "Council of Jerusalem," where he took the lead in the discussion, urging the great principle, established by the case of Cornelius, that purifying faith and saving grace remove all distinction between believers. His arguments, adopted and enforced by James, decided that question at once and forever. But he exercised, on this occasion, none of the powers which Romanists hold to be inalienably attached to the chair of St. Peter. He did not preside at the meeting, he neither summoned nor dismissed it; he neither collected the suffrages nor pronounced the decision. He retained that personal but unofficial priority which had been assigned to him by Christ; but the government of the Church of Jerusalem was in the hands of James.

The silence of the Scripture narrative concerning Peter, from this point onward, is a direct consequence of the plan of the Acts of the Apostles. As each step in the spread of the Gospel is completed, the agent—Peter, John, or Philip—recedes from view, just as Paul himself does after his last testimony to the Jews at Rome. The two great movements by which Christianity was launched among the Jews and the Gentiles being fairly started, the detailed progress of the work is not pursued, and hence it follows that the acts of the

other Apostles find no place in the history. Peter was probably employed, for the most part, in building up and completing the organization of the Churches in Palestine and the adjoining districts. Beyond these limits, his name is associated by ecclesiastical tradition with the Churches of Corinth, Antioch, and Rome, but with no others. The evidence of his having been at Corinth between St. Paul's first labors there and the writing of the First Epistle to the Corinthians is very strong; but the reference to parties who claimed Peter, Apollos, Paul, and even Christ, as their chiefs, involves no opposition between the Apostles themselves, such as the fabulous Clementines and modern infidelity assume.

Next comes the evidence furnished by the *First Epistle* A. D. 65? of Peter, which is addressed "to the elect sojourners of the Dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," that is, the whole of Asia Minor, except some of the central parts, and the sea-board south of the Taurus. Whether Peter himself actually visited these countries is very doubtful, from the absence of any personal reminiscences and salutations in the Epistle. But there is one word which fixes the place from which the Epistle was written, if at least we take that word in its literal significance:—"The Church that is at BABYLON, elected together with you, saluteth you." If we suppose that Peter was visiting his Jewish brethren of the Eastern Dispersion, there is no place which he would be more likely to make the goal and headquarters of such a tour. Babylon was at that time, and for some hundreds of years afterward, a chief seat of Jewish culture. Under the tolerant rule of the Parthians, the Jewish families there formed a separate and wealthy community; and thence they had spread to many of the districts of Asia Minor to which the Epistle was addressed. Their intercourse with Judæa was uninterrupted; and their language, probably a mixture of Hebrew and Nabatean, must have borne a near affinity to the Galilean dialect. Christianity certainly made considerable progress at an early time in that and the adjoining districts; and the prevailing *Petrine* tone of the great Christian schools at Edessa and Nisibis is supposed by some to indicate the Apostle as their founder.

But a more important indication than that of place is found in the names of the *persons* who were with Peter when he wrote this Epistle, *Silvanus* and *Mark*. The close connection of both with Paul furnishes evidence of intercourse between the two Apostles, though severed by the distance between the capitals of the Eastern and Western world. Of SILVANUS we have lost sight, since we saw him

as the companion of St. Paul's second missionary journey; and there is nothing to show how he came to be in Peter's company. The case of MARK is clearer; for he was with Paul in his first imprisonment at Rome, and he was then contemplating a journey to Asia Minor. This intention was no doubt fulfilled, since we find him afterward with Timothy at Ephesus. The interval is just the time at which all indications concur to place Peter's First Epistle, and consequently Mark's companionship with him; and the inference is highly probable, that Mark was the bearer of communications from Paul to Peter. The hypothesis that Silvanus also had been sent by Paul from Rome to visit the Asiatic churches, of which he had been the joint founder, and so had gone on to join Peter at Babylon, seems inconsistent with the absence of his name from the Acts and the Pauline Epistles subsequent to the second circuit. Others think that he visited the Asiatic churches in his character as one of the leaders of the Church of Jerusalem, and then joined Peter at Babylon.

Be this as it may, the fact is deeply significant, that, when Peter wrote this Epistle to the Hebrew Christians of the Eastern Dispersion, two of Paul's companions were his intimate associates, and one of them the bearer of the Epistle which its writer intended as a manifesto of the true doctrine of the grace of God. "By Silvanus, a faithful brother unto you, as I account him, I have written briefly, exhorting and testifying that *this is the true grace of God* wherein ye stand." This distinctly Pauline phrase sums up what has been called the Pauline element running throughout the whole Epistle; and, though the epithet jars upon the ear—as if it could be supposed that the Apostles taught different versions of the one Gospel—the Epistle may well be designated as *Peter's testimony to the truth of the Gospel taught by Paul*.

This object, which Peter distinctly affirms in the Second Epistle, may be traced as clearly in the First as if Paul had been named in both; and it is a glorious exhibition of the unity of Christian doctrine that, while the Apostle of the Gentiles is doing battle with the Judaizers, the Apostle of the Jews cuts them off from their favorite appeal from Paul to his superior authority. This character is plainly seen both in the general teaching of the Epistle and in particular points of style and phraseology. Sometimes, indeed, we might fancy the positions of the two Apostles interchanged. The Apostle of the circumcision says not a word of the perpetual obligation, the dignity, or even the bearings, of the Mosaic Law. There are, in fact, more traces of what may, in one sense, be called Judaizing views, more of

sympathy with national hopes, not to say prejudices, in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, than in this of Peter. This is a point of great importance, as showing how utterly opposed was the teaching of the original Apostles, whom St. Peter certainly represents, to that Judaistic narrowness which speculative rationalism has imputed to all the early followers of Christ, with the exception of St. Paul.

The resemblances of style and expression present a curious problem, to which Peter himself has given us the key. "Even as our beloved brother Paul, *according to the wisdom given unto him* hath written unto you; as also *in all his Epistles*, speaking in them of these things; in which are *some things hard to be understood*, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, *as also the other Scriptures*, unto their own destruction." This celebrated passage, the very key-stone of apostolic evidence to the divine authority of *all* St. Paul's Epistles, and by inference of *the other Scriptures* of the New Testament as well as of the Old—gives at the same time the clearest exhibition of an Apostle applying his ordinary human intelligence to the study of those Scriptures. The "unlettered layman" of Galilee, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, admired deeply the *wisdom* granted to Paul, while, by the spiritual discernment given to himself, he grappled with the difficulties of his arguments. But we may be sure that this was not accomplished, even by Peter, without that careful *reading*, "whereby," Paul himself had written, "ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ." What a suggestive picture: *Peter perusing Paul's Epistles!* Such an attentive study, perused with an anxiety to clear up the doubts at which the unlearned and unstable might stumble, could not but leave its mark on Peter's style.

Nor can we think that he would despise the aid of Paul's companion, the Hellenist Silvanus, whose name was joined with Paul's in the superscription of some of these very Epistles, and in the declaration of the Gospel taught by the Apostle. The mere words "by Silvanus I have written to you," refer, according to usage, to the bearer rather than the writer or amanuensis of the Epistle; but they may include the latter meaning. At all events, it is highly probable that Silvanus, considering his rank, character, and special connection with those churches, and with their great Apostle and founder, would be consulted by St. Peter throughout, and that they would read together the Epistles of St. Paul, especially those to the Asiatic churches. Thus a Pauline coloring may have been introduced into the Epistle partly unconsciously, but in some passages amounting to a studied imitation of St. Paul's representations of Christian truth. The early

writers inform us that Peter employed interpreters; nor is there anything inconsistent with his position and character in the supposition that Silvanus, perhaps also Mark, may have assisted him in giving expression to the thoughts suggested to him by the Holy Spirit. We have thus, at any rate, a not unsatisfactory solution of the difficulty arising from correspondences, both of style and modes of thought, in the writings of two Apostles who differed so widely in gifts and acquirements. For the rest, the objects of the Epistle are, to comfort and strengthen the Christians in a season of severe trial; to enforce the practical and spiritual duties involved in their calling; and to warn them against the special temptations attached to their position.

The whole tone of St. Peter's First Epistle is that of a man advanced in life and approaching the end of his career. Thus far, then, we have no evidence in the New Testament to connect the Apostle in any way with Rome; but we have, on the other hand, strong negative evidence in the absence of any allusion to St. Peter in the Epistle to the Romans. Whence, then, arose that tradition of St. Peter's episcopate at Rome, on which the Papacy—parodying our Lord's great prophecy of the Rock—has founded the claims that long transformed European Christianity into a system of worldly power and ambition? The only positive evidence worth notice is a statement of Eusebius, so obviously erroneous as to be void of all authority. He makes St. Peter visit Rome in A. D. 42, and remain there twenty years. Now it can be shown that the date rests on a miscalculation; and the duration of the visit is altogether inconsistent with the notices in the Acts of Peter's presence at Jerusalem and Antioch.

We might almost say that the sole color of probability
 A. D. 66 or 67. has been given to the Romish assumption by the uneasy anxiety of some Protestants to reject the one fact that is supported by a mass of evidence, the martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome about the same time as St. Paul. That Peter was appointed, by a higher will than that of Nero, to suffer death by crucifixion, is the unquestioned meaning of our Lord's celebrated prophecy. Clement of Rome attests his martyrdom in a general connection with that of Paul. A more detailed testimony, of very high antiquity, is that of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (A. D. 180), that "Nero, the first who signally proclaimed himself an antagonist to God, was excited to the slaughter of the Apostles. They relate, then, that Paul was beheaded at Rome itself, and that Peter was likewise crucified." Eusebius himself says elsewhere that "Peter was crucified at Rome, head downward, and Paul was beheaded." The presbyter Caius (about A. D.

200) speaks of St. Peter's tomb on the Vatican; and we might add the testimonies of Origen, Tertullian, and, in a word, the universal consent of the early Fathers. As to the date, the oldest authorities merely say that the two Apostles suffered *about the same time*, and under Nero. The chronologists, as we have seen, fix their martyrdom to *the same year*, varying between the 12th, 13th, and 14th of Nero, that is between October 13, A. D. 65, and June 9, A. D. 68. Jerome places both *on the same day*, which tradition makes the 29th of June. We can easily understand the desire to associate the two great Apostles as closely as possible in prison and in death; but such a connection seems to be excluded by the negative evidence of the Second Epistle to Timothy; though, otherwise, we might gladly trace it in Peter's last allusion to "our beloved brother Paul."

There remains one point of considerable importance. Though, as we have seen, it is impossible to believe that Peter could have been at Rome till the last year or two of his life, the best authorities represent his martyrdom as preceded by a period of labor in Italy. Thus Ignatius, one of the Apostolic Fathers, in his undoubtedly genuine Epistle to the Romans, speaks of St. Peter in terms which imply a special connection with their Church. Dionysius of Corinth, in the passage quoted above, is accounting for the intimate relations between the Churches of Corinth and Rome by the fact, which everybody knew, that Peter and Paul both taught in Italy. Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who was a hearer of St. John, bears distinct witness to St. Peter's presence at Rome; and from the eminent position that he held in the West, as bishop of Lyon, as well as his constant intercourse with the East, he can hardly have been misinformed. In short, the churches most nearly connected with that of Rome, and those least affected by its influence, which was as yet but inconsiderable in the East, concur in the statement that Peter was a joint founder of that Church and suffered death in that city.

But just in proportion to their belief in this fact, is the weight of their implicit denial of the assumption that Peter was the sole founder or resident head of that Church, or that the see of Rome derived from him any claim to supremacy. At the utmost, they place him on a footing of equality with St. Paul. The figment of Peter's supremacy over the other Apostles, as the Rock on which the Church is built, resolves itself into the metaphor from his name which Romanists are never weary of misquoting; but we need go no further than Peter's own beautiful development of the figure—which he amplifies as if conscious that his distinctive name bound him to bear testimony to

the Chief Corner Stone—for a confirmation of the great truth proclaimed by Paul:—“*Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is JESUS CHRIST.*”

The “wise master-builders,” who placed the first “living stones” upon that “Rock of Ages”—like the massive substructions laid by Solomon upon the Rock of Zion—are now vanishing from the scene of their labors, at the very time when the newly-finished Temple—the type of that spiritual edifice—awaits its destruction from the Roman armies. The greater number of the Apostles have early disappeared to the uncertain scenes of their evangelic labors. Of those who fill a prominent place in the Scripture history, JAMES, the son of Zebedee, has long since died by the sword of Herod, and JAMES, the brother of our Lord, has lately fallen by the tumultuous judgment of the Sanhedrim. JUDE’s voice alone is heard, concurring with Peter’s in denouncing the corruptions of the last times. During the years included within the range of doubt concerning the martyrdom of Paul and Peter (A. D. 66–68) the final revolt of the Jews has broken out; and an exterminating war only awaits its end in the destruction of the Temple. The death of the arch-persecutor suspends for two years the catastrophe by which the visible house of God is to make way for the spiritual edifice, which is now sufficiently completed to take its place. In that solemn interval some modern critics of high repute place the last inspired voice which was to complete the testimony of the Apostles and the canon of the Scriptures, and make the end of the work of St. Peter and St. Paul followed at once by the special work of St. JOHN.

“It was not till the removal of the first and the second Apostle from the scene of their earthly labors, that there burst upon the whole civilized world that awful train of calamities, which, breaking as it did on Italy, on Asia Minor, and on Palestine, almost simultaneously, though under the most different forms, was regarded alike by Roman, Christian and Jew, as the manifestation of the visible judgment of God. It was now, if we may trust the testimony alike of internal and external proof—in the interval between the death of Nero and the fall of Jerusalem—when the roll of apostolical Epistles seemed to have been finally closed, when every other inspired tongue had been hushed in the grave—that there rose from the lonely rock of Patmos that solemn voice which mingled with the storm that raged around it, as the dirge of an expiring world; that under the “red and lowering sky,” which had at last made itself understood to the sense of the dullest, there rose that awful vision of coming destiny, which has received the expressive name of the *Revelation of St. John the Divine.*”

Captivating, however, as is this view of the Apocalypse, the weight of external testimony, which places the banishment of St. John to Patmos under Domitian, makes it more than doubtful whether we can adopt the symmetrical arrangement which would close the New Testament history with the fall of Jerusalem. But, though we may be compelled to place the great work of St. John, in his writings, after that event—as looking far forward into the future of the Christian Church—we may none the less regard the destruction of Jerusalem as the epoch at which Christianity emerged from its initiatory stage, with a Church completely organized, and numbering converts through the whole Roman Empire, and even beyond its borders to the East, to replace Judaism as the witness for the one true God.

As the prophecy of that catastrophe finished the public testimony of Christ himself, so did its fulfilment set the seal to the work of his Apostles. The events themselves were not a more striking confirmation of the divine truth which had predicted them, than was the change that they effected the fulfilment of the divine plan of establishing a Church on earth; nay, more, the anticipatory figure of the consummation of all God's dealings with his people in this world. This manifold aspect may be seen throughout that last and greatest of our Lord's prophecies; as indeed it is suggested by the very form of the question that called forth the discourse: "Tell us, *when shall these things be*" (that is, the time when "there shall not be left here one stone upon another which shall not be thrown down"), "and what shall be the sign of *thy coming* and of the *end of the world?*" They who put the question were so far from having a clear notion of the different epochs it embraced, that they were probably thinking of one and the same event; nor was it our Lord's purpose to give them an explanation of those "times and seasons" which he emphatically declares that "no man knoweth, no, not the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but my Father only." It is no wonder, then, that a difficulty is still found in determining what parts of the discourse refer to the impending catastrophe of Jerusalem, and what to the final catastrophe of the world; for, in truth, both subjects run through the discourse, in the relation of type and antitype. As the destruction of the Jewish polity and worship was, in reference to the past, the great climax of temporal judgment on those who had rejected God's ancient covenants, so, in relation to the future, it forms the great type of the last judgment. Each of God's three dispensations toward the disobedient is closed by a catastrophe, and all three are included in our Lord's discourse: the reckless security of those who perished in the flood being a pattern of

the folly both of the Jews and of the finally impenitent. The first of these was co-extensive with the race, which was placed, as a whole, under the patriarchal dispensation. The second closes the probation of the nation, who were chosen for the next experiment of the legal dispensation, with "great distress and wrath *upon this people*"—"tribulation such as was not since the beginning of the world: no, nor ever shall be." But that which gives tenfold force to the judgment, and forms the chief feature of its typical significance, is its relation to the advent and work of Christ himself. This is not only the key to the final prophecy, but Jesus had before intimated the same truth to the Pharisees who had asked him, "*When the kingdom of God should come,*" and he told them that "first, he must suffer many things, and be rejected of *this generation.*" So likewise he declares to his disciples, "This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled." It was fit that the generation which, while confessing themselves the children of those who killed the prophets, filled up the measure of their fathers, and brought upon themselves—by word as well as deed—all the blood of all the martyrs in the one crime of slaying Christ, should be the generation in whose time were "the days of vengeance, that *all things which were written might be fulfilled:*"—all the warnings of Moses and Joshua and all the prophets, all the ruin which Solomon, in the very act of dedicating the Temple, had prayed God to avert.

But, so far from this being a limitation of the *whole discourse* to that time, it furnishes the very key to its typical character; for the temporal fate of those who rejected the grace which crowned the ancient covenant is the very image of the final doom of those who refuse God's last offer of mercy, and for whom there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins. From this point of view, we may discern the full sense of those phrases which form the key-note of the whole prophecy—the *coming of the Son of Man*—the *sign of the Son of Man*, coming with power and great glory—the *Son of Man in his day*—when the *Son of Man is revealed*—the *kingdom of God*, already *within* (or *among*) them—which had come, in its beginning *without observation*, but which, when all the antecedent signs shall be accomplished,—then, and not till then, should suddenly be revealed, "as the lightning, that lighteneth out of the one part under heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven."

In one sense, indeed, the anointed KING could not but come *in his kingdom*. The herald of his advent proclaimed that kingdom as at hand; and he himself preached the Gospel of the Kingdom. His ministry was closed by his coming into the City and Temple amid

Hosannas to the royal Son of David; the inscription on his cross confirmed the title which the Jews gave in the very act of disowning him; and, as the King of Glory, he burst the bands of death and entered the everlasting gates. But, in ascending to his throne, he left his kingdom upon earth to his chosen ministers, not only to bring the nations into subjection to him, but to convict the unbelieving Jews of having rejected their King:—"This Gospel of the kingdom must first be preached in all the world *for a witness* unto all nations; *and then shall the end come:*" the *end*, first of that inauguration of his kingdom, which was openly displayed when they who had rejected their King were rooted out from the place given to them by God; and when the seat of David's throne and of Solomon's sanctuary was abolished, to make way for that which prophecy had declared should at once and forever replace them, the kingdom that is not of this world, the sanctuary—neither on Zion, nor on any other mountain—where "the true worshippers worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

Such is the general sense in which the destruction of Jerusalem completes the *First Advent* of Christ; and his own prophecy indicates with wonderful minuteness the signs by which his people were to see his coming, and to be warned against the false prophets and false Christs whose pretensions were among those very signs. First come "wars, commotions, rumors of wars; nation set against nation, and kingdom against kingdom:"—and the whole East was in a ferment, and Judæa in open insurrection, while the armies of Spain and Gaul and Germany, Illyricum and Syria, converged upon Italy, to decide who should succeed to Nero's purple. The throes of inanimate nature seemed to sympathize with the travail of the world:—and the histories of the age are full of "famines, pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places." "Fearful sights and great signs from heaven" appeared to mark the very spot at which the great judgment was to descend:—a comet shaped like a scimitar hung over the devoted city during the whole year before the war. Other portents are recorded, in the very exaggeration of which we trace how "men's hearts failed them for fear, and for looking after those things which were coming on the earth:"—an agitation which found a voice for several successive years in the monotonous cry of the fanatic, Jesus the son of Ananus, "Woe! woe to Jerusalem! Woe! woe to the city and to the Temple." "All these were the *beginning of sorrows.*" Meanwhile the persecution of the Christians was to confirm their testimony for Christ, and to sever them from the fate of the ungodly nation, while they waited to see it, "possessing their souls in patience,"

though not without danger to the steadfastness of many, all the spread of the Gospel through the known world should give the signal for the catastrophe. The new house of God was to be built before the old one was taken down.

The particular incidents, by which the disciples were to know the coming of the judgment, are next described with a minuteness which makes the prophecy the counterpart of the history of the siege. Before the foundations of the second Temple were laid, the prophet Daniel had predicted its desolation by the overspreading (or siege) of *abominations*, as an event following the cutting off of the Messiah. That word *abomination* had a definite sense to a Jewish ear, denoting the objects of heathen worship; and their fathers had received warning of what were the very abominations by which the Holy City was to be laid desolate, when Pompey carried the standards consecrated to the heathen gods into the sanctuary of Jehovah. And now Christ warns his disciples that when they should see the same *abomination* "standing where it ought not"—"in the holy place"—then they would "know that the *desolation* thereof is nigh:" and they must seek safety in a flight, the hurry, the danger, the distress of which he describes by the most striking images. The warning, neglected by the Jews, was heeded by the Christians. When they saw the standards—first of Cestius, and afterward of Vespasian—pitched upon the hill of Scopus, they recognized the sign, and, availing themselves of the respite caused by the news of Nero's death and the contest of the Empire, they obeyed their Lord's injunction to "flee unto the mountains." The Christians retired in a body to Pella, beyond the Jordan, which became the seat of the Church of Jerusalem, till Hadrian permitted them to return to the restored city. Their withdrawal was the extinction of the last element of spiritual life in the city; and the dead forms of Judaism were now only fit to be swept from the face of the earth in the manner which Christ had predicted before as well as now; when, in answer to the question, *Where* these judgments should fall, he replied, "Wheresoever the *carcase* is, thither will the *eagles* be gathered together."

The gathering horrors of the most terrible siege that, perhaps, the whole history of the world records, are described by our Lord in language not less impressive than the reality recorded by Josephus; and, besides this prophecy, we have another which traces each step with startling minuteness:—"For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall *cast a trench about thee*, and *compass thee around*, and *keep thee in on every side*, and shall *lay thee even with the ground*,

and *thy children within thee*; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." While Titus was completing his preparations at Cæsarea, almost the whole Jewish population left in the desolated country districts flocked to Jerusalem, to keep the Passover of A. D. 70, just one generation after that Passover at which they had refused their day of visitation and cut off the Messiah. Her children were still within her when, after an attempt to storm the city, the siege was converted into a blockade, and the fugitives, who fled from the unutterable horrors of famine and faction within the walls, perished between the lines, or were crucified in attitudes of cruel mockery to deter imitators.

A. D. 70. In another chapter we shall relate the progress of the siege; the destruction of the Temple, in defiance of the most sacred instincts of Roman discipline; the razing of the city to its foundations: but we may refer here to the testimony borne by the very agent of all these horrors to the presence of a higher power than his own. Titus exhausted every resource of terror and conciliation to avert the ruin of the city and the profanation of the sanctuary. As his horse's hoofs trampled on the putrefying corpses that were thrown over from the walls, he lifted up his hands, and called the God of heaven to witness that this was not his work. When the tower of Antonia was razed, and his engines were brought up against the Temple, he first pleaded through Josephus, and afterward appeared in person at the gates, to expostulate with the zealots against bringing arms and blood into the courts where even a stranger's presence was profanation. "I call on your gods—I call on my whole army—I call on the Jews who are with me—I call on yourselves—to witness, that I do not force you to this crime. Come forth, and fight in any other place, and no Roman shall violate your sacred edifice." The rejection of this appeal, in reliance on the Messiah's appearance at the last moment to save his house, illustrates another feature of our Lord's prophecy. And when at last Titus was an eye-witness to the passive resistance of the massive stones against his mandate of destruction, he is reported to have exclaimed:—"God has been my helper! God it was that pulled down the Jews from those formidable walls; for what could the hands of men or their engines have availed against them?" The figures of the sacred furniture of the Temple, carved on the Arch of Titus at Rome, and the medals of Vespasian with the legend JUDÆA CAPTA, are the perpetual memorials of the utter removal of the ancient sanctuary; but not that heathenism might claim the conquest. The voice of our Lord had re-echoed the prophecy of Daniel,

that "Jerusalem should be trodden down of the Gentiles, *till the times of the Gentiles should be fulfilled*;" and God's providence had already given warning of the fate of heathenism in the burning of the Capitol eight months before the destruction of the Temple. The lesson is well pointed by the historian of the Roman Empire:—"Palestine was the cradle of the Gospel: the Jews the people first divinely appointed to expound it. The destruction—never to be repaired—of their material Temple *cut the cords which bound the new faith to its local habitation*, and launched it, under the hand of Providence, on its career of spiritual conquest; while the boasted restoration of the Capitol was a vain attempt to retain hold of the past, to revive the lost or perishing, to re-attach to new conditions of thought an outworn creed of antiquity."

Thus it is that the destruction of Jerusalem may well be called *the coming of the Son of Man*, not only in just judgment upon those who had rejected him; not only as a sovereign visits with desolation a rebellious province that has refused all offers of mercy; but as the completion of the first great step in the establishment of his kingdom upon earth. And since this is the most momentous revolutionary epoch in the religious history of the world, that ever was or that ever shall be, it is fitly made, in the rest of the discourse, the type of the "coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory," to destroy all that is earthly and corrupt in the Church and world, to "gather his elect from the four winds of heaven," to judge the quick and the dead, and to establish his everlasting kingdom.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SUPPLEMENTAL HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

[A. D. 70 and onwards.]

THE epoch of the destruction of Jerusalem, at which the Son of Man visited as a judge the city that had rejected its King, and inaugurated that spiritual kingdom upon earth which had now been established in churches gathered from every nation of the civilized world—that epoch does not close the New Testament History. One Apostle, of those whose names are prominent in the foundation of the Church, not only remained upon the earth to fulfil his work, but the more special part of that work—according to the views generally held of the date of his writings—may be said to have been but just beginning. It was not till the foundation of Christianity was historically complete, that the Apostle JOHN was divinely commissioned to utter prophecies of its future course, and to develop in his Epistles and Gospel those doctrinal aspects of our Lord's teaching which were needed to correct the heresies now rapidly taking their rise. As John the Baptist proclaimed the advent of Christ by the preaching of repentance to a degenerate people, so did John the Apostle recall churches that had already forsaken their first love and declined into heresy and vice, to prepare for his second coming.

The prominent place filled by ST. JOHN in the Gospel history, as one of the four disciples who formed the innermost circle of our Lord's friends—the ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι—and the high distinction of being "the disciple whom Jesus loved," might raise our surprise at reading so little of him in the Acts, did we not reflect that his special work is to be sought for in his writings. The portion of his life which stands out in the broad daylight of the Gospels is preceded and followed by periods over which there brood the shadows of darkness and uncertainty. In the former, we discern only a few isolated facts, and are left to inference and conjecture to bring them together into something like a whole. In the latter we encounter, it is true, images more distinct, pictures more vivid; but with these there is the doubt whether

the distinctness and vividness are not misleading—whether half-traditional, half-mythical narrative has not taken the place of history.

In most passages of the Gospels, John is named in connection with his brother James; and from the prevailing order it is inferred that he was the younger. Their father was Zebedee, their mother Salome, whom tradition makes the daughter of Joseph by his first wife, and consequently the half-sister to our Lord. They were brought up at Bethsaida, on the lake of Galilee, the town of that other pair of brothers—the sons of Jonas—who were to share with them the Lord's closest intimacy, and with whom we find them partners in their occupation of fishermen. The mention of the "hired servants," of Salome's "substance," of John's "own house," implies a position removed by at least some steps from absolute poverty. The fact that John was known to the high-priest Caiaphas—as that acquaintance was hardly likely to be formed with a disciple of Christ—suggests the probability of some early intimacy between the two families. Of Zebedee we know nothing beyond his interposing no refusal when his sons were called to leave him; and his disappearance from the Gospel narrative leads to the inference that his death set Salome free to join her children in ministering to the Lord. Her character presents to us the same great features that were conspicuous in her son. From her—who followed Jesus and ministered to him of her substance, who sought for her two sons that they might sit, one on his right hand, the other on his left, in his kingdom—he might well derive his strong affections, his capacity for giving and receiving love, his eagerness for the speedy manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom.

The early years of the Apostle were passed under this influence. He would be trained in all that constituted the ordinary education of Jewish boyhood. Though not taught in the schools of Jerusalem, and therefore, in later life liable to the reproach of having no recognized position as a teacher, no Rabbinical education, he would yet be taught to read the Law and observe its precepts, to feed on the writings of the Prophets with the feeling that their accomplishment was not far off. For him too, as bound by the law, there would be, at the age of thirteen, the periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He would become familiar with the stately worship of the Temple, with the sacrifice, the incense, the altar, and the priestly robes. May we not conjecture that then the impressions were first made which never afterward wore off? Assuming that there is some harmony between the previous training of a prophet and the form of the visions presented to him, may we not recognize them in the rich liturgical imagery of the Apocalypse—in

that union in one wonderful vision of all that was most wonderful and glorious in the prediction of the older prophets?

Concurrently with this there would be also the boy's outward life as sharing in his father's work. The great political changes which agitated the whole of Palestine would in some degree make themselves felt even in the village town in which he grew up. The Galilean fisherman must have heard, possibly with some sympathy, of the efforts made (when he was too young to join in them) by Judas of Gamala, as the great asserter of the freedom of Israel against their Roman rulers. Like other Jews, he would grow up with strong and bitter feeling against the neighboring Samaritans. Lastly, before we pass into a period of greater certainty, we must not forget to take into account that to this period of his life belongs the commencement of that intimate fellowship with Simon Bar-jonah of which we afterward find so many proofs. That friendship may even then have been, in countless ways, fruitful for good upon the hearts of both.

We have already seen, in the history of our Saviour's life, that John was probably one of the two disciples of John the Baptist (the other being Andrew) who were the first to obey their Master's direction to the "Lamb of God," and we have traced the chief incidents in his course as the disciple of Jesus Christ. Of the four who enjoyed their Lord's especial intimacy, while Peter appears as the leader of the apostolic band, to John belongs the higher distinction of being "the disciple whom Jesus loved;" and this love is returned with a more single undivided heart by him than by any other. If Peter is the φιλόχριστος, John is the φιλησοῦς. Some striking facts indicate why this was so,—what was the character thus worthy of the love of Jesus of Nazareth. They hardly sustain the popular notion, which is fostered by the received types of Christian art, of a nature gentle, yielding, effeminate. The name *Boanerges* implies a vehemence, zeal, intensity, which gave to those who bore it the might of *Sons of Thunder*. That spirit broke out once and again,—when they joined their mother in asking for the highest places in the kingdom of their Master, and declared that they were able to drink of the cup that he drank, and to be baptized with the baptism that he was baptized with,—when they rebuked one who cast out devils in their Lord's name, because he was not of their company,—when they sought to call down fire from heaven upon a village of the Samaritans.

This energy added to the love of him who reclined at the Last Supper with his head upon his Master's breast the courage to follow him into the council-chamber of Caiaphas, and even the prætorium

of Pilate, and to stand by his cross—with Christ's mother and his own, and Mary Magdalene—when all the rest forsook him and fled. There he received the sacred trust, which must have influenced all his subsequent home life, giving him a second mother in the blessed Virgin. He gave a home also to the penitent Peter; and when they, first of the Apostles, learned from Mary Magdalene the resurrection of the Lord, it throws a light upon their respective characters that John is the more impetuous, running on most eagerly to the rock-tomb; Peter, the less restrained by awe, is the first to enter in and look. So, too, when Jesus appeared to them by the Lake of Galilee, John is the first to recognize, in the dim form seen in the morning twilight, the presence of his risen Lord; Peter, the first to plunge into the water and swim toward the shore where he stood calling to them. The last words of the Gospel reveal to us the deep affection which united the two friends. It is not enough for Peter to know his own future. That at once suggests the question—"Lord, and what shall this man do?" The reply of Jesus, which was perverted into the legends that gather about the close of St. John's life, surely means something more than a rebuke of Peter's curiosity. The words—"If I will that he tarry *till I come*"—are doubtless a prophecy, as well as an hypothesis; and they seem to intimate that, alone of all the Apostles, John should survive that catastrophe of the Old Dispensation in the destruction of Jerusalem, which made way for Christ's coming in his kingdom.

The association of Peter and John appears still in the opening scenes of the Acts—their attendance together to worship in the Temple—the miracle of healing the blind man—the confessorship before the Sanhedrim—the gift of the Holy Ghost to those very Samaritans on whom John once wished to call down fire from heaven. This is his last appearance in the Acts; and he is not mentioned either in connection with Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, nor as engaged in labors like those of Peter at Lydda, Joppa, and Cæsarea, nor in the persecution in which the sword of Herod divided him from his brother James. Neither does St. John appear as taking an active part in the so-called "Council of Jerusalem;" but he was present at the private conference of the Apostles with Paul and Barnabas; and Paul names John, with James and Cephas, as a "pillar" of the Church, and as one of those whose mission it was to "go to the circumcision."

This one passage proves that the scene of John's labors thus far was Jerusalem and Judæa. To the work of teaching, organizing, and exhorting the Hebrew churches, may have been added special calls,

like that which had drawn him with Peter to Samaria. The fulfilment of the solemn charge entrusted to John may have led him to a life of loving and reverent thought, rather than to one of conspicuous activity. We may, at all events, feel sure that it was a time in which the natural elements of his character, with all their fiery energy, were being purified and mellowed, rising step by step to that high serenity which we find perfected in the closing portion of his life. The tradition which ascribes to him a life of celibacy receives some confirmation from the absence of his name in 1 Cor. ix. 5. It harmonizes with all we know of his character, to think of his heart as so absorbed in the higher and diviner love that there was no room left for the lower and the human.

After a long interval, the Apostle re-appears in that close connection with the churches of Asia Minor, which is attested alike by the Apocalypse and by the uniform tradition of the Church. It is a natural conjecture that he remained in Judæa till the death of the Virgin released him from his trust. Tradition carries him from Judæa to Ephesus; but it gives us no clear light as to the motives of his removal: the time is so variously fixed, under Claudius, Nero, or even Domitian, as to prove that nothing certain was known; and our only safe conclusion is to reject the two extremes.

The Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul absolutely exclude the idea of any connection of St. John with Ephesus down to their date, that is, to A. D. 66 at the earliest. On the other hand, it seems almost a necessary inference, from St. John's Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia, that the Apostle who writes to them with such high authority and such familiar knowledge of their condition, had already labored some time among them. This is in accordance with the analogy of St. Paul's letters to churches which he had recently visited—for example, the Thessalonians and Galatians; but these cases may also warn us not to exaggerate the time of the previous ministration. It is the plain meaning of John's own words, in the opening of the Apocalypse, that he had been banished as a Christian confessor to the island of Patmos at *a time of general persecution*; and the *place* seems to suggest that he had been arrested in the province of Asia. Though his banishment *may* have resulted from some more local and temporary cause, the question has been generally narrowed to the issue between the two great persecutions under Nero and Domitian. The consent of Christian antiquity is in favor of the latter view: the former is a modern theory, based on the internal evidence of the Book, and connected with a particular scheme of interpretation.

Some of those who hold the later date regard the Apocalypse as the latest book of the New Testament; but others place the Gospel and the Epistles after it.

The tradition of the Church uniformly represents the Apostle as spending his last days at Ephesus, and the general outline of his work there may be gathered from the Revelation and the Epistles. The facts which these writings assert or imply are—(1) that, having come to Ephesus, some persecution, local or general, drove him to Patmos: (2) that the Seven Churches, of which Asia was the centre, were special objects of his solicitude: (3) that in his work he had to encounter men who denied the truth on which his faith rested; and others who, with a railing and malignant temper, disputed his authority. If to this we add that he must have outlived all, or nearly all, of those who had been the friends and companions even of his maturer years—that this lingering age gave strength to an old imagination that his Lord had promised him immortality—that, as if remembering the actual words which had been thus perverted, the longing of his soul gathered itself up in the cry, “Even so, come, Lord Jesus”—that from some who spoke with authority he received a solemn attestation of the confidence they reposed in him—we have stated all that has any claim to the character of historical truth.

The picture which tradition fills up for us has the merit of being full and vivid, but it blends together, without much regard to harmony, things probable and improbable. He is shipwrecked off Ephesus, and arrives there in time to check the progress of the heresies which sprang up after St. Paul's departure. Then, or at a later period, he numbers among his disciples men like Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius. In the persecution under Domitian he is taken to Rome, and there, by his boldness, though not by death, gains the crown of martyrdom. The boiling oil into which he is thrown has no power to hurt him. He is then sent to labor in the mines, and Patmos is the place of his exile. The accession of Nerva frees him from danger, and he returns to Ephesus. There he settles the canon of the Gospel history by formally attesting the truth of the first three Gospels, and writing his own to supply what they left wanting. The elders of the Church are gathered together, and St. John, as by a sudden inspiration, begins with the wonderful opening, “In the beginning was the Word.” Heresies continue to show themselves, but he meets them with the strongest possible protest. He refuses to pass under the same roof (that of the public baths of Ephesus) as their foremost leader, lest the house should fall down on them and crush



CHRISTIAN WOMEN MAKING GARMENTS FOR THE POOR.

them. Through his agency the great temple of Artemis (Diana) is at length reft of its magnificence, and even levelled with the ground! He introduces and perpetuates the Jewish mode of celebrating Easter. At Ephesus, if not before, as one who was a true priest of the Lord, he bore on his brow the plate of gold (πέταλον) with the sacred name engraved on it, which was the badge of the Jewish pontiff. In strange contrast with this ideal exaltation, a later tradition tells us how the old man used to find pleasure in the playfulness and fondness of a favorite bird, and how he defended himself against the charge of unworthy trifling by the familiar apologue of the bow that must sometimes be unbent.

More true to the New Testament character of the Apostle is the story, told by Clement of Alexandria, of his special and loving interest in the younger members of his flock; of his eagerness and courage in the attempt to rescue one of them who had fallen into evil courses. The scene of the old and loving man, standing face to face with the outlaw chief whom, in days gone by, he had baptized, and

winning him to repentance, is one which we could gladly look on as belonging to his actual life.

Not less beautiful is that other scene which comes before us as the last act of his life. When all capacity to work and teach is gone—when there is no strength even to stand—the spirit still retains the power to love, and the lips are still open to repeat, without change and variation, the command which summed up all his Master's will—"Little children, love one another."

The very time of the Apostle's death lies within the region of conjecture rather than of history, and the dates that have been assigned for it range from A. D. 89 to A. D. 120.

In relation to Christian doctrine, St. John is, as in the title of the Apocalypse, "John the Holy *Divine*"—the THEOLOGUS—not in the modern sense of a *theologian*, but from his witness that "the WORD was GOD." This also was the fruit of his intimate converse with his Lord, and of a spirit fitted for such fellowship. Nowhere is the vision of the Eternal WORD, "the glory as of the only begotten of the Father," so unclouded: nowhere are there such personal reminiscences of the Christ in his most distinctively human characteristics. It was this union of the two aspects of the Truth which made him the instinctive opponent of all forms of a mystical or logical or docetic Gnosticism. It was a true feeling which led the later interpreters of the mysterious forms of the four living creatures round the throne—departing in this instance from the earlier traditions—to see in him the *Eagle* that soars into the highest heaven, and looks upon the unclouded sun. Descending from the regions of fancy to those facts on which the truth of the Gospel rests, it is this testimony to Christ that is so emphatically asserted alike in the opening of his General Epistle, and in what we may call the *attestation clause* of his Gospel—whether that clause was penned by an inspired self-consciousness, or added as the testimony of those among whom he lived and wrote: "*This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true.*"

When John the Baptist directed his disciples to the Lamb of God, "one of the two that heard John and followed Jesus was ANDREW, Simon Peter's brother;" and, in seeking out his own brother Simon, he set the first example of brotherhood in Christ, and was the first to proclaim, "We have found the Messiah." The apparent discrepancy in Matt. iv. 18 ff., and Mark 16 ff., where the two appear to have been called together, is no real one, St. John relating the first introduction of the brothers to Jesus, the other Evangelists their formal

call to follow him in his ministry. In the catalogue of the Apostles, Andrew appears, in Matt. x. 2, Luke vi. 14, second, next after his brother Peter; but in Mark iii. 16, Acts i. 14, fourth, next after the three, Peter, James and John, and in company with Philip. And this appears to have been his real place of dignity among the Apostles; for in Mark xiii. 3, we find Peter, James, John and Andrew inquiring privately of our Lord about his coming; and in John xii. 22, when certain Greeks wished for an interview with Jesus, they applied through Andrew, who consulted Philip, and in company with him made the request known to our Lord. This last circumstance, combined with the Greek character of both their names, may perhaps point to some slight shade of Hellenistic connection on the part of the two Apostles; though it is extremely improbable that any of the Twelve were Hellenists in the proper sense. On the occasion of the five thousand in the wilderness wanting nourishment, it is Andrew who points out the little lad with the five barley loaves and the two fishes. Scripture relates nothing of him beyond these scattered notices. Whether he was Peter's elder or younger brother is uncertain. Except in the catalogue (i. 14), his name does not occur once in the Acts. The traditions about him are various. Eusebius makes him preach in Scythia; Jerome and Theodoret in Achaia (Greece); Nicephorus in Asia Minor and Thrace. He is said to have been crucified, at Patræ in Achaia, on a *crux decussata* (X); but this is doubted by many. Eusebius speaks of an apocryphal *Acts of Andrew*.

JAMES, THE SON OF ZEBEDEE, and brother of John, another of the four who formed, so to speak, the *inner circle* of the Apostolic band, is the only one of the Apostles of whose life and death we can write with certainty. The little that we know of him we have on the authority of Scripture. All else that is reported is idle legend, with the possible exception of one tale, handed down by Clement of Alexandria to Eusebius, and by Eusebius to us. There is no fear of confounding the St. James of the New Testament with the hero of Compostella.

Of St. James' early life we know nothing. We first hear of him in A. D. 27, when he was called to be our Lord's disciple; and he disappears from view in A. D. 44, when he suffered martyrdom at the hands of Herod Agrippa I. He does not appear in the Gospel narrative till the second call of the disciples at the Lake of Galilee. For a full year we lose sight of him. He is then, in the spring of A. D. 28, called to the apostleship with his eleven brethren. In the list of the Apostles given us by St. Mark, and in the book of Acts, his name occurs next to that of Simon Peter: in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke

it comes third. It is clear that in these lists the names are not placed at random. In all four, the names of Peter, Andrew, James and John are placed first; and it is plain that these four Apostles were at the head of the twelve throughout. Thus we see that Peter, James and John alone were admitted to the miracle of the raising of Jairus's daughter. The same three Apostles alone were permitted to be present at the Transfiguration. The same three alone were allowed to witness the Agony. And it is Peter, James, John and Andrew who ask our Lord for an explanation of his dark sayings with regard to the end of the world and his second coming. It is worthy of notice that in all these places, with one exception, the name of James is put before that of John, and that John is twice described as "the brother of James." This would appear to imply that at this time James, either from age or character, took a higher position than his brother. On the last occasion on which St. James is mentioned we find this position reversed. That the prominence of these three Apostles was founded on personal character (as out of every twelve persons there must be two or three to take the lead), and that it was not an office held by them, can scarcely be doubted.

It would seem to have been at the time of the appointment of the Twelve Apostles that the name of BOANERGES was given to the sons of Zebedee. It might, however, like Simon's name of Peter, have been conferred before. This name plainly was not bestowed upon them because they heard the voice like thunder from the cloud (Jerome), nor because of any peculiar majesty in their persons or impressiveness in their preaching; but it was, like the name given to Simon, at once descriptive and prophetic. The "Rockman" had a natural strength, which was described by his title, and he was to have a divine strength, predicted by the same title. In the same way the "Sons of Thunder" had a burning and impetuous spirit, which twice exhibits itself in its unchastened form, and which, when moulded by the Spirit of God, taking different shapes, led St. James to be the first Apostolic martyr, and St. John to become in an especial manner the Apostle of Love. The occasions on which this natural character manifested itself have been noticed in speaking of St. John.

From the time of the Agony in the Garden, A. D. 30, to the time of his martyrdom, A. D. 44, we know nothing of St. James except that after the Ascension he persevered in prayer with the other Apostles, and the women, and the Lord's brethren. In the year 44 Herod Agrippa I., son of Aristobulus, was ruler of all the dominions which

at the death of his grandfather, Herod the Great, had been divided between Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, and Lysanias. He had received from Caligula, Trachonitis in the year 37, Galilee and Peræa in the year 40. On the accession of Claudius, in the year 41, he received from him Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. This sovereign was at once a subtle statesman and a stern Jew: a king with not a few grand and kingly qualities, at the same time eaten up with Jewish pride—the type of a lay Pharisee. “He was very ambitious to oblige the people with donations,” and “he was exactly careful in the observance of the laws of his country, keeping himself entirely pure, and not allowing one day to pass over his head without its appointed sacrifice.” Policy and inclination would alike lead such a monarch “to lay hands” (*not* “stretch forth his hands,” A. V. Acts xii. 1) “on certain of the church;” and accordingly, when the Passover of the year 44 had brought St. James and St. Peter to Jerusalem, he seized them both, considering doubtless that if he cut off the “Son of Thunder” and the “Rockman,” the new sect would be more tractable or more weak under the presidency of James the Just, for whose character he probably had a lingering and sincere respect. James was apprehended first—his natural impetuosity of temper would seem to have urged him on even beyond Peter. And “Herod the king,” the historian simply tells us, “killed James the brother of John with the sword.” This is all we know for certain of his death. We may notice two things respecting it—first, that James is now described as the brother of John, whereas previously John had been described as the brother of James, showing that the reputation of John had increased, and that of James diminished, by the time that St. Luke wrote; and secondly, that he perished not by stoning, but by the sword. The Jewish law laid down that if seducers to strange worship were few, they should be stoned; if many, that they should be beheaded. Either, therefore, Herod intended that James’s death should be the beginning of a sanguinary persecution, or he merely followed the Roman custom of putting to death from preference.

The death of so prominent a champion left a huge gap in the ranks of the infant society, which was filled partly by ST. JAMES, the brother of our Lord, commonly called JAMES THE LESS, or the LITTLE, who now steps forth into greater prominence in Jerusalem, and partly by St. Paul, who had now been seven years a convert, and who shortly afterward set out on his first Apostolic journey. The position into which the former now comes forward leads us to depart from the order of the Gospel lists. We have already stated the

reasons for identifying him with James, the son of Alphæus. Of the father of James, whose Hebrew name is rendered by St. Matthew and St. Mark *Alphæus*, and by St. John *Clopas*, we know nothing, except that he married Mary, the sister of the Virgin Mary, and had by her four sons and three or more daughters. He appears to have died before the commencement of our Lord's ministry, and after his death it would seem that his wife and her sister, a widow like herself, and in poor circumstances, lived together in one house, generally at Nazareth, but sometimes also at Capernaum and Jerusalem. It is probable that these cousins, or, as they were usually called, brothers and sisters, of the Lord were older than himself; as on one occasion we find them, with his mother, indignantly declaring that he was beside himself, and going out to "lay hold of him" and compel him to moderate his zeal in preaching, at least sufficiently "to eat bread." This looks like the conduct of elders toward one younger than themselves.

Of James individually we know nothing till the spring of the year 28, when we find him, together with his younger brother Jude, called to the Apostolate. It has been noticed that in all the four lists of the Apostles, James holds the same place, heading the third class, consisting of himself, Jude, Simon and Iscariot; as Philip heads the second class, consisting of himself, Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew; and Simon Peter the first, consisting of himself, Andrew, James and John. The fact of Jude being described by reference to James, shows the name and reputation which James had, either at the time of the calling of the Apostles or at the time when St. Luke wrote.

It is not likely (though far from impossible) that James and Jude took part with their brothers and sisters, and the Virgin Mary, in trying "to lay hold on" JESUS in the autumn of the same year; and it is likely, though not certain, that it is of the other brothers and sisters, without these two, that St. John says, "Neither did his brethren believe on him," in the autumn of A. D. 29.

We hear no more of James till after the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. At some time in the forty days that intervened between the Resurrection and the Ascension, the Lord appeared to him. This is not related by the Evangelists, but it is mentioned by St. Paul; and there never has been any doubt that it was to this James rather than to the son of Zebedee that the manifestation was vouchsafed. We may conjecture that it was for the purpose of strengthening him for the high position which he was soon to assume in Jerusalem, and of

giving him the instructions on "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," which were necessary for his guidance, that the Lord thus showed himself to James. We cannot fix the date of this appearance. It was probably only a few days before the Ascension; after which we find James, Jude, and the rest of the Apostles, together with the Virgin Mary, Simon and Joses, in Jerusalem, awaiting in faith and prayer the outpouring of the Pentecostal gift.

Again we lose sight of James for ten years, and when he appears once more it is in a far higher position than any that he has yet held. In the year 37 occurred the conversion of Saul. Three years after his conversion he paid his first visit to Jerusalem, but the Christians recollected what they had suffered at his hands, and feared to have anything to do with him. Barnabas, at this time of far higher reputation than himself, took him by the hand, and introduced him to Peter and James, and by their authority he was admitted into the society of the Christians, and allowed to associate freely with them during the fifteen days of his stay. Here we find James on a level with Peter, and with him deciding on the admission of St. Paul into fellowship with the Church at Jerusalem; and from henceforth we always find him equal, or in his own department superior, to the very chiefest Apostles, Peter, John and Paul. For by this time he had been appointed (at what exact date we know not) to preside over the infant Church in its most important centre, in a position equivalent to that of Bishop. This pre-eminence is evident throughout the after-history of the Apostles, whether we read it in the Acts, in the Epistles, or in ecclesiastical writers. Thus in the year 44, when Peter is released from prison, he desires that information of his escape may be given to "James, and to the brethren." In the year 49 he presides at the Apostolic Council, and delivers the judgment of the Assembly, with the expression "Wherefore my sentence is." In the same year (or perhaps in the year 51, on his fourth visit to Jerusalem) St. Paul recognizes James as one of the pillars of the Church, together with Cephas and John, and places his name before them both. Shortly afterward it is "certain who came from James," that is, from the mother Church of Jerusalem, designated by the name of its Bishop, who led Peter into tergiversation at Antioch. And in the year 57 Paul pays a formal visit to James in the presence of all his presbyters, after having been previously welcomed with joy the day before by the brethren in an unofficial manner.

Entirely accordant with these notices of Scripture is the universal testimony of Christian antiquity to the high office held by James in

the Church of Jerusalem. That he was formally appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Lord himself, as reported by Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Proclus of Constantinople, and Photius, is not likely. Eusebius follows this account in a passage of his history, but says elsewhere that he was appointed by the Apostles. Clement of Alexandria is the first author who speaks of his Episcopate, and he alludes to it as a thing of which the chief Apostles, Peter, James and John, might well have been ambitious. The same Clement reports that the Lord, after his resurrection, delivered the gift of knowledge to James the Just, to John, and to Peter, who delivered it to the rest of the Apostles, and they to the Seventy. This at least shows the estimation in which James was held. But the author to whom we are chiefly indebted for an account of the life and death of James is Hegesippus (*i. e.*, Joseph), a Christian of Jewish origin, who lived in the middle of the second century. His narrative gives us such an insight into the position of St. James in the Church of Jerusalem, that it is best to let him relate it in his own words :

Tradition respecting James, as given by Hegesippus.—"With the Apostles, James, the brother of the Lord, succeeds to the charge of the Church—that James who has been called Just from the time of the Lord to our own days, for there were many of the name of James. He was holy from his mother's womb, he drank not wine or strong drink, nor did he eat animal food ; a razor came not upon his head ; he did not anoint himself with oil ; he did not use the bath. He alone might go into the holy place ; for he wore no woollen clothes, but linen. And alone he used to go into the Temple, and there he was commonly found upon his knees, praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew dry and thin [generally translated *hard*] like a camel's, from his constantly bending them in prayer, and entreating forgiveness for the people. On account therefore of his exceeding righteousness he was called 'Just,' and 'Oblias,' which means in Greek 'the bulwark of the people,' and 'righteousness,' as the prophets declare of him. Some of the seven sects then that I have mentioned inquired of him, 'What is the door of Jesus ?' And he said that this man was the Saviour, wherefore some believed that Jesus is the Christ. Now the fore-mentioned sects did not believe in the Resurrection, nor in the coming of one who shall recompense every man according to his works ; but all who became believers believed through James. When many, therefore, of the rulers believed, there was a disturbance among the Jews, and Scribes, and Pharisees, saying, 'There is a risk that the whole people will expect Jesus to be the

Christ.' They came together therefore to James, and said, 'We pray thee, stop the people, for they have gone astray after Jesus as though he were the Christ. We pray thee to persuade all that come to the Passover concerning Jesus: for we all give heed to thee, for we and all the people testify to thee, that thou art just, and acceptest not the person of man. Persuade the people therefore not to go astray about Jesus, for the whole people and all of us give heed to thee. Stand therefore on the gable of the Temple, that thou mayest be visible, and that thy words may be heard by all the people; for all the tribes and even the Gentiles are come together for the Passover.' Therefore the fore-mentioned Scribes and Pharisees placed James upon the gable of the Temple, and cried out to him, and said, 'O Just one, to whom we ought all to give heed, seeing that the people are going astray after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the door of Jesus?' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why ask ye me about Jesus the Son of Man? He sits in heaven on the right hand of great power, and will come on the clouds of heaven.' And many were convinced and gave glory on the testimony of James, crying 'Hosannah to the Son of David.' Whereupon the same Scribes and Pharisees said to each other, 'We have done ill in bringing forward such a witness to Jesus; but let us go up, and throw him down, that they may be terrified, and not believe on him.' And they cried out, saying, 'Oh! oh! even the Just is gone astray.' And they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just man, for he is displeasing to us; therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their deeds.' They went up therefore, and threw down the Just one, and said one to another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, for he was not killed by the fall; but he turned round, and knelt down, and cried, 'I beseech thee, Lord God Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' And while they were stoning him, one of the priests, of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites, to whom Jeremiah the prophet bears testimony, cried out and said, 'Stop! What are you about? The Just one is praying for you!' Then one of them, who was a fuller, took the club with which he pressed the clothes, and brought it down on the head of the Just one. And so he bore his witness. And they buried him on the spot by the Temple, and the column still remains by the Temple. This man was a true witness to Jews and Greeks that JESUS is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian commenced the siege."

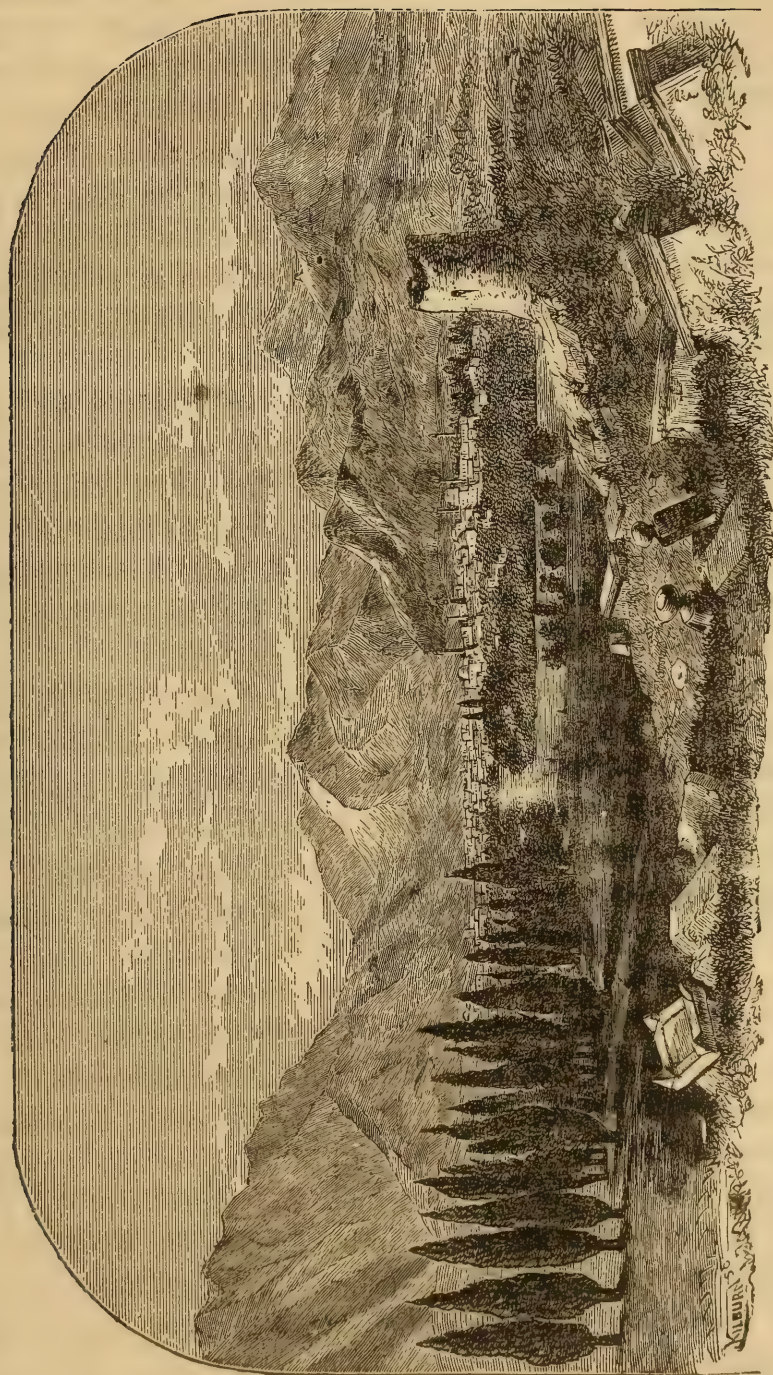
For the difficulties which occur in this extract, reference may be made to Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, and to Dean Stanley's "Apostolical

Age." It represents St. James to us in his life and in his death more vividly than any modern words could picture him. We see him, a married man perhaps, but in all other respects a rigid and ascetic follower after righteousness, keeping the Nazarite rule, like Anna the prophetess, serving the Lord in the Temple "with fastings and prayers night and day," regarded by the Jews themselves as one who had attained to the sanctity of the priesthood, though not of the priestly family or tribe (unless indeed we argue from this that Clopas did belong to the tribe of Levi, and draw thence another argument for the identity of James the son of Clopas and James the Lord's brother), and as the very type of what a righteous or just man ought to be. If any man could have converted the Jews, as a nation, to Christianity, it would have been James.

Josephus, as already more than once referred to, says that in the interval between the death of Festus and the coming of Albinus, Ananus the high-priest assembled the Sanhedrim, and "brought before it James the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, and having charged them with breaking the laws, delivered them over to be stoned." The historian adds that the better part of the citizens disliked what was done, and complained of Ananus to Agrippa and Albinus, whereupon Albinus threatened to punish him for having assembled the Sanhedrim without his consent, and Agrippa deprived him of the high-priesthood. The words "brother of him who is called Christ" are judged by many to be spurious.

Epiphanius gives the same account that Hegesippus does, in somewhat different words, having evidently copied it for the most part from him. He adds a few particulars which are probably mere assertions or conclusions of his own. He considers James to have been the son of Joseph by a former wife, and calculates that he must have been ninety-six years old at the time of his death; and adds, on the authority, as he says, of Eusebius, Clement, and others, that he wore the *πέταλον* on his forehead, in which he probably confounds him with St. John. Gregory of Tours reports that he was buried, not where he fell, but on the Mount of Olives, in a tomb in which he had already buried Zacharias and Simeon.

We have seen that there may be a reference to James in Heb. xiii. 7, which would fix his death at some time previous to the writing of that Epistle. His apprehension by Ananus was probably about the year 62 or 63. There is nothing to fix the date of his martyrdom as narrated by Hegesippus, except that it must have been shortly before the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem. We may conjecture that he was between seventy and eighty years old.



THYATIRA.

Still following the connection of name with name, rather than the order of the lists of the Apostles, we come to the second person of the third group, JUDE or JUDAS (that is Judah), "the brother of James," as he is called by our translators, and as he distinctly calls himself, if he be the author of the *Epistle of Jude*. It cannot be doubted that the same Apostle is meant in the passage of St. John's Gospel where he is called simply Judas, but distinguished from Judas Iscariot. The one question which he addresses to the Lord—"How is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?"—a question which shows him as sharing the low temporal views of his Master's kingdom—and the mention of him as abiding with the other Apostles at Jerusalem, in prayer and supplication, after the Ascension, are the only special notices of him.

But, on comparing the lists of the Apostles given by the three Evangelists, we find the place occupied by the name of *Jude*, in Luke, filled by that of *Lebbæus* in Matthew, and that of *Thaddæus* in Mark. All the discussion which the variety has provoked does but lead back to the plain inference, generally accepted, that *Jude*, *Labbæus* and *Thaddæus* were three names for one and the same Apostle, who is therefore said by Jerome to have been *trionymus*.

Nothing is certainly known of the later history of the Apostle. There may be some truth in the tradition which connects him with the foundation of the Church at Edessa; though here again there is much confusion, and doubt is thrown over the account by its connection with the worthless fiction of "Abgarus, king of Edessa." Nicephorus makes Jude die a natural death in that city after preaching in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia. The Syrian tradition speaks of his abode at Edessa, but adds that he went thence to Assyria, and was martyred in Phœnicia on his return; while that of the west makes Persia the field of his labors and the scene of his martyrdom.

The name of SIMON THE CANAANITE, or ZELOTES, completes (with the exception of Judas Iscariot) the third group of the Apostles, occupying the eleventh place in Matthew and Mark, and the tenth in Luke. The two epithets attached to his name have the same signification, the latter being the Greek translation of the former, which is Chaldee. Both point him out as belonging to the faction of the *Zelots*, who were distinguished for their fierce advocacy of the Mosaic ritual, and who played so conspicuous a part in the last defence of Jerusalem. We have here a proof of the varied characters gathered together in the Apostolic band.

Simon is not mentioned in the New Testament, except in the lists

of the Apostles. He is reported, on very doubtful authority, to have preached in Egypt, Cyrene and Mauritania, and to have been crucified in Judæa under Domitian.

Of JUDAS ISCARIOT, who stands last in this third group, all that is historical has been related in the Gospel History; and the solemn lessons taught by his character and fate lie beyond the province of this work. But his place was not left vacant in the foundation of the Apostolic Church. "Another took the office" of the fallen Apostle, when MATTHIAS was chosen in the manner previously related. All that we know of Matthias for certain beyond this is that he had been a constant attendant upon the Lord Jesus during the whole course of his ministry; for such was declared by St. Peter to be the necessary qualification of one who was to be a witness of the resurrection. The name of Matthias occurs in no other place in the New Testament, and we may accept as probable the opinion which is shared by Eusebius and Epiphanius, that he was one of the seventy disciples. It is said that he preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia. An apocryphal gospel was published under his name, and Clement of Alexandria quotes from the Traditions of Matthias.

The middle group in the list of the Apostles consists of four names, each of which has some peculiar interest, Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas. These four, though not sharing the same intimate converse with their Master as Peter and Andrew, James and John, are much more prominent in the Gospel narrative than the last four. Two of them were among our Saviour's first disciples; Matthew was one of his early converts; and Thomas, whose name stands in close connection with Matthew, probably became a disciple before any of the third group.

At the head of this second group stands PHILIP. He is mentioned as being of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter, and apparently was among the Galilean peasants of that district who flocked to hear the preaching of the Baptist. The manner in which St. John speaks of him, the repetition by him of the self-same words with which Andrew had brought to Peter the good news that the Christ had at last appeared, all indicate a previous friendship with the sons of Jonah and of Zebedee, and a consequent participation in their Messianic hopes. The close union of the two in John vi. and xii. suggests that he may have owed to Andrew the first tidings that the hope had been fulfilled. The statement that Jesus *found* him implies a previous seeking. To him first, in the whole circle of the disciples, were spoken the words so full of meaning, "Follow me." As soon as he

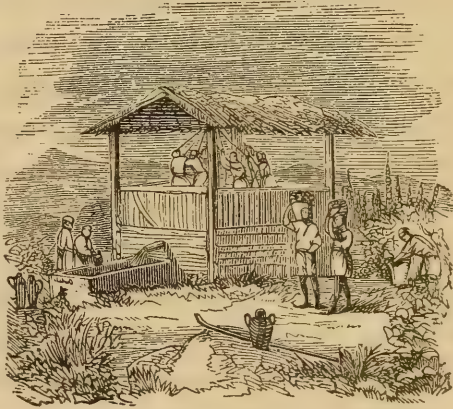
has learned to know his Master, he is eager to communicate his discovery to another who had also shared the same expectations. He speaks to Nathanael, probably on his arrival in Cana, as though they had not seldom communed together of the intimations of a better time, of a divine kingdom, which they found in their sacred books. We may well believe that he, like his friend, was an "Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile." In the lists of the Twelve Apostles in the synoptic Gospels, his name is as uniformly at the head of the second group of four as the name of Peter is at that of the first; and the facts recorded by St. John give the reason for this priority. In those lists again we find his name uniformly coupled with that of Bartholomew, and this has led to the hypothesis that the latter is identical with the Nathanael of John i. 45, the one being the personal name, the other, like Bar-jonah or Bartimæus, a patronymic.

Philip apparently was among the first company of disciples who were with the Lord at the commencement of his ministry, at the marriage of Cana, and on his first appearance as a prophet in Jerusalem. When John was cast into prison, and the work of declaring the glad tidings of the kingdom required a new company of preachers, we may believe that he, like his companions and friends, received a new call to a more constant discipleship. When the Twelve were specially set apart for their office, he was numbered among them. The first three Gospels tell us nothing more of him individually. St. John, with his characteristic fulness of personal reminiscences, records a few significant utterances. When the Galilean crowds had halted on their way to Jerusalem to hear the preaching of Jesus, and were faint with hunger, it was to Philip that the question was put, "Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat?" "And this he said," St. John adds, "to prove him, for he himself knew what he would do." The answer, "Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them that every one may take a little," shows how little he was prepared for the work of divine power that followed. It is noticeable that here, as in John i., he appears in close connection with Andrew.

Another incident is brought before us in John xii. 20-22. Among the pilgrims who had come to keep the Passover at Jerusalem, were some Gentile proselytes (Hellenes) who had heard of Jesus, and desired to see him. The Greek name of Philip may have attracted them. The zealous love which he had shown in the case of Nathanael may have made him prompt to offer himself as their guide. But it is

characteristic of him that he does not take them at once to the presence of his Master. "Philip cometh and telleth Andrew, and again Andrew and Philip tell Jesus." The friend and fellow-townsmen to whom probably he owed his own introduction to Jesus of Nazareth is to introduce these strangers also.

There is a connection not difficult to be traced between this fact and that which follows on the last recurrence of Philip's name in the history of the Gospels. The desire to see Jesus gave occasion to the utterance of words in which the Lord spoke more distinctly than ever of the presence of his Father with him, and to the voice from heaven which manifested the Father's will. The words appear to have sunk into the heart of at least one of the disciples, and he brooded over them. The strong cravings of a passionate but unenlightened faith led him to feel that one thing was yet wanting. They heard their Lord speak of his Father and of their Father. He was going to his Father's house. They were to follow him there. But why should they not have even now a vision of the Divine glory? It was part of the child-like simplicity of Philip's nature that no reserve should hinder the expression of the craving, "Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." And the answer to that desire belonged also specially to him. He had all along been eager to lead others to *see* Jesus.



WINE PRESS.

He had been with him, looking on him from the very commencement of his ministry, and yet he had not known him. He had thought of the glory of the Father as consisting in something else than the Truth, Righteousness, Love that he had witnessed in the Son. "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath *seen* me hath seen the Father. How sayest *thou*, Show us the Father?" No other fact connected with the name of Philip is recorded in the Gospels. The close relation in which we have seen him standing to the sons of Zebedee and Nathanael might lead us to think of him as one of the two unnamed disciples in the list of fishermen of the Sea of Tiberias who meet us in John xxi. He is among the company of disciples at Jerusalem after the Ascension, and on the day of Pentecost.

After this all is uncertain and apocryphal. He is mentioned by

Clement of Alexandria as having had a wife and children, and as having sanctioned the marriage of his daughters instead of binding them to vows of chastity, and is included in the list of those who had borne witness of Christ in their lives, but had not died what was commonly looked on as a martyr's death. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, speaks of him as having fallen asleep in the Phrygian Hierapolis, as having had two daughters who had grown old unmarried, and a third, with special gifts of inspiration, who had died at Ephesus. There seems, however, in this mention of the daughters of Philip, to be some confusion between the Apostle and the Evangelist. The apocryphal "Acta Philippi" are utterly wild and fantastic, and if there is any grain of truth in them, it is probably the bare fact that the Apostle or the Evangelist labored in Phrygia, and died at Hierapolis.

BARTHOLOMEW is a patronymic, the *son of Talmi*. His own name nowhere appears in the three first Gospels. It has been not improbably conjectured that he is identical with Nathanael. Nathanael there appears to have been first brought to Jesus by Philip; and in the three first catalogues of the Apostles (cited above) Bartholomew and Philip appear together. It is difficult also to imagine, from the place assigned to Nathanael in John xxi. 2, that he can have been other than an Apostle. If this may be assumed, he was born at Cana of Galilee: and he is said to have preached the Gospel in India, meaning thereby, probably, Arabia Felix, which was sometimes called India by the ancients. Some allot Armenia to him as his mission-field, and report him to have been there flayed alive and then crucified with his head downward.

MATTHEW, the Apostle and Evangelist, is the same as Levi, the son of a certain Alphæus. His call to be an Apostle is related by all three Evangelists in the same words, except that Matthew gives the former, and Mark and Luke the latter name. If there were two publicans, both called solemnly in the same form at the same place, Capernaum, then one of them became an Apostle, and the other was heard of no more; for Levi is not mentioned again after the feast which he made in our Lord's honor. This is most unlikely. Euthymius and many other commentators of note identify Alphæus the father of Matthew with Alphæus the father of James the Less. Against this is to be set the fact that in the lists of Apostles, Matthew and James the Less are never mentioned together, like other pairs of brothers in the Apostolic body. It may be, as in other cases, that the name Levi was replaced by the name Matthew at the time of the call. The names Matthæus and Matthias are probably both con-

tractions of Mattathias, a common Jewish name after the exile; but the true derivation is not certain. He belonged to the sordid class of *portitores*, the collectors under the *publicani*, who, as a rule, were worthy of the hatred with which the Jews regarded them. The readiness, however, with which Matthew obeyed the call of Jesus seems to show that his heart was still open to religious impressions. His conversion was attended by a great awakening of the outcast classes of the Jews. Matthew, in his Gospel, does not omit the title of infamy which had belonged to him, but neither of the other Evangelists speaks of "Matthew the publican." Of the exact share which fell to him in preaching the Gospel nothing whatever is told us in the New Testament, and other sources of information we cannot trust.

Eusebius mentions that after our Lord's ascension Matthew preached in Judæa (some add for fifteen years), and then went to foreign nations. To the lot of Matthew it fell to visit Ethiopia, says Socrates Scholasticus. Ambrose says that God opened to him the country of the Persians; Isidore, the Macedonians; and others, the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians of the Euphrates: but nothing whatever is really known. Heracleon, the disciple of Valentinus (cited by Clemens Alexandrinus) describes him as dying a natural death, which Clement, Origen, and Tertullian seem to accept: the tradition that he died a martyr came in afterward.

All that we know of THOMAS is derived from the Gospel of St. John; and this amounts to three traits, which, however, so exactly agree together, that, slight as they are, they place his character before us with a precision which belongs to no other of the twelve Apostles, except Peter, John, and Judas Iscariot. This character is that of a man slow to believe, seeing all the difficulties of a case, subject to despondency, viewing things on the darker side, and yet full of ardent love for his Master.

The first trait is his speech when our Lord determined to face the dangers that awaited him in Judæa on his journey to Bethany. Thomas said to his fellow-disciples, "Let us also go, that we may die with him." He entertained no hope of his escape; he looked on the journey as leading to total ruin; but he determined to share the peril. "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him."

The second was his speech during the Last Supper: "Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way?" It was the prosaic, incredulous doubt as to moving a step in the unseen future, and yet an eager inquiry to know how this step was to be taken.

The third was after the Resurrection. He was absent—possibly by accident, perhaps characteristically—from the first assembly when Jesus appeared. The others told him what they had seen. He broke forth into an exclamation, the terms of which convey to us at once the vehemence of his doubt, and at the same time the vivid picture that his mind retained of his Master's form as he had last seen him lifeless on the cross. "Except I see on his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not, I cannot believe."

On the eighth day he was with them at their gathering, perhaps in expectation of a recurrence of the visit of the previous week; and Jesus stood among them. He uttered the same salutation, "Peace be unto you;" and then turning to Thomas, as if this had been the special object of his appearance, uttered the words which convey as strongly the sense of condemnation and tender reproof, as those of Thomas had shown the sense of hesitation and doubt. "Bring thy finger hither [ᾧδε—as if himself pointing to his wounds] and see my hands; and bring thy hand and thrust it in my side; and do not become (μὴ γίνῃς) unbelieving (ἄπιστος), but believing (πιστός)."

The effect on Thomas is immediate. The conviction produced by the removal of his doubt became deeper and stronger than that of any of the other Apostles. The words in which he expressed his belief contain a far higher assertion of his Master's divine nature than can be traced in any other expression used by Apostolic lips, "My Lord and my God." And the word "my" gives it a personal application to himself. The answer of our Lord sums up the moral of the whole narrative: "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me, and yet have believed." By this incident, therefore, Thomas, "the Doubting Apostle," is raised at once to the theologian in the original sense of the word. It is this feature of his character which has been caught in later ages, when for the first time its peculiar lesson became apparent. In the famous statue of him by Thorwaldsen in the church at Copenhagen, he stands, the thoughtful, meditative skeptic, with the rule in his hand for the due measuring of evidence and argument. In the New Testament we hear of Thomas only twice again, once on the Sea of Galilee with the seven disciples, where he is ranked next after Peter, and again in the assemblage of the Apostles after the Ascension.

The earlier traditions, as believed in the fourth century, represent him as preaching in Parthia or Persia, and as finally buried at Edessa. Chrysostom mentions his grave at Edessa, as being one of the four

genuine tombs of Apostles ; the other three being those of Peter, Paul and John. With his burial at Edessa agrees the story of his sending Thaddæus to Abgarus with our Lord's letter.

The later traditions carry him further East, and ascribe to him the foundation of the Christian Church in Malabar, which still goes by the name of "the Christians of St. Thomas;" and his tomb is shown in the neighborhood. This, however, is now usually regarded as arising from a confusion with a later Thomas, a missionary from the Nestorians. His martyrdom (whether in Persia or India) is said to have been effected by a lance.

To these twelve Apostles two more were added specially for the mission to the Gentiles, for we have seen that BARNABAS, as well as Paul, is expressly designated by that title. The word *Barnabas* is an appellative—signifying the "son of prophecy" or "exhortation," rather than of "consolation"—given by the Apostles to JOSEPH, a Levite of the island of Cyprus. We have already seen his Christian devotedness, as contrasted with the self-seeking of Ananias; how he justified his title by his ministry at Antioch; how he introduced Paul to the Apostles after his conversion; how he sought him out at Tarsus, labored with him at Antioch, went up with him twice to Jerusalem, and shared his first missionary journey; and how, on the proposal of the second, the fellow-laborers were severed by their dispute about John Mark.

If we may judge from the hint furnished by the fact that Paul was commended by the brethren to the grace of God, it would seem that Barnabas was in the wrong. He took Mark, and sailed to Cyprus, his native island. And here the Scripture notices of him cease: those found in Gal. ii. 1, 9, 13, belong to an earlier period. From 1 Cor. ix. 6 we infer that Barnabas was a married man; and from Gal. (*l. c.*), and the circumstances of the dispute with Paul, his character seems not to have possessed that thoroughness of purpose and determination which was found in the great Apostle. As to his further labors and death, traditions differ. Some say that he went to Milan, and became first bishop of the Church there: the Clementine Homilies make him to have been a disciple of our Lord himself, and to have preached in Rome and Alexandria, and converted Clement of Rome: the Clementine Recognitions say that he preached in Rome even during the lifetime of our Lord. There is extant an apocryphal work, probably of the fifth century, *Acta et Passio Barnabæ in Cypro*, which relates his second missionary journey to Cyprus, and his death by martyrdom there; and a still later encomium of Barnabas, by a Cyprian monk

Alexander, which makes him to have been brought up with St. Paul under Gamaliel, and gives an account of the pretended finding of his body in the time of the Emperor Zeno (474—490). We have an Epistle in twenty-one chapters called by the name of Barnabas. Of this, the first four chapters and a half are extant only in a barbarous Latin version; the rest in the original Greek. Its authenticity has been defended by some great names; but it is very generally given up now, and the Epistle is believed to have been written early in the second century.

In their office of laying the foundations of the Church, some of the Apostles used the pen as well as the tongue; and two of them, MATTHEW and JOHN, undertook the special function of placing on permanent record those facts concerning the life and death and resurrection of Christ, of which they were his own chosen witnesses. This would seem to be a distinctive part of the Apostolic office; nor is this view at variance with the fact that it was undertaken also by two others, who were not Apostles. For it may now be received as an established fact, that the Gospels of MARK and LUKE were written under the supervision of Peter and Paul. These two writers, therefore, may well claim a place next to the Apostles. But, in speaking of them as *Evangelists*, we must distinguish this use of the word from its proper New Testament signification, as describing a class of teachers next in rank to Apostles and Prophets, the *Evangelizers* of the world. It was at a later age that the *writer of a Gospel* (εὐαγγέλιον), was called an *Evangelist* (εὐαγγελιστής), not only a matter of etymology, but the natural process of thought, which is thus stated by Eusebius: "Men do the work of Evangelists, leaving their homes to proclaim Christ, and deliver *the written Gospels* to those who were ignorant of the faith." If the Gospel was a written book, and the office of the Evangelists was to read or distribute it, then the writers of such books were κατ' ἐξοχήν, THE EVANGELISTS. It is thus, accordingly, that Eusebius speaks of them; and this meaning soon overshadowed the old one. Of the Gospels we shall speak presently; and frequent occasions have occurred to notice points in that personal history of Mark and Luke, which we have now to collect into one view.

I. MARK the Evangelist is probably the same as "JOHN whose surname was MARK." John was the Jewish name, and Mark, a name of frequent use among the Romans, was adopted afterward, and gradually superseded the other. The places in the New Testament enable us to trace the process. The John Mark of Acts xii. 12, 25, and the John of Acts xiii. 5, 13, becomes Mark only in Acts xv. 39, Col. iv.

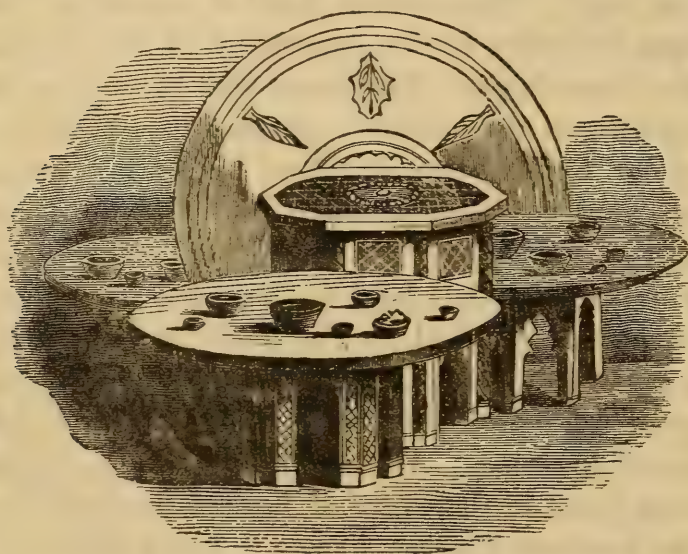
10, 2 Tim. iv. 11, Philem. 24. The change of John to Mark is analogous to that of Saul to Paul; and we cannot doubt that the disuse of the Jewish name in favor of the other is intentional, and has reference to the putting away of his former life, and his entrance upon a new ministry. No inconsistency arises from the accounts of his ministering to two Apostles. Of his desertion of Paul we have already spoken.

John Mark was the son of a certain Mary, who dwelt at Jerusalem, and he was therefore probably born in that city. He was the cousin of Barnabas. It was to Mary's house, as to a familiar haunt, that Peter came after his deliverance from prison, and there found "many gathered together praying;" and John Mark was probably converted by Peter from meeting him in his mother's house, for he speaks of "Marcus my son." This natural link^s of connection between the two passages is broken by the supposition of two Marks, which is on all accounts improbable. The theory that he was one of the seventy disciples is without any warrant. Another theory, that an event of the night of our Lord's betrayal, related by Mark alone, is one that befell himself, must not be so promptly dismissed. "There followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him; and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked." The detail of facts is remarkably minute, the name only is wanting. The most probable view is that St. Mark suppressed his own name, while telling a story which he had the best means of knowing. Awakened out of sleep, or just preparing for it, in some house in the valley of Kedron, he comes out to see the seizure of the betrayed Teacher, known to him and in some degree beloved already. He is so deeply interested in his fate that he follows him even in his thin linen robe. His demeanor is such that some of the crowd are about to arrest him; then, "fear overcoming shame" (Bengel), he leaves his garment in their hands and flees. We can only say that if the name of Mark is supplied, the narrative receives its most probable explanation. John introduces himself in this unobtrusive way, and perhaps Luke likewise. Mary, the mother of Mark, seems to have been a person of some means and influence, and her house a rallying-point for Christians in those dangerous days. Her son, already an inquirer, would soon become more. Anxious to work for Christ, he went with Paul and Barnabas as their "minister" on their return from Jerusalem, and on their first journey; but at Perga, as we have seen above, he turned back. On the second journey Paul would not accept him again as a companion, but Barnabas, his kins-

man, was more indulgent ; and thus he became the cause of the memorable “sharp contention” between them. Whatever was the cause of Mark’s vacillation, it did not separate him forever from Paul, for we find him by the side of that Apostle in his first imprisonment at Rome. In the former place a journey of Mark to Asia is contemplated. Somewhat later he is with Peter at Babylon. Some consider Babylon to be a name here given to Rome in a mystical sense ; surely without reason, since the date of a letter is not the place to look for a figure of speech. Of the causes of this visit to Babylon there is no evidence. It may be conjectured that he made the journey to Asia Minor, and thence went on to join Peter at Babylon. Returning to proconsular Asia, he seems to have been with Timothy at Ephesus when Paul wrote to him during his second imprisonment, and Paul

was anxious for his company and ministry at Rome.

When we pass beyond Scripture, we find the facts doubtful and even inconsistent. If Papias is to be trusted, Mark never was a disciple of our Lord ; which he probably infers from 1 Pet. v. 13. Epiphanius, on the other hand, willing



ANCIENT TABLES.

to do honor to the Evangelist, adopts the tradition that he was one of the seventy-two disciples, who turned back from our Lord at the hard saying in John vi. The same had been said of St. Luke. Nothing can be decided on this point. The relation of Mark to Peter is of great importance for our view of his Gospel. Ancient writers with one consent make the Evangelist the interpreter (*ἐρμηνευτής*) of the Apostle Peter. Some explain this word to mean that the office of Mark was to translate into the Greek tongue the Aramaic discourses of the Apostle ; while others adopt the more probable view, that Mark wrote a Gospel which conformed more exactly than the others to Peter’s preaching, and thus “interpreted” it to the Church at large. The report that Mark was the companion of Peter at *Rome*

is no doubt of great antiquity. Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius as giving it for "a tradition which he had received of the elders from the first." But the force of this is invalidated by the suspicion that it rests on a misunderstanding of 1 Pet. v. 13, Babylon being wrongly taken for a typical name of Rome. Another tradition is, that Mark, sent on a mission to Egypt by Peter, founded the Church of Alexandria, and having preached in various places then returned to Alexandria, of which Church he was bishop, and there suffered a martyr's death. But none of these later details rest on sound authority.

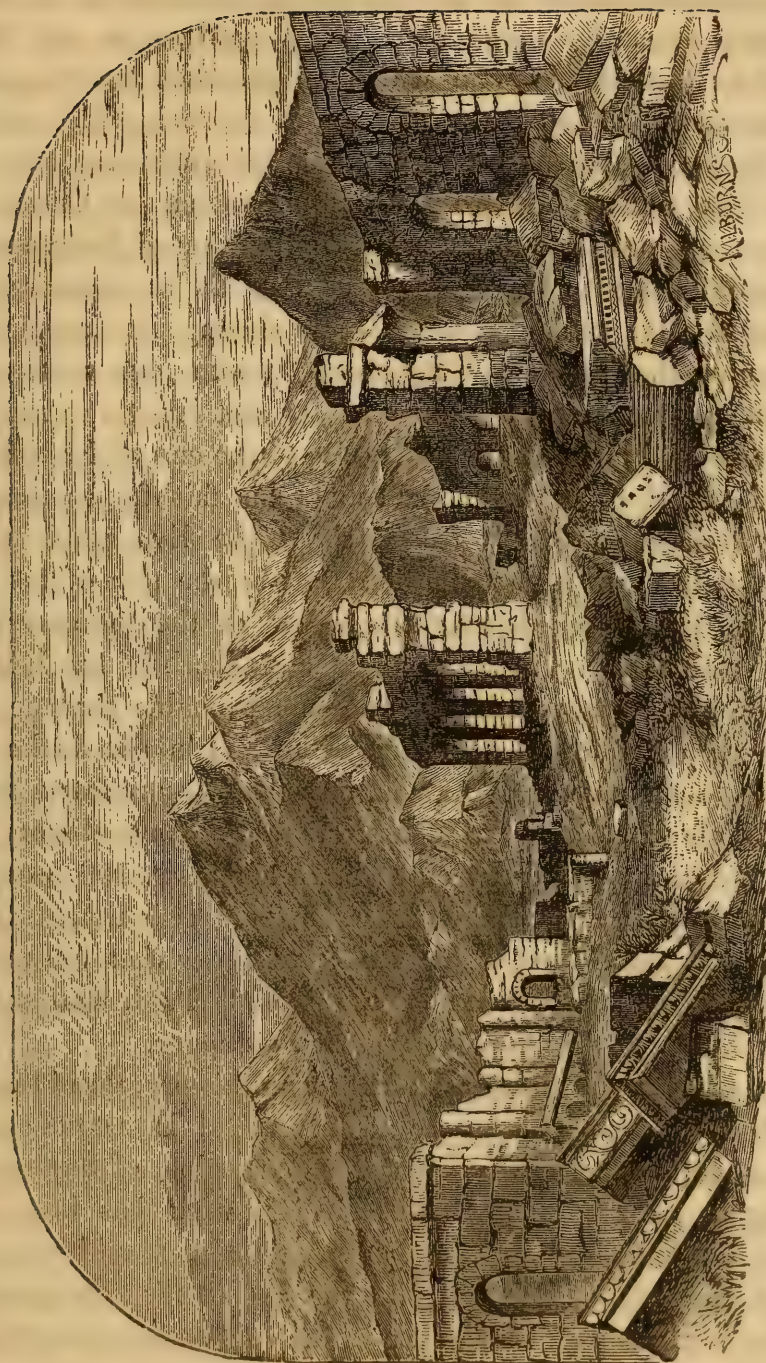
II. The name LUKE (*Λουκᾶς*) is an abbreviated form of *Lucanus* or of *Lucilius*. It is not to be confounded with Lucius, which belongs to a different person. The name of Luke occurs three times in the New Testament, and doubtless in all three the third Evangelist is the person spoken of. To the Colossians he is described as "the beloved physician," probably because he had been known to them in that faculty. Timothy needs no additional mark for identification; to him the words are, "only Luke is with me." To Philemon, Luke sends his salutation in common with other "fellow-laborers" of St. Paul. As there is every reason to believe that the Luke of these passages is the author of the Acts of the Apostles, as well as of the Gospel which bears his name, it is natural to seek in the former book for some traces of that connection with St. Paul which these passages assume to exist; and although the name of St. Luke does not occur in the Acts, we have seen ample reason to believe that under the pronoun "we," several references to the Evangelist are to be added to the three places just quoted.

Combining the traditional element with the Scriptural, the uncertain with the certain, we are able to trace the following dim outline of the Evangelist's life. He was born at Antioch in Syria; in what condition of life is uncertain. That he was taught the science of medicine does not prove that he was of higher birth than the rest of the disciples; medicine in its earlier and ruder state was sometimes practised even by a slave. The well-known tradition that Luke was also a painter, and of no mean skill, rests on the authority of Nicephorus, and of other late writers; but none of them are of historical authority, and the Acts and Epistles are wholly silent upon a point so likely to be mentioned. He was not born a Jew, for he is not reckoned among them "of the circumcision" by St. Paul. If this be not thought conclusive, nothing can be argued from the Greek idioms in his style, for he might be a Hellenist Jew: nor from the Gentile

tendency of his Gospel, for this it would share with the inspired writings of St. Paul, a Pharisee brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. The date of his conversion is uncertain. He was not indeed "an eye-witness and minister of the word from the beginning," or he would have rested his claim as an Evangelist upon that ground. Still he may have been converted by the Lord himself, some time before His departure; and the statement of Epiphanius, and others, that he was one of the Seventy disciples, has nothing very improbable in it; while that which Theophylact adopts (on Luke xxiv.), that he was one of the two who journeyed to Emmaus with the risen Redeemer, has found modern defenders. Tertullian assumes that the conversion of Luke is to be ascribed to Paul; and the balance of probability is on this side.

The first ray of historical light falls on the Evangelist when he joins St. Paul at Troas, and shares his journey into Macedonia. The sudden transition to the first person plural in Acts xvi. 9, is most naturally explained, after all the objections that have been urged, by supposing that Luke, the writer of the Acts, formed one of St. Paul's company from this point. His conversion had taken place before, since he silently assumes his place among the great Apostle's followers without any hint that this was his first admission to the knowledge and ministry of Christ. He may have found his way to Troas to preach the Gospel, sent possibly by St. Paul himself. As far as Philippi, the Evangelist journeyed with the Apostle. The resumption of the third person on Paul's departure from that place would show that Luke was now left behind. During the rest of St. Paul's second missionary journey we hear of Luke no more. But on the third journey the same indication reminds us that Luke is again of the company, having joined it apparently at Philippi, where he had been left. With the Apostle he passed through Miletus, Tyre and Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Between the two visits of Paul to Philippi seven years had elapsed (A. D. 51 to A. D. 58), which the Evangelist may have spent in Philippi and its neighborhood, preaching the Gospel.

There remains one passage which, if it refers to St. Luke, must belong to this period. "We have sent with him" (*i. e.*, Titus) "the brother whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches." The subscription of the Epistle sets out that it was "written from Philippi, a city of Macedonia, by Titus and *Lucas*," and it is an old opinion that Luke was the companion of Titus, although he is not named in the body of the Epistle. If this be so, we are to suppose



LAODICEA.

that during the "three months" of Paul's sojourn at Philippi Luke was sent from that place to Corinth on this errand; and the words "whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches," enable us to form an estimate of his activity during the interval in which he has not been otherwise mentioned. It is needless to add that the praise lay in the activity with which he preached the Gospel; and not as Jerome understands the passage, in his being the author of a written Gospel. The narrative warrants the inference, that Luke was with Paul during his two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea; and this is the most probable time for the composition of his Gospel.

He again appears in the company of Paul in the memorable voyage to Rome. He remained at his side during his imprisonment; and, assuming that the second Epistle to Timothy was written during the second imprisonment, the testimony of that Epistle (iv. 11) shows that he continued faithful to the Apostle to the end of his afflictions.

After the death of St. Paul, the acts of his faithful companion are hopelessly obscure to us. It is as perhaps the Evangelist wished it to be: we only know him while he stands by the side of his beloved Paul: when the master departs, the history of the follower becomes confusion and fable. As to the age and death of the Evangelist, there is the utmost uncertainty. It seems probable that he died in advanced life; but whether he suffered martyrdom or died a natural death; whether Bithynia or Achaia, or some other country, witnessed his end, it is impossible to determine amid contradictory voices. That he died a martyr, between A. D. 75 and A. D. 100, would seem to have the balance of suffrages in its favor. It is enough for us, so far as regards the Gospel of St. Luke, to know that the writer was the tried and constant friend of the Apostle Paul, who shared his labors, and was not driven from his side by danger.

Next in order to the Apostles, in the sacred history, stand those *Seven Men of Good Report* who are commonly called DEACONS; and this class derives special celebrity from the martyrdom of STEPHEN, and the evangelizing labors of PHILIP. After what has been said of these two in the Apostolic history, it only remains to add some further notices of the latter. He was, like the rest of his colleagues, in all probability a Hellenist. His place in the confidence of the Church is shown by his standing in the list of the Seven next to Stephen; and we should expect the man who was thus worthy of being Stephen's companion and fellow-worker to go on with the work which he left unfinished, and to break through the barriers of national Judaism. Accordingly, foremost among those whom the persecution that ensued

on the death of the first Deacon drove from Jerusalem, we find the second carrying the Gospel to the outcasts of Samaria and the proselyte of Ethiopia; and thus Philip became the precursor of St. Paul in his work, as Stephen had been in his teaching. It falls to his lot, rather than to that of an Apostle, to take the first step in the victory over Jewish prejudice, and in the expansion of the Church according to its Lord's command. For this we may perhaps find a deeper reason than the mere fact that the Apostles had not yet left Jerusalem. As the Samaritans had already shown themselves, on our Lord's first visit, more alive to spiritual views of the Messiah than the Jews, so would a Hellenist probably be better prepared than a Jew to satisfy their hopes. From Azotus, where he re-appeared after his miraculous separation from the Ethiopian eunuch, he made his way to Cæsarea, preaching in all the cities he passed through; and we may be permitted to conjecture that his ministry at Cæsarea was one of the causes that awakened the holy curiosity of Cornelius.

Whether the Seven to whom Philip belonged are rightly or not identified with the order of *Deacons*, these labors of his go far beyond what are described as their special functions, and entitle him, before any other who was not an Apostle, to the designation under which he re-appears in the Acts, as PHILIP THE EVANGELIST, though still described as "one of the Seven." He is still residing at Cæsarea, which he had doubtless made the centre of his labors as an Evangelist in preaching the Gospel; and his four virgin daughters possess the gift of prophecy. He receives Paul and his company on their way to Jerusalem; and he is visited by prophets and elders from that city. At such a place as Cæsarea, the work of such a man must have helped to bridge over the ever-widening gap which threatened to separate the Jewish and Gentile Churches. One who had preached Christ to the hated Samaritan, the swarthy African, the despised Philistine, the men of all nations who passed through the seaport of Palestine, was a fit host to welcome the arrival of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The house in which he and his daughters had lived was pointed out to travellers in the time of Jerome. He is said to have died Bishop of Tralles, in Lydia. In other traditions he is more or less confounded with Philip the Apostle.

The remaining Deacons are not again mentioned in the New Testament. PROCHORUS is said by tradition to have been consecrated by St. Peter Bishop of Nicomedia in Bithynia: NICANOR is placed among the seventy or seventy-two Disciples (a mere congeries of New Testament names) by the pseudo-Hippolytus, who adds that he

died at the time of the martyrdom of Stephen: TIMON is also made one of the seventy-two and Bishop of Bostra, where he suffered martyrdom by fire: and PARMENAS is said to have been martyred at Philippi in the reign of Trajan.

The last of the Seven, NICOLAS, a proselyte of Antioch, has obtained a greater but more questionable celebrity; but there is no reason, except the similarity of name, for identifying Nicolas with the sect of Nicolaitans mentioned in Rev. ii. 6, 14, 15. It would seem from these passages that the Nicolaitans held that it was lawful "to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication," in opposition to the decree of the Church recorded in Acts xv. 20, 29. The Nicolaitans themselves, at least as early as the time of Irenæus, claimed the Deacon as their founder. Epiphanius, an inaccurate writer, relates some details of the life of Nicolas the Deacon, and describes him as gradually sinking into the grossest impurity, and becoming the originator of the Nicolaitans and other immoral sects. The same account is believed, at least to some extent, by Jerome and other writers in the fourth century; but it is irreconcilable with the character of Nicolas given by Clement of Alexandria, an earlier and more discriminating writer than Epiphanius. He states that Nicolas led a chaste life and brought up his children in purity; that on a certain occasion, having been sharply reproved by the Apostles as a jealous husband, he repelled the charge by offering to allow his wife to become the wife of any other person; and that he was in the habit of repeating a saying which is ascribed to the Apostle Matthias also,—that it is our duty to fight against the flesh and to abuse it. His words were perversely interpreted by the Nicolaitans as authority for their immoral practices. Theodoret, in his account of the sect, repeats the foregoing statement of Clement; and charges the Nicolaitans with false dealing in borrowing the name of the Deacon.

Of the other fellow-workers of the Apostles it is needless to collect the Scriptural notices and the later traditions, which have their proper place in a *Dictionary of the Bible*. But the prominence of Timothy and Titus among the companions of St. Paul, as well as the peculiar nature of the work committed to them, seems to call for a summary notice of their lives.

TITUS claims the precedence in the order of the narrative, as also no doubt in age. He is not mentioned in the Acts, and our materials for his biography must be drawn entirely from the notices of him in the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, the *Epistle to the Galatians*, and the *Epistle to Titus* himself, combined with the *Second Epistle to Timo-*

thy. Taking the passages in the Epistles in the chronological order of the events referred to, we turn first to Gal. ii. 1, 3. We conceive the journey mentioned here to be identical with that recorded in Acts xv., in which Paul and Barnabas went from Antioch to Jerusalem to the conference which was to decide the question of the necessity of circumcision to the Gentiles. Here we see Titus in close association with Paul and Barnabas at Antioch. He goes with them to Jerusalem. He is in fact one of the *τινες ἄλλοι* of Acts xv. 2, who were deputed to accompany them from Antioch. His circumcision was either not insisted on at Jerusalem, or, if demanded, was firmly resisted. He is very emphatically spoken of as a Gentile, by which is most probably meant that both his parents were Gentiles. Here is a double contrast with Timothy, who was circumcised by St. Paul's own directions, and one of whose parents was Jewish. Titus would seem, on the occasion of the council, to have been specially a representative of the Church of the uncircumcision.

It is to our purpose to remark that, in the passage cited above, Titus is so mentioned as apparently to imply that he had become personally known to the Galatian Christians. This again, we combine with two other circumstances, namely, that the Epistle to the Galatians and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians were probably written within a few months of each other, and both during the same journey. From the latter of these two Epistles we obtain fuller notices of Titus in connection with St. Paul.

After leaving Galatia, and spending a long time at Ephesus, the Apostle proceeded to Macedonia by way of Troas. Here he expected to meet Titus, who had been sent on a mission to Corinth. In this hope he was disappointed, but in Macedonia Titus joined him. Here we begin to see not only the above-mentioned fact of the mission of this disciple to Corinth, and the strong personal affection which subsisted between him and St. Paul, but also some part of the purport of the mission itself, which has been fully explained in the history. But, if we proceed further, we discern another part of the mission with which he was entrusted. This had reference to the collection, at that time in progress, for the poor Christians of Judæa. Thus we are prepared for what the Apostle now proceeds to do after his encouraging conversations with Titus regarding the Corinthian Church. He sends him back from Macedonia to Corinth, in company with two other trustworthy Christians, Trophimus and Tychicus (or, as some think, Luke), bearing the Second Epistle, and with an earnest request that he would see to the completion of the collection, which he had zealously promoted on his late visit.

All that has preceded is drawn from direct statements in the Epistles; but by indirect though fair inference we can arrive at something further, which gives coherence to the rest, with additional elucidations of the close connection of Titus with St. Paul and the Corinthian Church. It has generally been considered doubtful who the brethren were that took the First Epistle to Corinth; but there can be little doubt that the messengers who took that first letter were Titus and his companion, whoever that might be, who is mentioned with him in the second letter.

A considerable interval now elapses before we come upon the next notices of this disciple. St. Paul's first imprisonment is concluded, and his last trial is impending. In the interval between the two, he and Titus were together in Crete. We see Titus remaining in the island when St. Paul left it, and receiving there a letter written to him by the Apostle. From this letter we gather the following biographical details: In the first place we learn that he was originally converted through St. Paul's instrumentality. Next we learn the various particulars of the responsible duties which he had to discharge in Crete. He is to complete what St. Paul had been obliged to leave unfinished, and he is to organize the Church throughout the island by appointing presbyters in every city. Instructions are given as to the suitable character of such presbyters, and we learn further that we have here the repetition of instructions previously furnished by word of mouth. Next he is to control and bridle the restless and mischievous Judaizers, and he is to be peremptory in so doing. Injunctions in the same spirit are reiterated. He is to urge the duties of a decorous and Christian life upon the women, some of whom possibly had something of an official character. He is to be watchful over his own conduct; he is to impress upon the slaves the peculiar duties of their position; he is to check all social and political turbulence, and also all wild theological speculations, and to exercise discipline on the heretical. When we consider all these particulars of his duties, we see not only the confidence reposed in him by the Apostle, but the need there was of determination and strength of purpose, and therefore the probability that this was his character; and all this is enhanced if we bear in mind his isolated and unsupported position in Crete, and the lawless and immoral character of the Cretans themselves, as testified by their own writers.

The notices which remain are more strictly personal. Titus is to look for the arrival in Crete of Artemas and Tychicus, and then he is to hasten to join St. Paul at Nicopolis, where the Apostle is proposing

to pass the winter. Zenas and Apollos are in Crete, or expected there; for Titus is to send them on their journey and supply them with whatever they need for it. It is observable that Titus and Apollos are brought into juxtaposition here, as they were before in the discussion of the mission from Ephesus to Corinth.

We may observe here that there would be great difficulty in inserting the visits to Crete and Nicopolis in any of the journeys recorded in the Acts, to say nothing of the other objections to giving the Epistle any date anterior to the voyage to Rome. On the other hand, there is no difficulty in arranging these circumstances, if we suppose St. Paul to have travelled and written after being liberated from Rome, while thus we gain the further advantage of an explanation of what Paley has well called the affinity of this Epistle and the first to Timothy. Whether Titus did join the Apostle at Nicopolis we cannot tell. But we naturally connect

the mention of this place with what St. Paul wrote at no great interval of time afterward, in the last of the Pastoral Epistles; for Dalmatia lay to the north of Nicopolis, at no great distance from it. From the form of the whole sentence, it seems probable that this disciple had been with St. Paul in Rome during his final imprisonment: but this cannot be asserted confidently. The touching words of the Apostle in this pas-



TIMOTHY'S INSTRUCTORS.

sage might seem to imply some reproach, and we might draw from them the conclusion that Titus became a second Demas: but on the whole this seems a harsh and unnecessary judgment.

Whatever else remains is legendary, though it may contain elements of truth. Titus is connected by tradition with Dalmatia, and he is said to have been an object of much reverence in that region. This, however, may simply be a result of the passage quoted immediately above: and it is observable that of all the churches in modern Dalmatia not one is dedicated to him. The traditional connection of Titus with Crete is much more specific and constant, though here again we cannot be certain of the facts. He is said to have been permanent bishop in the island, and to have died there at an advanced age. The modern capital, *Candia*, appears to claim the honor of being his burial-place. In the apocryphal fragment, *De Vitâ et Actis Titi*, by the

lawyer Zenas, Titus is called Bishop of Gortyna: and on the old site of Gortyna is a ruined church, of ancient and solid masonry, which bears the name of St. Titus, and where service is occasionally celebrated by priests from the neighboring hamlet of *Metropolis*. The cathedral of *Megalo-Castron*, in the north of the island, is also dedicated to this saint. Lastly, the name of Titus was the watch-word of the Cretans when they were invaded by the Venetians: and the Venetians themselves, after their conquest of the island, adopted him to some of the honors of a patron saint.

TIMOTHEUS, or, as his name is expressed in the familiar English abbreviation, TIMOTHY, was born at Lystra, in Lycaonia, the son of one of those mixed marriages between a Gentile father and a Jewish mother, which, though condemned by stricter Jewish opinion, and placing their offspring on all but the lowest step in the Jewish scale of precedence, were yet not uncommon in the later periods of Jewish history. The children of such marriages were known as *Mamzerim* (bastards), and stood just above the *Nethinim*. But the reverence of the Jews for their religion came in to redeem the disgrace: a bastard who was a wise student of the Law was, in theory, above an ignorant high-priest: and so the knowledge of the Scriptures, which Timothy owed to the care of his grandmother Lois and his mother Eunice, may have helped to overcome the natural prejudice of his bigoted Jewish neighbors. Of the fruit of that pious education;—how it prepared Timothy to receive, while still a boy, the Gospel brought by Paul to his native city; and how, after gaining honor among the brethren at Lystra, Iconium, and even Antioch, he was chosen by Paul, on his second visit to Lycaonia, to share that fellowship of labor and of love which only ceased with the Apostle's death;—of his circumcision and ordination;—and of his part in Paul's work, till he was called to comfort his last hours and to witness his martyrdom at Rome;—we have spoken in former chapters. Their companionship begins with the second missionary journey, when Timothy may be regarded as supplying the void caused by the difference with Barnabas. If Barnabas had been to Paul as the brother and friend of early days, he had now found one whom he could claim as his own true son by a spiritual parentage. That Timothy had now (A. D. 49 or 53) only just reached manhood, is evident from St. Paul's addressing him, in the First Epistle, as still young. Following Paul through Asia Minor into Europe, he came to Philippi; and though his tender youth was spared the sufferings of Paul and Silas, the Apostle calls the Philip-pians to witness how zealously he shared their work: "Ye know the

proof of him, that as a son with his father, he hath served with me in the Gospel." His name does not appear in the account of St. Paul's work at Thessalonica, and it is possible that he remained some time at Philippi, and then acted as the messenger by whom the members of that Church sent what they were able to give for the Apostle's wants. He appears, however, at Berea, and remains there when Paul and Silas are obliged to leave, going on afterward to join his master at Athens. From Athens he is sent back to Thessalonica, as having special gifts for comforting and teaching. He returns from Thessalonica, not to Athens, but to Corinth, and his name appears united with St. Paul's in the opening words of both the letters written from that city to the Thessalonians. Here also he was apparently active as an Evangelist, and on him, probably, with some exceptions, devolved the duty of baptizing the new converts.

Of the next five years of his life we have no record, and we can infer nothing beyond a continuance of his active service as St. Paul's companion. When we next meet with him, it is as being sent on in advance, when the Apostle was contemplating the long journey which was to include Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem and Rome. He was sent to "bring the churches into remembrance of the ways" of the Apostle. We trace in the words of the "father" an anxious desire to guard the son from the perils which, to his eager but sensitive temperament, would be most trying. His route would take him through the churches which he had been instrumental in founding, and this would give him scope for exercising the gifts which were afterward to be displayed in a still more responsible office. It is probable, from the passages already referred to, that, after accomplishing the special work assigned to him, he returned by the same route and met St. Paul according to a previous arrangement, and was thus with him when the Second Epistle was written to the Church of Corinth. He returns with the Apostle to that city, and joins in messages of greeting to the disciples whom he had known personally at Corinth, and who had since found their way to Rome. He forms one of the company of friends who go with St. Paul to Philippi and then sail by themselves, waiting for his arrival by a different ship. Whether he continued his journey to Jerusalem, and what became of him during St. Paul's two years' imprisonment and voyage, are points on which we must remain uncertain. He must have joined Paul, however, apparently soon after his arrival in Rome, and was with him when the Epistles to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon were written.

From the two Epistles addressed to him, we are able to put together a few notices as to his later life. It follows, from 1 Tim. i. 3, that he and his master, after the release of the latter from his imprisonment, revisited the proconsular Asia, that the Apostle then continued his journey to Macedonia, while the disciple remained at Ephesus. We have already had occasion to describe his work there as portrayed in St. Paul's First Epistle to him. In the Second Epistle the Apostle's deep personal feeling utters itself yet more fully. The friendship of fifteen years was drawing to a close, and all memories connected with it throng upon the mind of the old man, now ready to be offered, the blameless youth, the holy household, the solemn ordination, the tears at parting. The last recorded words of the Apostle express the earnest hope, repeated yet more earnestly, that he might see him once again. Timotheus is to come before winter, to bring with him the cloak for which in that winter there would be need. Of the spirit in which this urgent invitation was sent we have already spoken. We may hazard the conjecture that Timothy reached Paul in time, and that the last hours of the teacher were soothed by the presence of the disciple whom he loved so truly. He continues, according to the old traditions, to act as bishop of Ephesus, and dies a martyr's death under Domitian or Nerva. The great Festival of Artemis led him to protest against the licence and frenzy which accompanied it. The mob were roused to fury, and put him to death with clubs.

PART IV.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD THE GREAT TO THE
PRESENT DAY.

BOOK X.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TO
THE PRESENT DAY—THE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY.

[B. C. 4.—A. D. 1870.]

CHAPTER XLIV.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS, FROM THE DEATH OF HEROD TO THE DE-
STRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

[B. C. 4—A. D. 70.]

WE return now to the history of the family of Herod the Great, which we laid aside in order to discuss the events of the life of Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the ministry of His Apostles in spreading the Gospel throughout the then known world.

The family of Herod is shown in the genealogical table on the next page. Of his ten wives, we need only notice the offspring of the first five. (1.) He married *Doris* before his accession to the throne; and her only son ANTIPATER was, as we have seen, the last victim of his father's dying rage. (2.) ARISTOBULUS, his eldest son by *Mariamne*, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, was the parent of a large family, and from him were descended the two AGRIPPAS, the first of whom was the "KING HEROD" who slew James and imprisoned Peter; the second, the "KING AGRIPPA" before whom Paul pleaded. (3.) After the judicial murder of *Mariamne*, Herod married another *Mariamne*, daughter of the high-priest, Simon: her son was HEROD

PHILIP, whose marriage with his niece Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, followed by her divorce of him to marry his half-brother, Herod Antipas, led to the martyrdom of John the Baptist. He is often confounded with his half-brother PHILIP, the tetrarch of Ituræa. (4.) His next wife, *Malthace*, a Samaritan, was the mother of HEROD ANTIPAS and ARCHELAUS, of whom we have presently to speak. (5.) By *Cleopatra* he had two sons, the younger of whom was PHILIP, the tetrarch of Ituræa and the adjacent districts, with Trachonitis. (6-10.) His other wives and their children are of no consequence in the history. These complicated relations will be made clearer by the following conspectus of the chief personages with whom the history is concerned, for the four generations of the family :

A. HEROD THE GREAT.

<i>Wives.</i>	<i>Sons.</i>	
1. Doris.....	1. Antipater.....	} Executed by their father in his life-time.
2. Mariamne, grandda. of Hyrcanus II.	2. Aristobulus.....	
3. Mariamne, d. of Simon	3. Alexander.....	
4. Malthace, a Samaritan	4. HEROD PHILIP I.....	Lived as a private person.
5. Cleopatra.. ..	m. Herodias.	
	5. HEROD ANTIPAS.....	Tetrarch of Galilee.
	6. ARCHELAUS.....	Ethnarch of Judæa.
	7. HEROD PHILIP II.....	Tetrarch of Northern Pe- ræa, etc.
	m. Salome, d. of Philip I. and Herodias.	

B. Children of Aristobulus.

1. HEROD AGRIPPA I.... King of Judæa.
2. HERODIAS, m.—
 - (1) Herod Philip I.
 - (2) Herod Antipas.

C. Children of HEROD AGRIPPA I.

1. HEROD AGRIPPA II... Tetrarch of N. Peræa, etc.
(titular king).
2. BERENICE..... Named in Acts xxv. 23.
3. DRUSILLA, m. to FELIX..... Named in Acts xxiv. 24.

During his last illness, Herod made a will in favor of the sons of Malthace, who had been educated at Rome, and had been at first excluded from the inheritance through the accusations of Antipater. It was this unexpected arrangement which led to the retreat of Joseph to Galilee on his return with Mary and Jesus from Egypt. The elder of them, Herod Antipas, was first named by Herod his successor ; but the last change in the king's will transferred that dignity to Archelaus, leaving to Antipas the government of Galilee and Peræa (in the narrower sense), with the title of tetrarch. The northern part of the trans-Jordanic country, including Ituræa, Gaulonitis, and Batanæa, with Trachonitis, were made a tetrarchy for Philip, the

son of Cleopatra. Lastly, Herod's will left an ample provision to his sister Salome, whose intrigues had been so fatal to his family, and large legacies to Augustus and his wife Julia. Herod Philip, the son of the second Mariamne, was excluded from all benefit of his father's will, in revenge for the supposed treason of his mother; as were also the descendants of the first Mariamne.

Pending the ratification of Herod's will by Augustus, Archelaus succeeded to his father's power. The Jewish princes were released from the hippodrome, and the funeral of Herod was celebrated with great splendor. The funeral is thus described by Dean Milman:—"The lifeless remains of Herod seemed to retain his characteristic magnificence. The body was borne aloft on a bier, which was adorned with costly precious stones. The linen was of the richest dye; the winding-sheet of purple. It still wore the diadem, and, above that, the golden crown of royalty; the sceptre was in its hand. The sons and relatives of Herod attended the bier. All the military force followed, distributed according to their nations. First, his body-guard—then his foreign mercenaries, Thracians, Germans, Gauls—then, the rest of the army, in war array. Last came five hundred of his court-officers, bearing sweet spices, with which the Jews embalmed the dead. In this pomp the procession passed on, by slow stages, to the Herodium, a fortified palace, about twenty miles from Jericho."

At the end of the seven days' mourning, during which it was rumored that the pious duties of the day were relieved by nights of revelry, Archelaus gave a funeral feast to the people, and then made a solemn entry into the Temple. His speech, in which he assumed a tone of great moderation, and promised relief from his father's tyranny, was received with loud applause, not unmingled with cries for the redress of grievances. "Some called for a diminution of the public burdens; others for the release of the prisoners, with whom Herod had crowded the dungeons; some more specifically for the entire abandonment of the taxes on the sale of commodities in the markets, which had been levied with the utmost rigor. Archelaus listened with great affability, promised largely, and, having performed sacrifice, retired."

The disaffection, which was doubtless inflamed by disappointment of the hopes founded on the milder character of Herod Antipas, the expected heir, broke out into open tumult while the two brothers were preparing to start for Rome, the one to seek the emperor's confirmation of Herod's will, the other to urge his claims. At the Feast

of the Passover, when Jerusalem was always filled with devout Jews, whose zeal was inflamed by their numbers and by the exaltation of feeling due to the festival, a cry was raised for vengeance on behalf of those whom Herod had executed for pulling down the eagle. The multitude were only dispersed by armed force, with the slaughter of 3000 men, and the feast was broken off. Archelaus now set out for Rome. In his train were Nicolas of Damascus, whose eloquence had so well served his father, and Salome, who was secretly prepared to urge the claims of Herod Antipas.

Meanwhile the rapacity of the Roman officials grasped at what appeared an easy prey. Even while preparing to embark at Cæsarea, Archelaus had met Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, on his way to claim the late King's treasures. His march, suspended at the entreaties of Archelaus and the command of Varus, the prefect of Syria, was resumed as soon as the former had sailed; and his exactions gave the zealots the provocation or pretext for a tumult, which was only put down by the interference of Varus. Sabinus, left still in command at Jerusalem, soon provoked a new insurrection at the Feast of Pentecost, when the city was again filled with zealots bent on avenging their repulse at the Passover. They formed a regular encampment round the Temple, and besieged Sabinus and his legion, probably in the Antonia. The Romans made a sally against the Temple, burned the cloisters of the outer court with its defenders, broke into the sanctuary, and plundered the sacred treasures; but the Jews, furious at the sacrilege, still besieged Sabinus and his legion. The anarchy of the country was inflamed by the troops of Herod, who wandered about in bands, that fought and plundered as they pleased. To these elements of confusion was added the expectation of some great deliverer,—a feeling which now reached its climax,—and at the very time when the true Saviour was concealed in Egypt, false Messiahs were assuming the diadem, and gathering troops of banditti. Meanwhile Varus advanced to the relief of Sabinus, at the head of two legions, and among the auxiliaries were some Arabian bands, who devastated the country. The insurgents laid down their arms at his approach; and Sabinus, ashamed to meet him, set off to Rome. Two thousand of the ringleaders were crucified, and others sent to Rome for trial. It had become plain that, whatever might be the decision of Augustus, he himself was the only master of Judæa.

The cause at issue before him was pleaded by the eloquence of Nicolas and Herod Philip (the elder) on the part of Archelaus, and by Salome and her son Antipater on that of Antipas. During its

progress a deputation of 500 Jews appeared at the emperor's tribunal, praying for the suppression of royalty and the restoration of their liberties ; and the statement that they were supported by no less than 8000 of their countrymen at Rome indicates the number and influence of the Jews settled in the capital. At length, Augustus confirmed the will of Herod in all essential points. Archelaus was established in the government of Judæa, with Idumæa and Samaria, forming about half the kingdom of Herod, and bringing in a revenue of 600 talents. He was to rule under the title of *Ethnarch*, with the promise of that of *King* if he proved worthy of it. Of the chief cities in his territory, he retained Jerusalem, Sebaste, Cæsarea, and Joppa ; while Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo were made Roman towns under the prefect of Syria ; and Salome received Jamnia, Azotus, Phasaëlis, and a palace in Ascalon. Herod Antipas was confirmed in the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa, with a revenue of 200 talents, and Philip in that of Auranitis and Trachonitis.

We have seen that the first news of the succession of Archelaus led the parents of our Lord to turn aside on their way back from Egypt, and to place their precious charge under the milder government of Herod Antipas. The fear of Joseph may be taken as an expression of the popular distrust of Archelaus, which was amply justified by the continued tyranny and disorder of his nine years' reign. At first, he showed a desire to conciliate the Jews by displacing Joazar, whom Herod had made high-priest after the affair of the eagle, in favor of his brother Eleazar. But the adherents of the Law were alienated by the marriage of Archelaus to Glaphyra, his brother Alexander's widow, for whom he divorced his wife Mariamne ; and at length his tyranny provoked his subjects to appeal to Augustus. Archelaus was summoned suddenly to Rome, and banished to Vienna (*Vienne*) in Gaul (A. D. 7). This sentence put a final end to the Jewish monarchy ; for the restoration of a nominal kingdom for a few years under Herod Agrippa I. (A. D. 41–44) can only be viewed as an episode in the Roman domination. "The sceptre had departed from Judah."

Before pursuing the history of Judæa as a Roman province, it will be convenient to follow the course of the two other sons of Herod, who reigned in Palestine according to his will. HEROD ANTIPAS, the brother of Archelaus, was confirmed by Augustus, as we have seen, in the tetrarchy of Galilee and Peræa, which had been assigned to him by his father's will, and hence he is mentioned in the Gospels by the style of HEROD THE TETRARCH. His whole importance is derived from his two appearances in the Gospel history, as first the

hearer and then the murderer of John the Baptist, and as taking part with Pilate in the condemnation of our Lord. The first of these crimes was due to the fatal influence of Herodias, which at last brought him to his ruin. He had married a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa (the same from whose governor at Damascus St. Paul was afterward in danger). While still living with her, he formed a connection of the most disgraceful character in the eye of the Jewish law. The notorious HERODIAS, daughter of Aristobulus, the son of Mariamne and Herod the Great, and consequently sister of Herod Agrippa I., was married to Herod Philip, who was her step-uncle, being the son of Herod and the second Mariamne; and she now deserted Philip to marry Herod Antipas, who stood to her in the same relation. Besides that her husband and his wife were both alive, Antipas, as the half-brother of Philip, was already connected with Herodias by an affinity so close, that there was only one case contemplated in the law of Moses where it could be set aside, namely, when the married brother had died childless. Now Herodias had already one child, Salome, by Philip. Well therefore may she be charged by Josephus with the intention of confounding her country's institutions, and well may John the Baptist have remonstrated against the enormity of such a connection with the tetrarch, whose conscience would certainly seem to have been less hardened than hers; for he "feared" his reprover, whose preaching he had "heard gladly," and though these impressions did not avail to keep him from adding murder to adultery, he "was sorry" to commit the crime. Aretas made war to avenge his daughter; and we have the express testimony of Josephus, that the defeat of Herod, with the loss of nearly all his army, was viewed by the Jews as a judgment for John's murder.

Free from his father's tyrannical temper, Herod Antipas aspired to be the patron and protector of the Jews, and he ventured on an open quarrel with the Roman procurator, probably concerning those "Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices." Herod courted favor with the strict Jews by his visit to Jerusalem at the Passover; and the Roman procurator thought it prudent to avail himself of such an opportunity for a reconciliation by sending Jesus before Herod, who, as tetrarch, had jurisdiction over a Galilean, and as the head of the Herodian house, might gratify his hatred of "the king of the Jews." Such was the conjunction of political interests and passions, by which "both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, were gathered together," to fulfil the divine counsels as foretold by David.

These two chief passages of his life reveal the character of this weak, sensual, and superstitious prince, whose cunning was stamped by the Saviour with the epithet "that fox:" who would have been pleased to have kept both John and Jesus as prophets at his court, but was led by wanton weakness to sacrifice the one, and through the terror engendered by remorse, "would have killed" the other, over whom he at last indulged his spite, when he saw him safe as a prisoner to Pilate. What is left untold of his character and deeds is summed up in the pregnant phrase, which St. Luke adds to the record of his adultery with Herodias, "all the wickedness which Herod had done."

At length the favors heaped by the emperor Caligula (who succeeded Tiberius in A. D. 37) upon his friend and comrade, Herod Agrippa, excited the jealous ambition of Herod Antipas. At the instigation of Herodias, he sailed with her to Rome, nominally to petition for the same royal title which had been conferred upon his nephew, but really to intrigue against him. But Agrippa, the bosom friend of Caligula, met the plot by a charge of treason against his uncle; and Antipas was banished to Lugdunum in Gaul (A. D. 39). It deserves to be recorded of Herodias, that she preferred sharing the exile of Antipas, till death ended his reverses, to remaining with her brother Agrippa, and partaking of his elevation.

The city of TIBERIAS, which Antipas founded and named in honor of the emperor, was the most conspicuous monument of his long reign; but, like the rest of the Herodian family, he showed his passion for building cities in several places, restoring Sepphoris, near Tabor, which had been destroyed in the wars after the death of Herod the Great, and Betharamptha (Beth-haran) in Peræa, which he named Julias, "from the wife of the emperor."

HEROD PHILIP II. was the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra. Like his half-brothers Antipas and Archelaus, he was brought up at home, and on the death of his father advocated the claims of Archelaus before Augustus. He received as his own government "Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis (Gaulonitis), and some parts about Jamnia," with the title of tetrarch. His rule was distinguished by justice and moderation, and he appears to have devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office without sharing in the intrigues which disgraced his family. He built a new city on the site of Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, which he called Cæsarea, and raised Bethsaida (in lower Gaulonitis) to the rank of a city under the title of Julias, and died there A. D. 34. He married Salome, the daughter of Philip I. and Herodias, but, as he left no children, his dominions were added at his death to the Roman province of Syria.

The city of Cæsarea Philippi, chosen by Philip the tetrarch as the site of his villas and palaces, beside his father's temple to Augustus, is distinguished not only by the unrivalled beauty of its site, but also by its sacred associations. "As it is the northernmost frontier of Palestine, so it is the northernmost limit of the journeys of our Lord. . . . It must at least have been in its neighborhood that the confession of Peter was made; the rock on which the temple of Augustus stood, and from which the streams of the Jordan issue, may possibly have suggested the words which now run round the dome of St. Peter's."

Judæa, including Samaria, was reduced, on the banishment of Archelaus, to an ordinary Roman province under a procurator subordinate to the præfect of Syria. He resided, not at Jerusalem, but at Cæsarea on the coast. SABINUS had already held the office during the absence of Archelaus, on whose deposition COPONIUS accompanied Quirinus to the country. Quirinus (the Cyrenius of the N. T.)—now for the second time præfect of Syria—was charged with the unpopular measure of the enrolment or assessment of the inhabitants of Judæa. Notwithstanding the riots which took place elsewhere, at Jerusalem the enrolment was allowed to proceed without resistance, owing to the prudence of Joazar, again high-priest for a short time. One of the first acts of the new governor had been to take formal possession of the state vestments of the high-priest, worn on the three Festivals and on the Day of Atonement. Since the building of the Baris by the Maccabees these robes had always been kept there, a custom continued since its reconstruction by Herod. But henceforward they were to be put up after use in an underground stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and in charge of the captain of the guard. Seven days before use they were brought out, to be consigned again to the chamber after the ceremony was over.

Two incidents at once most opposite in their character, and in their significance to that age and to ourselves, occurred during the procuratorship of Coponius. First, in the year 8, the finding of Christ in the Temple. Annas had been made high-priest about a year before. The second occurrence must have been a most distressing one to the Jews, unless they had become inured to such things. But of this we cannot so exactly fix the date. It was nothing less than the pollution of the Temple by some Samaritans, who secretly brought human bones and strewed them about the cloisters during the night of the Passover. Up to this time the Samaritans had been admitted to the Temple; they were henceforth excluded.

In or about A. D. 10 Coponius was succeeded by M. AMBIVIVUS, and he by ANNIUS RUFUS. In A. D. 14 the emperor Augustus died, and with Tiberius came in a new procurator, VALERIUS GRATUS, who held office till 26, when he was replaced by PONTIUS PILATUS. During this period the high-priests had been numerous, but it is only necessary here to say that when Pilate arrived at his government the office was held by JOSEPH CAIAPHAS, who had been appointed but a few months before. The name of Pilate indicates that he was connected, by descent or adoption, with the *gens* of the Pontii, first conspicuous in Roman history in the person of C. Pontius Telesinus, the great Samnite general. He was the sixth Roman procurator of Judæa, and under him our Lord worked, suffered, and died, as we learn not only from the obvious Scriptural authorities, but from Tacitus,—“Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat.” The freedom from disturbance, which marks the preceding twenty years at Jerusalem, was probably due to the absence of the Roman troops, who were quartered at Cæsarea, out of the way of the fierce fanatics of the Temple. But Pilate transferred the winter-quarters of the army to Jerusalem, and the very first day there was a collision. The offence was given by the Roman standards—the images of the emperor and of the eagle—which by former commanders had been kept out of the city. Pilate had been obliged to send them in by night, and there were no bounds to the rage of the people on discovering what had thus been done. They poured down in crowds to Cæsarea, where the procurator was then residing, and besought him to remove the images. After five days of discussion, he gave the signal to some concealed soldiers to surround the petitioners and to put them to death unless they ceased to trouble him; but this only strengthened their determination, and they declared themselves ready rather to submit to death than forego their resistance to an idolatrous innovation. Pilate then yielded, and the standards were by his orders brought down to Cæsarea. Afterwards, as if to try how far he might go, he consecrated some gilt shields—not containing figures, but inscribed simply with the name of the deity and of the donor—and hung them in the palace at Jerusalem. This act again aroused the resistance of the Jews; and on appeal to Tiberius they were removed. Another riot was caused by his appropriation of the Corban—a sacred revenue arising from the redemption of vows—to the cost of an aqueduct which he constructed for bringing water to the city. To these specimens of his administration, which rest on the testimony of profane authors, we must add the slaughter of certain Galileans, already noticed. The

clear testimony thus borne to his sanguinary tyranny sets in a striking light the meanness of his attempt to conciliate the Jews, and to avoid the threat of a denunciation to Cæsar, by the sacrifice of Jesus. Pilate's tyranny continued after that event, till, A. D. 37, the loud complaints of the Samaritans determined Vitellius, the prefect of Syria and father of the emperor, to send the procurator for trial to Rome. He arrived just after the death of Tiberius; and one of the praiseworthy acts which marked the beginning of Caligula's reign was his banishment to Vienna (*Vienne*) in Gaul, where a monument still bears the very doubtful title of the tomb of Pontius Pilate.

After Pilate had been recalled to Rome, Jerusalem was visited by VITELLIUS, the prefect of Syria, at the time of the Passover. This visit was connected with the war, already noticed, between Herod Antipas and the Arabian king Aretas. In consequence of the victory of the latter, Vitellius set his army in motion to attack Petra; and it was on his march that he visited Jerusalem. Besides forbearing to insult the people by the display of his standards, Vitellius conferred two great benefits on the city. He remitted the duties levied on produce, and he allowed the Jews again to have the free custody of the high-priest's vestments. He removed Caiaphas from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Jonathan, son of Annas. He then departed, apparently leaving a Roman officer in charge of the Antonia. Vitellius was again at Jerusalem this year, probably in the autumn, with Herod the tetrarch; while there he again changed the high-priest, substituting for Jonathan, Theophilus his brother. The news of the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula reached Jerusalem at this time; and it was the interruption thereby caused to the operations of Vitellius that emboldened Aretas to seize Damascus, a circumstance of great importance, as we shall see, in the chronology of Paul's life. MARCELLUS was appointed procurator by the new emperor.

In A. D. 40 Vitellius was superseded by P. PETRONIUS, who arrived in Palestine with an order to place in the Temple a statue of Caligula. This outrage was connected with events which throw an interesting light on the relations of the Jews, in their various branches, to the imperial supremacy. "Up to the reign of Caligula," says Dean Milman, "the Jews had enjoyed, without any serious interruption, the universal toleration which Roman policy permitted to the religion of the subject states. If the religion had suffered a temporary proscription at Rome under Tiberius, it was as a foreign superstition, supposed, from the misconduct of individuals, to be dangerous to the

public morals in the metropolis. Judaism remained undisturbed in the rest of the empire; and, although the occasional insolence of the Roman governors in Judæa might display itself in acts offensive to the religious feelings of the natives, yet the wiser and more liberal, like Vitellius, studiously avoided all interference with that superstition which they respected or despised. But the insane vanity of Caligula made him attempt to enforce from the whole empire those divine honors, which his predecessors consented to receive from the willing adulation of their subjects. Everywhere statues were raised and temples built in honor of the deified emperor. The Jews could not submit to the mandate without violating the first principle of their religion, nor resist it without exposing their whole nation to the resentment of their masters. The storm began to lower around them: its first violence broke upon the Jews in Alexandria, where, however, the collision with the ruling authorities first originated in the animosities of the Greek and Jewish factions which divided the city. This great and populous capital, besides strangers from all quarters, was inhabited by three distinct races, the native Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks. The native Egyptians were generally avoided as of an inferior class; but the Jews boasted of edicts from the founder of the city, and from other monarchs of Egypt, which entitled them to equal rank and estimation with descendants of the ancient Macedonian settlers. They were numerous: Philo calculates that in Egypt they amounted to a million of souls. They were opulent and among the most active traders of that great commercial metropolis. It is probable that they were turbulent, and not the peaceful and unoffending people described by their advocate Philo—at all events they were odious to the Greek population.”

The prefect Valerius Flaccus, whose firm and impartial government had hitherto kept the peace between the contending factions, finding his position endangered upon the accession of Caligula, sought to ingratiate himself with the Alexandrian Greeks by giving them licence to insult the Jews. The arrival of Herod Agrippa, on his way to assume the principality conferred on him by Caligula, furnished a butt for their insolence; and, having vented their wanton humor in a mockery of his royal state, they proceeded, on his departure, to more serious outrages. They set up statues of the emperor in the *proseuchæ* or Jewish places of worship; and the Jews, compelled by an edict of Flaccus to keep themselves within the two quarters of the city which were peopled exclusively by them, though many resided in the other three, lost heavily by the compulsory removal,

and began to suffer from pestilence and famine in the crowded quarters in which they were almost besieged. "Those who ventured out into the market were robbed, insulted, maltreated, pursued with sticks and stones. Bloodshed soon ensued; many were slain with the sword, others trampled to death; some, even while alive, were dragged by their heels through the streets. When dead, their bodies were still dragged along till they were torn to pieces, or so disfigured that they could not be distinguished if at length recovered by their friends. Those who strayed out of the city to breathe the purer air of the country, or the strangers who incautiously entered the walls to visit and relieve their friends, were treated in the same way, and beaten with clubs till they were dead. The quays were watched, and, on the landing of a Jewish vessel, the merchandise was plundered, the owners and their vessel burned. Their houses were likewise set on fire, and whole families, men, women, and children, burned alive. Yet even this was a merciful death, compared with the sufferings of others. Sometimes, from want of wood, their persecutors could collect only a few wet sticks, and over these, stifled with smoke, and half-consumed, the miserable victims slowly expired. Sometimes they would mock their sufferings by affected sorrow; but if any of their own relatives or friends betrayed the least emotion, they were seized, scourged, tortured, or even crucified."

When these outrages had reached their height, Flaccus summoned before his tribunal, not the perpetrators, but the victims; and thirty-eight of the chiefs of the Alexandrian Sanhedrim were publicly scourged in the theatre, many dying under the blows. The survivors were cast into prison; and many other Jews were seized and crucified. "It was the morning spectacle of the theatre, to see the Jews scourged, tortured both with the rack and with pulleys, and then led away to execution; and to this horrible tragedy immediately succeeded farces and dances, and other theatrical amusements." All this time Flaccus was keeping back a loyal address, which the Alexandrian Jews had drawn up by the advice of Agrippa, who, discovering the fraud, sent a copy to the emperor. A centurion was sent to arrest Flaccus. He was banished, and, after enduring much suffering and contempt in exile, was at length put to a cruel death.

The preceding narrative, so strikingly illustrative of the condition of one branch of the Hebrew race, is furnished by Philo, the celebrated Alexandrian Jew, who brought the philosophic principles of Neo-Platonism to the defence of the ancient faith. If he may be reasonably suspected of exaggerating the sufferings and especially the

submissive temper of his countrymen, there seems no reason for doubting his graphic account of the mission which he headed to Caligula, to whom the Greeks also sent a deputation headed by Apion, a name celebrated by Josephus's refutation of his book against the Jews. They arrived just at the time when Caligula, incensed at the destruction of an altar which one of the Roman *publicani* had erected to the emperor at Jamnia, had issued the edict for the erection of his own colossal statue in the Holy of Holies, and the dedication of the Temple to himself in the character of Jupiter; and this blow at the chief sanctuary of their religion seemed fatal to their own cause. Nevertheless Caius received them with a favor, in which it soon appeared that contempt was the chief element. The celebrated interview narrated by Philo exhibits probably the prevalent feeling of the Romans toward the Jews, though distorted into peculiar grotesqueness by the emperor's insane levity. It is thus related by the eloquent historian of the Jews:—"After a long and wearisome attendance, the deputies were summoned to a final audience. To judge so grave a cause, as Philo complains with great solemnity, the emperor did not appear in a public court, encircled by the wisest of his senators; the embassy was received in the apartments of two contiguous villas in the neighborhood of Rome, called after Lamia and Mæcnas. The bailiffs of these villas were commanded at the same time to have all the rooms thrown open for the emperor's inspection. The Jews entered, made a profound obeisance, and saluted Caligula as Augustus and Emperor—but the sarcastic smile on the face of Caius gave them little hopes of success. 'You are then'—he said, showing his teeth as he spoke—'those enemies of the gods who alone refuse to acknowledge my divinity, but worship a deity whose name you dare not pronounce'—and here, to the horror of the Jews, he uttered the awful name. The Greek deputies from Alexandria, who were present, thought themselves certain of their triumph, and began to show their exultation by insulting gestures; and Isidore, one of the accusers of Flaccus, came forward to aggravate the disobedience of the Jews. He accused them of being the only nation who had refused to sacrifice to the emperor. The Jews with one voice disclaimed the calumny, and asserted that they had three times offered sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor—and indeed had been the first to do so on his accession. 'Be it so,' rejoined the emperor—'ye have sacrificed *for* me, but not *to* me.' The Jews stood aghast and trembling. On a sudden Caius began to run all over the house, up stairs and down stairs; inspecting the men's and women's apartments; finding fault and giving orders, while the

poor Jews followed him from room to room, amid the mockery of the attendants. After he had given his orders, the emperor suddenly turned round to them: 'Why is it that you do not eat pork?' The whole court burst into peals of laughter. The Jews temperately replied, that different nations had different usages: some persons would not eat lamb. 'They are right,' said the emperor, 'it is an insipid meat.' After further trial of their patience, he demanded, with his usual abruptness, on what they grounded their right of citizenship. They began a long and grave legal argument; but they had not proceeded far, when Caius began to run up and down the great hall, and to order that some blinds, of a kind of transparent stone, like glass, which admitted the light, and excluded the heat and air, should be put up against the windows. As he left that room, he asked the Jews, with a more courteous air, if they had any thing to say to him; they began again their harangue, in the middle of which he started away into another chamber, to see some old paintings. The ambassadors of the Jews at length were glad to retreat, and felt happy to escape with their lives. Caius gave them their dismissal in these words:—'Well, after all, they do not seem so bad; but rather a poor foolish people, who cannot believe that I am a god.'

Whatever the Alexandrian Jews may have gained from the contemptuous forbearance and mad humor of the despot, there was no relenting of his purpose to desecrate the Temple at Jerusalem; and he directed two legions to be withdrawn from the Euphrates, if necessary, to put down resistance. Petronius reluctantly ordered the statue to be made by Sidonian workmen, while he communicated his master's intentions to the Jews. The news had no sooner spread, than the people, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, flocked in thousands, though unarmed, to the winter-quarters of the governor at Ptolemais, to let him know that they dreaded the wrath of God more than that of the emperor. The like scene was repeated, when Petronius removed his headquarters to Tiberias, to gain more certain information of the state of the country. When he replied to their supplications by asking them, "Are ye resolved, then, to wage war against your emperor?" they all fell on their faces to the earth, exclaiming, "We have no thought of war, but we will submit to be massacred rather than infringe our Law." For forty days they remained as suppliants before the prefect, neglecting the season for sowing, till he became alarmed lest a famine should drive the people to robbery. Petronius announced to an assembly convened at Tiberias his resolution to postpone the work till he had further orders from



TIBERIAS AND LAKE, LOOKING TO THE NORTHEAST.

Rome. The influence of Agrippa with Caligula obtained the suspension of the decree; and the tyrant was preparing to vent his mortification upon Petronius, when the dagger of Cassius Chærea delivered the empire from the daily dread of some new excess of madness (A. D. 41).

When the body of Caligula was left by his assassins in the dark corridor between the palace and the amphitheatre, the only man who protected it from insult was the Jewish prince, whose name has been more than once mentioned. This was HEROD AGRIPPA I., the son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great. He was sent to Rome on his father's execution, and was brought up with Drusus the son of Tiberius. On the death of Drusus, he found himself excluded from the emperor's presence, and was besides overwhelmed with debt. Returning to Palestine, he obtained through his sister Herodias the protection of Herod Antipas, who made him governor of Tiberias. But a quarrel soon took place, and after strange vicissitudes and adventures, Agrippa obtained a loan from the Alabarch of Alexandria, which enabled him to return to Italy. He attached himself to the young Caius (Caligula), and having been overheard to express a hope for his friend's speedy succession, he was thrown into prison by Tiberius, where he remained till the accession of Caligula, A. D. 37. The new emperor gave him the governments formerly held by the tetrarchs Philip and Lysanias, and bestowed on him the ensigns of royalty and other marks of favor, and he arrived in Palestine in the following year, after visiting Alexandria. The jealousy of Herod Antipas and his wife Herodias was excited by these distinctions, and they sailed to Rome in the hope of supplanting Agrippa in the emperor's favor. As we have seen, Agrippa was aware of their design, and anticipated it by a counter-charge against Antipas of treasonable correspondence with the Parthians. Antipas failed to answer the accusation, and was banished to Gaul (A. D. 39), and his dominions were added to those already held by Agrippa.

During the brief wild reign of Caligula, Agrippa continued his faithful friend, and used his influence, as we have seen, on behalf of the Jews. Having paid the last honors to his patron's remains, he smoothed the path of his successor to the throne by his activity and discretion in carrying messages between the Senate and the prætorian camp. CLAUDIUS rewarded him with the kingdom of Judæa and Samaria, in addition to his tetrarchy, and thus the dominions of Herod the Great were reunited under his grandson (A. D. 41). We must doubtless ascribe to the emperor's philosophic spirit, as well as to his

favor for Agrippa, his edict for the toleration of the Jewish religion, the reality of which was proved by the punishment inflicted by Petronius on the inhabitants of Dora for insulting a Jewish synagogue.

Agrippa arrived in Palestine to take possession of his kingdom, and one of his first acts was to visit the Temple, where he offered sacrifice, and dedicated the golden chain which the late emperor had presented him after his release from captivity. It was hung over the Treasury. Simon was made high-priest; and the house-tax was remitted. Unlike the other princes of his family, Agrippa was a strict observer of the Law, and he sought with success the favor of the Jews. He resided very much at Jerusalem, and added materially to its prosperity and convenience.

The city had for some time been extending itself toward the north, and a large suburb had come into existence on the high ground north of the Temple, and outside the "second wall" which enclosed the northern part of the great central valley of the city. Hitherto the outer portion of this suburb—which was called Bezetha; or "New town," and had grown up very rapidly—was unprotected by any formal wall, and practically lay open to attack. This defenceless condition attracted the attention of Agrippa, who, like the first Herod, was a great builder, and he commenced enclosing it in so substantial and magnificent a manner as to excite the suspicions of the prefect of Syria, Vibius Marsus, at whose instance the work was stopped by Claudius. Subsequently the Jews seem to have purchased permission to complete the work. This new wall, the outermost of the three which enclosed the city on the north, started from the old wall at the Tower Hippicus, near the northwest corner of the city. It ran northward, bending by a large circuit to the east, and at last returning southward along the western brink of the valley of Kedron, till it joined the southern wall of the Temple. Thus it enclosed not only the new suburb, but also the district immediately north and northeast of the Temple on the brow of the Kedron valley, which up to the present date had lain open to the country. The huge stones which still lie—many of them undisturbed—in the east and south walls of the Haram area, especially the southeast corner under the "Bath and Cradle of Jesus," are parts of this wall.

The year 44 began with the murder of St. James by Agrippa, a deed expressly ascribed to his desire to please the Jews, followed at the Passover by the imprisonment and escape of St. Peter. The exercise of the power of life and death shows that, though Agrippa's power was entirely dependent on the emperor's pleasure, it could

scarcely be called nominal; but Josephus expressly calls it an illegal assumption of a power that belonged only to the Roman procurator. It was, in fact, the systematic policy of Claudius to govern those parts of the East, which had not yet been fully incorporated into the Empire, through their own petty princes; and thus he restored Antiochus to the kingdom of Commagene, and Mithridates to that of Pontus, as well as Agrippa to the throne of Herod. The dependent prince was probably acting in the spirit of the emperor, when he assembled five neighboring kings at a magnificent entertainment at Tiberias; his brother Herod, king of Chalcis; Antiochus, king of Commagene; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Sampsigeranus, king of Emesa; and Polemon, king of Pontus: and, when Vibius Marsus, jealous of the meeting, ordered the kings back to their territories, Agrippa had the boldness to write to Claudius, soliciting the prefect's recall.

Nature had secured for Agrippa the inheritance of at least one part of the greatness of Solomon. Now, as then, the maritime cities of Phœnicia depended for their corn upon the produce of the fertile plain districts of Palestine:—"Their country was nourished by the king's country." The vast influence which he thus exerted is proved by the humility with which the Tyrians and Sidonians deprecated his resentment; and the pomp amid which he received their envoys at Cæsarea, indicating a desire to assume all the greatness of his grandfather, only made the likeness of their deaths the more conspicuous.

In the fourth year of his reign over the whole of Judæa (A. D. 44) Agrippa celebrated some games at Cæsarea in honor of the emperor. When he appeared in the theatre on the second day in a royal robe made entirely of silver stuff, which shone in the morning light, his flatterers saluted him as a god; and suddenly he was seized with terrible pains, and being carried from the theatre to the palace, died after five days' agony a loathsome death, like those of the great persecutors, Antiochus Epiphanes, and his own grandfather. "After being racked for five days with intestine pains," "he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." (A. D. 44.) The miraculous and judicial character of his death is distinctly affirmed by the sacred historian: "Immediately the *angel of the Lord* smote him, because he gave not GOD the glory." The Greeks of Sebaste and Cæsarea, with his own soldiers, showed brutal exultation at his death, and the censure which the riot brought down from Claudius upon the Roman soldiers embittered their feelings toward the Jews to such a degree that Josephus regards this as one of the chief causes of the Jewish war.

HEROD AGRIPPA II., the son of Herod Agrippa I., was at Rome when his father died. He was only seventeen years old, and Claudius made his youth a reason for not giving him his father's kingdom, as he had intended. The emperor afterward gave him the kingdom of Chalcis (A. D. 50), which was vacant by the death of his uncle Herod (A. D. 48); and this was soon exchanged for the tetrarchies of Ituræa and Abilene, to which Nero added certain cities of the Decapolis about the Lake of Galilee (A. D. 52). But beyond the limits of his own dominions, Agrippa was permitted to exercise throughout Judæa that influence which even Paul recognized as welcome to a Jew, who saw in him the last scion of the Asmonæan house. In particular, he succeeded to those (as we should now say) ecclesiastical functions which the tolerant policy of Rome had permitted his uncle Herod to exercise—the government of the Temple and the nomination of the high-priest. He was, as we learn from the same authority, “expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews;” and so well able to understand the Jewish Scriptures, that the Apostle's reasonings from them called forth his memorable confession, “Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.” He gratified his hereditary taste for magnificence by adorning Jerusalem and Berytus with costly buildings; but in such a manner as mortally to offend the Jews; and his relations to his sister Berenice (or Bernice), the widow of his uncle Herod, were of a very doubtful character. But his one leading principle was to preserve fidelity to Rome. His sister, Drusilla, was married to Felix, the procurator of Judæa under Claudius and Nero; and the narrative of St. Paul's trial shows Agrippa's intimacy with Festus, the successor of Felix. In the last great rebellion of Judæa, he took part with Rome. With the destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 70), an end was put to this last Jewish principality. Retaining, however, his empty title as king, Agrippa survived the fate of his country in the enjoyment of splendid luxury, retired to Rome with Berenice, and died there in the third year of Trajan (A. D. 100). Of the other members of Herod's house, it is needless to say more than appears in the genealogical table.

Shortly after the death of Herod Agrippa I., CUSPIUS FADUS arrived from Rome as procurator, under Longinus as prefect of Syria. An attempt was made by the Romans to regain possession of the pontifical robes; but on reference to the emperor the attempt was abandoned. In A. D. 45 commenced a severe famine, which lasted two years. To the people of Jerusalem it was alleviated by the presence of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to the Jewish faith, who

visited the city in 46 and imported corn and dried fruit, which she distributed to the poor. During her stay Helena constructed, at a distance of three stadia from the city, a tomb marked by three pyramids, to which her remains, with those of her son, were afterward brought. It was situated to the north, and formed one of the points in the course of the new wall. This famine furnishes one of the chief data of the chronology of the Acts, in the journey of Paul and Barnabas, bringing the contributions for the poor Christians at Jerusalem, which had been collected at Antioch in consequence of the prediction of the famine by Agabus.

Fadus was succeeded by TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, an apostate Egyptian Jew (A. D. 46), and he by VENTIDIUS CUMANUS (A. D. 48 or 50). A frightful tumult happened at the Passover of this year, caused, as on former occasions, by the presence of the Roman soldiers in the Antonia, and in the courts and cloisters of the Temple, during the festival. Ten, or, according to another account, twenty thousand are said to have met their deaths, not by the sword, but trodden to death in the crush through the narrow lanes which led from the Temple down into the city. After other outrages, Cumanus was recalled to Rome, where Agrippa's influence procured his banishment (A. D. 53), and FELIX was appointed in his room, partly at the instance of Jonathan, the then high-priest. The hatred of Claudius to "foreign su-

perstition" had meanwhile been vented in an edict banishing the Jews from Rome (A. D. 52). Felix ruled the province in a mean, cruel, and profligate manner. With the compendious description of Tacitus the fuller details of Josephus agree, though his narrative is tinged with his hostility to the Jewish patriots and zealots, whom, under the name of robbers, he describes Felix as extirpating and crucifying by hundreds. His period of office was full of troubles and seditions. We read of his putting down false Messiahs, the followers of an Egyptian



ROMAN SOLDIER.

magician, riots between the Jews and Syrians in Cæsarea, and between the priests and the principal citizens of Jerusalem. A set of ferocious fanatics, whom Josephus calls *Sicarii* (Assassins), had lately begun to make their appearance in the city, whose creed it was to rob and murder all whom they judged hostile to Jewish interests. Felix, weary of the remonstrances of Jonathan on his vicious life, employed some of these wretches to assassinate him. The high-priest was killed in the Temple while sacrificing. The murder was never inquired into, and emboldened by this, the *Sicarii* repeated their horrid act; thus adding, in the eyes of the Jews, the awful crime of sacrilege to that of murder. The city, too, was filled with impostors pretending to inspiration, but inspired only with hatred to all government and order. Nor was the disorder confined to the lower classes: the chief people of the city, the very high-priests themselves, robbed the threshing-floors of the tithes common to all the priests, and led parties of rioters to open tumult and fighting in the streets. In fact, not only Jerusalem, but the whole country far and wide, was in the most frightful confusion and insecurity, and, though want of vigor was not among the faults of Felix, his severe measures and cruel retributions seemed only to accelerate the already rapid course of the Jews to ruin. His detention of St. Paul in prison, in the hope of extorting money, adds to the traits of tyranny the baseness of the freedman. Tacitus says, in one word, "By every form of cruelty and lust, he wielded the power of a king in the spirit of a slave." Such were the crimes that weighed on the conscience of the Apostle's judge—dreading the vengeance of his earthly master, while he had learned something of higher principles from his Jewish wife, Drusilla. No wonder that, as Paul "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and *judgment to come*, Felix trembled." His crowning outrage was a massacre of the Jews at Cæsarea, on the occasion of one of their frequent conflicts with the Greeks. For this he was accused before Nero, after his recall (A. D. 60); but the party of his brother Pallas had still influence enough to save him from punishment; while the Greeks of Cæsarea obtained an imperial decree depriving the Jewish citizens of their rights. These affairs of Cæsarea hastened the coming contest: the Greeks became more and more insulting; the Jews more and more turbulent.

In the end of A. D. 60, or the beginning of A. D. 61, PORCIUS FESTUS succeeded Felix as procurator. Festus was an able and upright officer, and at the same time conciliatory toward the Jews, as he proved in his judgment on St. Paul, whose trial took place, not at Jerusalem, but at Cæsarea. In the brief period of his administration he kept

down the robbers with a strong hand, and gave the province a short breathing time. On one occasion both Festus and Agrippa came into collision with the Jews at Jerusalem. Agrippa had added an apartment to the old Asmonæan palace on the eastern brow of the Upper City, which commanded a full view into the interior of the courts of the Temple. This view the Jews intercepted by building a wall on the west side of the inner quadrangle. But the wall not only intercepted Agrippa's view, it also interfered with that from the outer cloisters, in which the Roman guard was stationed during the festivals. Both Agrippa and Festus interfered, and required it to be pulled down; but the Jews pleaded that, once built, it was a part of the Temple, and entreated to be allowed to appeal to Nero. Nero allowed their plea, but retained as hostages the high-priest and treasurer, who had headed the deputation. Agrippa appointed Joseph, called Cabi, to the vacant priesthood, in which he was shortly after succeeded by ANNAS or ANANUS, the fifth son of the Annas before whom our Lord was taken.

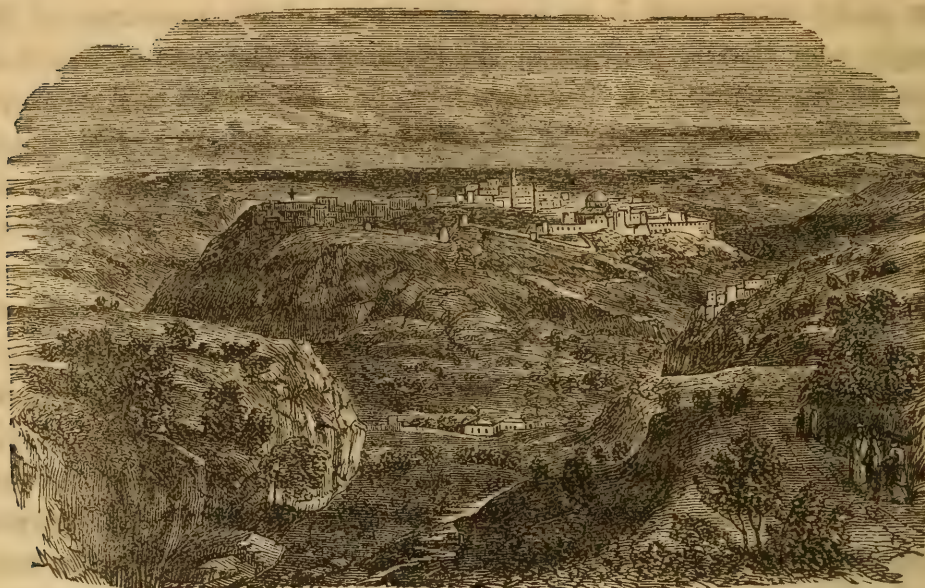
In 62 (probably) Festus died, and was succeeded after a time by ALBINUS. In the interval a persecution was commenced against the Christians at the instance of the new high-priest, a rigid Sadducee, and St. James and others were arraigned before the Sanhedrim. They were "delivered to be stoned," but St. James at any rate appears not to have been killed till a few years later. The act gave great offence to all, and cost Annas his office, after he had held it but three months. Jesus (Joshua), the son of Damneus, succeeded him. Albinus began his rule by endeavoring to keep down the Sicarii and other disturbers of the peace; and indeed he preserved throughout a show of justice and vigor, though in secret greedy and rapacious. But before his recall he pursued his end more openly, and priests, people, and governors alike seem to have been bent on rapine and bloodshed: rival high-priests headed bodies of rioters and stoned each other, and in the words of Josephus, "all things grew from worse to worse." The evils were aggravated by two occurrences,—the release by Albinus, before his departure, of all the smaller criminals in the prisons; and, secondly, the discharge of an immense body of workmen on the completion of the repairs of the Temple. An endeavor was made to remedy the latter by inducing Agrippa to rebuild the eastern cloister; but he refused to undertake a work of such magnitude, though he consented to pave the city with marble. The repairs of a part of the sanctuary that had fallen down, and the renewal of the foundations of some portions, were deferred for the present, but the materials were collected and stored in one of the courts.

Nothing was wanting to fill the measure of calamity which this fruitful and once happy land was to exhaust, but the nomination of a governor, like Gessius Florus, in 65, who made the people look back with regret to the administration of the rapacious Albinus. Albinus at least dissembled his cruelties and exactions. Relying on the protection of the Empress, who was attached to his wife Cleopatra by long friendship and kindred disposition, Florus made an ostentatious display of his oppressions. Without compunction and without shame, as crafty as he was cruel, he laid deliberate schemes of iniquity, by which, at some distant period, he was to reap his harvest of plunder. He pillaged not only individuals, but even communities, and seemed to grant a general indemnity for spoliation, if he was only allowed his fair portion of the plunder. Many villages and towns were entirely deserted; the inhabitants left their native country to fly beyond the reach of his administration. Cestius Gallus, a man of a congenial spirit, commanded in Syria. The fear of Florus, as long as Cestius remained in Syria, prevented the Jews from appealing to his tribunal: they would not have been suffered to arrive there in safety. But when Cestius, during the days preceding the Passover, visited Jerusalem, three millions of suppliants, that is, the whole population assembled for the great annual feast, surrounded him, and entreated his interference. Florus stood by the side of Cestius, turning their complaints into ridicule. Cestius, however, promised that he would use his interest with Florus to treat them with greater moderation, and Florus, without further reproof, was permitted to escort his colleague in iniquity, on his way to Antioch, as far as Cæsarea.

In the meantime wild and awful prodigies, thus the Jewish annalist relates, had filled the timid with apprehensions of the approaching desolation. But the blind and desperate multitude neglected all these signs of Almighty wrath. A comet, which had the appearance of a sword, hung above the city for a whole year. While the people were assembled at the feast of unleavened bread, at the sixth hour of the night, a sudden light, as bright as day, shone about the altar and the Temple, and continued for nearly half an hour. A cow led forth to sacrifice, brought forth a calf. The inner gate on the side of the Temple looking eastward was of brass, and of such immense weight as to require twenty men to close it in the evening. It was fastened by strong iron bolts, let into the stone door posts. Suddenly this gate flew open, and it was with much difficulty that all the assembled guard could reclose it. This the vulgar considered a good omen, as indicating that God had opened the gate of blessing; but the wise

more sadly interpreted it as a manifest sign of the insecurity of the Temple, and that it prefigured the opening of the gate of the Holy Place to the enemy. A few days after this festival, a still more incredible circumstance occurred—such, says Josephus, as would appear a fable, had it not been attested by eye-witnesses, and justified by the subsequent events. Before sunset, chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the heavens; they mingled and formed in array so as to seem to encircle the whole city in their rapid and terrific career. And on the Pentecost, when the priests on duty entered by night into the Temple, they said that they heard a movement and a noise, and presently the voice as it were of a great host, which said, “Let us depart hence.” More alarming still! while the city was yet at peace and in prosperity, a countryman named Jesus, son of Ananus, began suddenly to cry aloud in the Temple:—“*A voice from the east! a voice from the west! a voice from the four winds! a voice against Jerusalem and against the Temple! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! a voice against the whole people!*” Day and night in the narrow streets of the city he went along repeating these words in a loud voice. Some of the leaders seized him, and had him severely beaten. He uttered no remonstrance, no entreaty for mercy, he seemed entirely regardless about his own person, but still went on reiterating his fearful burden. The magistrates then apprehended him, and led him before Albinus, the Roman governor; there he was scourged till his bones could be seen; he uttered neither shriek of pain, nor prayer for mercy, but raising his sad and broken voice as loud as he could, at every blow cried out, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem!* Albinus demanded who he was, and whence he came? he answered not a word. The Roman at length supposing that he was mad, let him go. All the four years that intervened before the war, the son of Ananus paid no attention to any one, and never spoke, excepting the same words, *Woe, woe to Jerusalem!* He neither cursed any one who struck him, nor thanked any one who gave him food. His only answer was the same melancholy presage. He was particularly active during the festivals, and then with greater frequency, and still deeper voice, he cried, *Woe, woe to the city and to the Temple!* At length, during the siege, he suddenly cried out, *Woe, woe to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone from a balista.

It is not improbable that the prophecies of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem disseminated by the Christians might add to the general apprehension. Mingled as they were with the mass of the people, their distinct assurances that their Divine Teacher had foretold the



JERUSALEM AND ITS VALLEYS.

speedy dissolution of the State, could scarcely remain unknown, especially when, in obedience to the command of Christ, they abandoned Jerusalem in a body, and retreated to Pella, a town beyond the Jordan.

There was another sign, which might have given warning to the political sagacity or to the humanity of the Romans, upon the nature of the approaching contest, as showing how immense a population they were thus driving to desperation, and what horrible carnage would be necessary before they could finally subdue the rebellious province. When Cestius Gallus was at Jerusalem, at the time of the Passover, he inquired the number of Jews present from all quarters. The priests counted the lambs sacrificed, and found 255,600. None but Jews, and those free from legal impurities, might sacrifice. Reckoning at a low average of ten to each lamb, the numbers were 2,556,000. Josephus supposes that three millions would not have been an immoderate calculation.

The fatal flame finally broke out in the old feud at Cæsarea. The decree of Nero had assigned the magistracy of that city to the Greeks. It happened that the Jews had a synagogue, the ground around which belonged to a Greek. For this spot the Jews offered a much higher price than it was worth. It was refused; and to annoy them as much as possible, the owner set up some mean shops and buildings upon it, and rendered the approach to the synagogue as narrow and difficult as he could. The more hot-headed of the Jewish youth interrupted the workmen. The men of greater wealth and influence,

and among them John, a publican, collected the large sum of eight talents, and sent it as a bribe to Florus, that he might interfere and stop the building. Florus received the money, made great promises, and immediately set out from Cæsarea for Sebaste, in order to leave full scope for the riot. On the following day, a Sabbath, while the Jews were crowding to the synagogue, a man overset an earthen vessel in the way, and began to sacrifice birds upon it. It has been conjectured that this was a particularly offensive jest. However this may be, the Jews were furious at the affront, and attacked the Greeks. The Greeks were already in arms, waiting this signal for the affray. Jucundus, the governor, attempted in vain to appease the tumult, till at length the Jews, being worsted, took up the books of their Law, and went away to Nabata, about seven and a half miles distant. John, the publican, with twelve of the highest rank, went to Samaria to Florus, implored his assistance, and modestly reminded him of the eight talents he had received. Florus threw them into prison with every mark of indignity.

The news of this outrage and injustice spread to Jerusalem. The city was in a state of violent excitement. It was the deliberate purpose of Florus to drive the people to insurrection, both that all inquiry into his former oppressions might be drowned by the din of war, and that he might have better opportunities for plunder. He seized this critical moment to demand seventeen talents from the sacred treasury under pretence of Cæsar's necessities. The demand produced a frantic disturbance, in the midst of which he approached the city with both cavalry and foot-soldiers. That night Florus took up his quarters in the royal palace—that of Herod at the northwest corner of the city. On the following morning he took his seat on the Bema, and the high-priest and other principal people being brought before him, he demanded that the leaders of the late riot should be given up. On their refusal, he ordered his soldiers to plunder the Upper City. This order was but too faithfully carried out; every house was entered and pillaged, and the Jews driven out. In their attempt to get through the narrow streets, which lay in the valley between the Upper City and the Temple, many were caught and slain, others were brought before Florus, scourged, and then crucified. No grade or class was exempt. Jews who bore the Roman equestrian order were among the victims treated with most indignity. Queen Berenice herself—residing at that time in the Asmonæan palace in the very midst of the slaughter—was so affected by the scene, as to intercede in person and bare-foot before Florus, but without avail; and in returning she was

herself nearly killed, and only escaped by taking refuge in her palace and calling her guards about her. The further details of this dreadful tumult must be passed over. Florus was foiled in his attempt to press through the old city up into the Antonia—whence he would have had nearer access to the treasures—and finding that the Jews had broken down the north and west cloisters where they joined the fortress, so as to cut off the communication, he relinquished the attempt and withdrew to Cæsarea.

Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, now found it necessary to visit the city in person, to examine into the causes of the revolt, to punish the guilty, and confirm the Roman party in their allegiance. In the meantime he sent forward Neopolitanus, a centurion, to prepare for his approach. At Jamnia, Neopolitanus met with Agrippa, then on his return from Egypt, and communicated to him the object of his mission. Before they left Jamnia, a deputation of the priesthood and heads of the people appeared, to congratulate Agrippa on his return. Agrippa artfully dissembled his compassion, and even affected to reprove the turbulent conduct of his countrymen. About seven or eight miles from Jerusalem, Neopolitanus and Agrippa were met by a more mournful procession. The people were preceded by the wives of those who had been slain. The women, with wild shrieks and outcries, called on Agrippa for protection; and recounted to Neopolitanus all the miseries they had undergone from the cruelty of Florus. On the entrance of the king and the Roman into the city, they were led to the ruined market-place, and shown the shops that had been plundered, and the desolate houses where the inhabitants had been massacred. Neopolitanus, having passed through the whole city, and found it in profound peace, went up to the Temple, paid his adorations there in the court of the Gentiles, exhorted the people to maintain their loyal demeanor, and returned to Cestius.

Agrippa on his part, while declining to countenance the embassy which they proposed to send to Nero, did much to quiet the people. At his instance they rebuilt the part of the cloister which had been demolished, and collected the tribute in arrear, but the mere suggestion from him, that they should obey Florus until he was replaced, produced such a storm that he was obliged to leave the city. The seditious party in the Temple, led by young Eleazar, son of Ananias, rejected the offerings of the Roman Emperor, which had been regularly made since the time of Julius Cæsar. *This, as a direct renunciation of allegiance, was the true beginning of the war with Rome.* Such acts were not done without resistance from the older and wiser

people. But remonstrance was unavailing, the innovators would listen to no representations. The peace party, therefore, dispatched some of their number to Florus and to Agrippa, and the latter sent 3000 horse-soldiers to assist in keeping order.

Hostilities at once began. The peace party, headed by the high-priest, and fortified by Agrippa's soldiers, threw themselves into the Upper City. The insurgents held the Temple and the Lower City. In the Antonia was a small Roman garrison. Fierce contests lasted for seven days, each side endeavoring to take possession of the part held by the other. At last the insurgents, who behaved with the greatest ferocity, and were reinforced by a number of Sicarii, were triumphant. They gained the Upper City, driving all before them—the high-priest and other leaders into vaults and sewers, the soldiers into Herod's palace. The Asmonæan palace, the high-priest's house, and the repository of the archives—in Josephus's language, “the nerves of the city”—were set on fire. Antonia was next attacked, and in two days they had effected an entrance, sabred the garrison, and burned the fortress. The balistæ and catapults found there were preserved for future use. The soldiers in Herod's palace were next besieged; but so strong were the walls, and so stout the resistance, that it was three weeks before an entrance could be effected. The soldiers were at last forced from the palace into the three great towers on the adjoining wall with great loss; and ultimately were all murdered in the most treacherous manner. The high-priest and his brother were discovered hidden in the aqueduct of the palace: they were instantly put to death. Thus the insurgents were now completely masters of both city and Temple.

On that very day and hour, by a coincidence which Josephus considered providential, a dreadful retribution for the crimes of their countrymen was, as it were, pre-exacted from the Jews of Cæsarea. The Greeks, now tolerably certain that to satiate their own animosity would be to please rather than offend the Romans, or, perhaps, under secret instructions from Florus, suddenly rose and massacred the Jews almost to a man; in one hour 20,000, an incredible number, were said to be killed. Not a Jew appeared in Cæsarea. The few who fled were seized by Florus, and sent to the galleys.

By this act the whole nation was driven to madness. A war of extermination was at once begun between them and their neighbors. They rose, surprised, and laid waste all around the cities of Syria, around Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella (where probably as yet the Christians had not taken refuge), and Scythopolis. They made a

sudden descent upon Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulonitis; burnt and destroyed many places, and advanced boldly against Cedasa, a Tyrian town, and the important places of Ptolemais and Gaba, and even against Cæsarea itself. Sebaste and Ascalon offered no resistance—at least to the inroad on their territory; Anthedon and Gaza they razed to the ground. The hamlets around these cities were pillaged with immense slaughter.

The Syrians took the alarm, and committed dreadful havoc on the Jewish inhabitants of their towns. Every city was, as it were, divided into two hostile camps. The great object was to anticipate the work of carnage. The days were passed in mutual slaughter, the nights in mutual dread. In Scythopolis the Jews were thrown off their guard by the inhabitants, who suddenly fell upon them and put 13,000 to the sword in a single night. The desire for plunder, as well as hatred of the Jewish race and religion, strongly influenced the Gentiles, and he who could display the largest heap of Jewish spoil was considered a hero.

In all the remaining Grecian cities the example of Scythopolis was followed; the Jews were ruthlessly massacred, and their property seized. Of the Syrian cities, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea, alone showed real humanity, and forbade the death or even the imprisonment of their Jewish fellow-citizens. The citizens of Gerasa not merely abstained from injuring those who remained in their city, but escorted those who chose to leave it into the mountains. In the dominions of Agrippa open hostilities were prevented only by the prudence and firmness of Philip, one of the king's generals who had escaped the massacre at Jerusalem. In Alexandria, a disturbance in the amphitheatre brought on a terrible conflict between the Jews and the Roman soldiery, in which the Jewish quarter was plundered and burned. Neither age nor sex was spared; the whole place was like a pool of blood, and 50,000 bodies were heaped up for burial. The few Jews who remained sued for mercy. Alexander, the Roman governor, put a stop promptly to the bloody work of the troops; but the more vindictive Alexandrian populace, who had aided the military in the attack, had to be dragged by force from the dead bodies.

In Palestine, where the terrible oppression and outrages of the successive Roman governors had already wrought up the Jews to desperation, and to the conviction that they had no friends among the Gentile nations, but one thing was wanting to plunge the whole nation headlong into the revolt. The belief in the immediate coming of the Messiah as the champion and deliverer of Israel, was universal,

and is mentioned by Suetonius and by Tacitus as a great cause of the war; but that which was wanting was a bright gleam of success to break the gloom that lowered all round the horizon, and animate the timid and desponding with the hope of possible victory. This was given by the imbecility of Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria. With an army of nearly 10,000 Roman troops and 13,000 auxiliaries, Cestius advanced to Ptolemais. He took, plundered and burned, without resistance, the wealthy city of Zebulon called Andron, which divided the territory of Ptolemais from the Jewish province of Upper Galilee. The adjacent district was laid waste, and Cestius returned to Ptolemais, from which place he pushed on to Cæsarea. Thence he sent out an expedition, which captured Joppa without resistance. They pillaged the town and butchered the inhabitants, 8500 in number, who made no effort to escape. The district of Narbatene, near Cæsarea, was laid waste with fire and sword by the cavalry; and Galilee was subdued with unrelenting sternness by Gallus, a lieutenant of Cestius.

Cestius now marched directly upon Jerusalem, which was crowded with the Jews who had come up to the Feast of Tabernacles. He burned Lydda on his way, and after ascending the hills near Beth-horon, encamped at Gaboa, a little more than six miles from Jerusalem. At the news of his approach, the Jews broke off the festival, flew to arms, and paid no more respect to the Sabbath. Animated doubtless by the recollection of the victories of Joshua and of Judas Maccabæus at Beth-horon, they swarmed out of Jerusalem, and the next day, as Cestius marched through the pass, fell upon him with fury, and struck him such a terrible blow that his army would have been destroyed but for his cavalry. The Jews then made good their retreat, and some of their detached parties under Simon, son of Gioras, hung upon the rear of the Romans as they ascended the hill of Beth-horon and inflicted considerable damage upon them. Cestius remained quiet for three days, the Jews keeping watch on the hills, waiting for his troops to move.

Meanwhile Agrippa endeavored to effect a reconciliation between his countrymen and the Romans. He offered them in the name of Cestius amnesty for all that had passed, upon the single condition of submission. His messengers were attacked by the insurgents, but enough of his message became known to produce a division in the city, and taking advantage of this, Cestius pushed his advance to Scopus, about a mile to the north of the walls. After waiting three days to receive the surrender of the city, he advanced to the attack.

The insurgents, struck with consternation at the discipline of the Roman army, abandoned the outer walls, and fled to the Temple and other fortified places within the city. Cestius at once occupied the suburb of Bezetha, which he burned. Then he advanced upon the Upper City, and encamped before the palace. A prompt assault would have carried the works, for the insurgents were divided and disheartened; but Cestius resolved to suspend the attack, being influenced, it is believed, by the hope of the surrender of the city by means of a powerful peace party within the walls. His delay proved fatal to him, for the insurgent leaders detected the intrigue of the peace men, and threw the leaders of the movement headlong from the walls, and overawed the others. The war faction now gained courage, and manning the works repelled for five days the attacks of the Roman army, and inflicted such annoyance upon them that Cestius suddenly called off his troops, and to the universal surprise, retreated entirely from the town. The Jews at once passed from the depression to which they were beginning to succumb, to the wildest courage, and sallying out in dense numbers they hung upon the rear of the Roman army, and by their fierce attacks that day and the next forced Cestius to continue his retreat. The further he retreated the more daring the Jews became; they harassed his rear, and coming along cross roads, they took his files in flank. Thus attacked on all sides, the Romans could not turn to make head, and the road was strewn with their dead, every one who for an instant quitted the ranks was cut off. At the pass of Beth-horon the retreating army was hemmed in by the Jews. The fight became a massacre, and the whole Roman army must have fallen, had not night come on, which enabled the greater part to make its way to Beth-horon. The Jews crowned every hill, and blocked up every pass around.

Cestius, despairing of being able openly to force his way, began to think of securing his personal safety by flight. He selected 400 of his bravest men, distributed them about the defences of the camp, with orders to mount guard, and in the morning to display all their ensigns that the Jews might suppose the whole army was still stationary. He then retreated in silence thirty stadia, not quite four miles. At the break of day the Jews discovered that the camp was deserted; enraged at the manœuvre, they rushed to the assault, and slew the four hundred to a man. They then pursued Cestius with the utmost rapidity. The Romans, who had got the start of several hours during the night, hastened their retreat, which bore every appearance of a rout. They were pursued by the Jews as far as Antipatris, when the latter, find-

ing they could not overtake the fugitives, abandoned the pursuit to look after the spoil. All the military engines, the catapults, battering-rams used in besieging cities, were abandoned by the Romans to the Jews, who afterward employed them with dreadful effect against their former masters. The dead were stripped, the immense booty collected, and the conquerors returned to Jerusalem, which they re-entered with hymns of victory, having suffered hardly any loss on their own part, and having slain of the Romans and their allies, 5300 foot and 380 horse. Never since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany had the Roman arms received so disgraceful an affront, or suffered so serious a loss.

Judæa was now in open rebellion against Rome. It was a mad and desperate revolt, for to declare war against Rome was to defy the whole force of the civilized world. The insurgents neither had nor could hope for allies; for the whole civilized world was at peace, and none of the Roman provinces were likely to assist a race whom they despised in a struggle for independence. Even their own brethren in other lands, though, as Josephus hints in one place, solicited by ambassadors, either took no interest in the fate of their country, or were too sadly engaged in endeavoring to shield themselves and their families from the storm of public detestation and persecution which assailed them.

Judæa itself was unprepared for the war. Many of the fortified places were in the hands of the Romans; the insurgents were without organization or an acknowledged leader, without arms, without provisions of any kind for a long war, and without any military engines, save those they had captured from the enemy. Worse than all, they were divided among themselves, and in every city and town there was to be found a timid party ready to purchase peace on any terms. Their only trust was in their own stubborn patience and daring valor, in the stern fanaticism with which they looked upon themselves as the soldiers of their God, and in the wild hope that heaven would work some miraculous revolution in their favor.

Yet, however frantic and desperate the insurrection, why should the Jews alone be excluded from that generous sympathy which is always awakened by the history of a people throwing off the galling yoke of oppression, and manfully resisting to the utmost in the assertion of their freedom? Surely, if ever people were justified in risking the peace of their country for liberty, the grinding tyranny of the successive Roman procurators, and the deliberate and systematic cruelties of Florus, were enough to have maddened a less high-spirited and in-

tractable race into revolt. It is true that the war was carried on with unexampled atrocity ; but, on the other hand, insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humaner virtues ; and horrible oppression is apt to awaken the fiercer and more savage, not the loftier and nobler passions of our nature. And it must be borne in mind that we have the history of the war only on the authority of some brief passages in the Roman authors, and the narrative of one to whom, notwithstanding our respect for his abilities and virtues, it is impossible not to assign the appellation of renegade. Josephus, writing to conciliate the Romans, both to his own person and to the miserable remnant of his people, must be received with some mistrust. He uniformly calls the more obstinate insurgents, who continued desperately faithful to that cause which he deserted, by the odious name of robbers ; but it may be remembered that the Spanish guerillas, who were called patriots in London, were brigands in Paris. It is true that the resistance of many was the result of the wildest fanaticism. But we must not forget in what religious and historical recollections the Jews had been nurtured. To say nothing of the earlier and miraculous period of their history, what precedents of hope were offered by the more recent legends of the daring and triumphant Maccabees. It is, moreover, true that the Son of Man had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the New Testament appears to indicate that the measure of wickedness in the Jewish people having been filled up in the rejection of Christ, they were doomed from that time to inevitable ruin. But we must avoid the perilous notion of confounding the Divine foreknowledge with the necessary causation of events. According to the first principles of the Mosaic constitution, national guilt led to national ruin. But, still, the motives which actuated many in the fatal struggle that led to the accomplishment of the Divine predictions, may have been noble and generous. It was the national rejection of Christ, not the resistance of Rome, which was culpable. The Jew, though guilty of refusing to be a Christian, might still be a high-minded and self-devoted patriot. Although we may lament that the gentle and pacific virtues of Christianity did not spread more generally through the lovely and fertile region of Palestine, yet this is no reason why we should refuse our admiration to the bravery, or our deepest pity to the sufferings, of the Jewish people. Let us not read the fate of the Holy City in that unchristian spirit which prevailed during the Dark Ages, when every Jew was considered a personal enemy of Christ, and therefore a legitimate object of hatred and persecution, but rather in the spirit of Him who, when He looked for-

ward with prophetic foreknowledge to its desolation, nevertheless was seen "to weep over Jerusalem."

The news of the disaster to the army created a marked sensation at Rome. Cestius threw the whole blame of the war on Florus. Nero, says Josephus, affected to treat the affair lightly; he expressed great contempt for the revolt, but great anger at the misconduct of Cestius; yet he could not help betraying visible marks of disturbance and terror. His real estimate of the affair may be judged by his committing the province of Syria to Vespasian, the ablest of the Roman generals, and who was in disgrace at the time for having failed to admire sufficiently the fine voice and style of singing of the theatrical Emperor. Vespasian displayed characteristic promptness. He at once sent his son, Titus, to Alexandria, to conduct the fifth and tenth legions to Palestine; while he himself travelled with all speed by land to Syria, collecting all the Roman troops on his way and forces from the neighboring kings.

In the mean time the insurgents were not inactive. The more prudent withdrew to places of safety, and the rest were forced to unite with the war party. They called a general assembly in the Temple and proceeded to elect governors and commanders. They chose Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus, the chief priest, whom they invested with absolute authority in the city. Eleazar, who had taken such a prominent part in the first insurrection, was passed over entirely, as he was suspected of aiming at kingly power; but, as the chief part of the funds lay in his hands, he was soon enabled, through the great want of money for the cause, as well as by his extreme subtlety, to concentrate the real authority in his hands. To other districts they sent governors whom they could best trust for courage and fidelity to their cause. Almost all, if not all, these leaders, were of the more moderate, at least not of the Zealot party. The command of Galilee, the province on which the storm would first break, was intrusted to Joseph, the son of Mathias, better known to us as Josephus, the historian of the war. As long as the passes and hill fortresses of Galilee were defended, the southern region, and Jerusalem itself, might have time to organize their forces and fortify their strongholds. Josephus was a man eminently suited for the task before him. A priest of the most illustrious descent, distinguished alike for his ascetic piety and his Hebrew and Greek learning, he was appointed by the moderate party to defend Galilee and keep down the Zealots. His energy in the latter task won him the mortal enmity of John of Gischala, of whom we shall hear more in the progress of the narrative. The measures

of Josephus were prudent and conciliatory, yet by no means wanting in vigor. Although greatly embarrassed by the opposition of John of Gischala, and the intrigues of his superiors at Jerusalem, he put the province in a state of defence; repressed the robbers who were numerous in it, and compelled them to take service in the army; fortified and strengthened the principal places; provided stores and provisions; and raised an army of 100,000 men, armed them with weapons obtained from all quarters, and proceeded to introduce the Roman discipline. John of Gischala gave him great trouble, and the internal dissensions of the province were a serious obstacle to the success of Josephus, but he finally triumphed over them.*

During the year which elapsed between the defeat of Cestius and the advance of Vespasian, the insurgents in Jerusalem exerted themselves actively to prepare for the war. The Zealots allowed no sign of apprehension, no manifestation of distrust, but punished all such displays with the dagger. Under the lead of Ananus, the chief priest, the walls were strengthened, military engines made, and stores of every kind laid in with the utmost care and expedition. The ravages of Simon of Gioras in the toparchy of Acrabatene, called for a decided display of the power of the rulers, for Simon, instead of attending to the defence of that district, had taken to plundering the people. Soon after the defeat of Cestius, the Jews endeavored to capture Ascalon, which was held by a weak force of Roman horse, but were terribly beaten with the loss of two of their leaders, Judas and Silas, and 10,000 men.

Early in the spring of 67, Vespasian appeared at Antioch at the head of his powerful army. Being joined by Agrippa with all his forces, he advanced to Ptolemais, where he was met by Titus with reinforcements. The whole army amounted to 60,000 regulars, about 4000 of which were cavalry, besides followers of the camp, who were also accustomed to military service, and could fight on occasion. Three of the most distinguished legions of the Romans—the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth—accompanied Vespasian, and it seemed incredible that the insurgents should dream of opposing this magnificent army.

Josephus describes the order of march of the Romans with the accuracy of an eye-witness. The van was preceded by the light-armed bodies and their archers, who were scattered over the plain to observe any unexpected attack of the enemy, and to examine all the woods or

* The reader is referred to Milman's *History of the Jews*, from which the portion of this work is condensed, for a more comprehensive account of the extraordinary efforts of the Jewish commander.

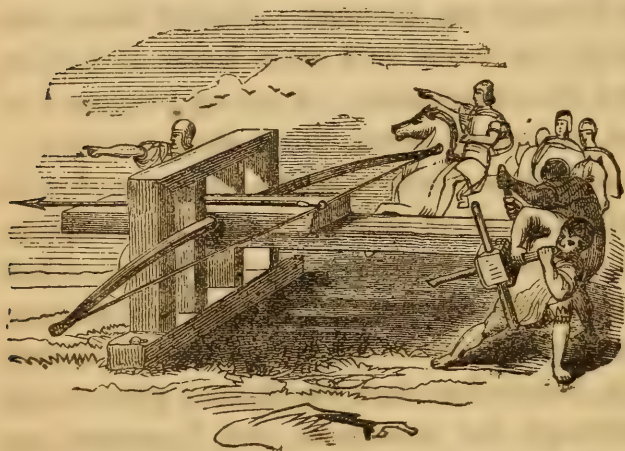
thickets that might conceal an ambuscade. Then came part of the heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, followed by ten of each centenary, carrying the furniture and vessels of the camp. After these the pioneers, who were to straighten the winding roads, level the hills, or cut down the woods which might impede the march of the main army. Then came the baggage of the general and his officers, strongly guarded by cavalry. Next rode the general, with a picked troop of foot, horse, and lancers. After him the horse of his own legion, for to each legion there were 120 cavalry attached. Then the mules which carried the military engines and the besieging train. The lieutenant-generals, the commanders of cohorts, and the tribunes followed, each with a chosen band of men. Then the eagles, of which each legion had one. The standards were followed by the trumpeters. Behind came the phalanx itself in files of six deep. A centurion, whose business it was to keep order, brought up the rear. Behind them were the servants with the baggage on mules and other beasts of burden. After the Romans marched the mercenaries. A strong rearguard of light and heavy-armed foot, and many horse, closed the procession.

Vespasian marched at once into Galilee, which he reduced with fire and sword. The principal event of this portion of the campaign was the siege of the strong mountain fortress of Jotapata, into which Josephus had thrown himself with the bravest of the Galilean warriors. The Jews had believed this fortress to be inaccessible to such a force as that of the enemy, but in four days the Roman pioneers cut a practicable road right through the mountains, and Vespasian approached the city and formed the siege. The besieged felt themselves cooped up like wild beasts in their lair; they had no course left but to fight gallantly to the utmost; and their first consternation gave place to the fiercest valor and most stubborn resolution. From the 15th of May to the 1st of July, the siege was conducted with an energy characteristic of the Romans, and the defence was masterly and heroic. Josephus, a priest and a scholar, utterly untrained to war, met every effort of the great soldier opposed to him with consummate bravery and skill. Stratagem was met with stratagem, skill with skill, and desperate valor with heroic courage. The besieged not only held their assailants at bay for nearly two months, but repeatedly sallied forth, broke up the Roman works, destroyed their engines, and even spread terror and destruction into their camp.

For forty-seven days the heroic city had held out; but now its end drew near. The inhabitants were worn out with watching and fatigue, with wounds and thirst. Their ranks were dreadfully thinned,

and the over-wearied warriors had to fight all day and watch all night. A deserter found his way to the camp of Vespasian, and gave intelligence of the enfeebled state of the garrison, urging him to make an assault at the early dawn of the morning, when the sentinels were apt to be found sleeping on their posts. Vespasian suspected the traitor, for nothing had been more striking during the siege than the fidelity of the Jews to their cause. One man who had been taken had endured the most horrible torments, and though burnt in many parts of his body, had steadily refused to betray the state of the town, till at length he was crucified. Still the story bore marks of probability; and Vespasian, thinking that no stratagem could inflict great injury on his powerful army, prepared for the assault.

A thick morning mist enveloped the whole city, as at the appointed hour the Romans, with silent step, approached the walls. Titus was



THE CATAPULT, A MACHINE FOR THROWING
HEAVY DARTS.

the first to mount, with Domitius Sabinus, a tribune, and a few soldiers of the fifteenth legion. They killed the sentinels, and stole quietly down into the city. Sextus Cerealis, and Placidus, followed with their troops. The citadel was surprised; it was broad day, yet the besieged, in the heavy sleep of fatigue, had not discovered that

the enemy were within the walls; and even now, those who awoke saw nothing through the dim and blinding mist. But by this time the whole army was within the gates, and the Jews were awakened to a horrible sense of their situation by the commencement of the slaughter. No quarter was given. The city was slippery with blood, and ghastly with corpses, for the Jews, overpowered, made no resistance. The Romans lost but one man.

That day all were put to the sword who appeared in the streets or houses; the next, the conquerors set themselves to search the caverns and underground passages, still slaughtering all the men, and sparing none but infants and women. Twelve hundred captives were taken. During the siege 40,000 men fell. Vespasian gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, and all the defences burnt.

Josephus, upon the capture of the city, took refuge in a cavern, from which he was drawn at length by a promise of safety from the Romans. Vespasian, who was himself wounded during the operations, greatly admired the gallant defence of the Jewish leader, and not only spared his life, but attached him to his person during the war, using his services as a mediator, though to no purpose, and at length rewarded him with a grant of lands in Judæa, a pension, and the Roman franchise. Josephus owed much of this to a fortunate prophecy which he ventured to utter in the course of his first interview with his conqueror—that upon the death of Nero, Vespasian would succeed to the throne of the Cæsars—and which was justified by the course of events.

The other cities of Galilee were taken in rapid succession. Some submitting without resistance, and others—especially Gamala—emulating the example of Jotapata. Everywhere the law of retribution was enforced with merciless rigor, and finally the whole province was overrun and held down by the conquerors. Gischala was the last city in Galilee which offered any resistance; and when John, the robber chief who commanded there, found its capture inevitable, he abandoned the place, and made a desperate but successful retreat to Jerusalem.

Meantime, while Galilee was thus gallantly arresting the advance of the Romans, the leaders of the nation at Jerusalem, instead of seeking to send aid to their heroic brethren, were engaged in a fierce conflict for the control of the Holy City. The arrival of John of Gischala gave new ferocity to this fatal strife. He was a man of the most insinuating address, and the most plausible and fluent eloquence. According to Josephus, he surpassed all men of high rank in craft and deceit, and was a monster of wickedness. He was at first a poor adventurer, his poverty stood in the way of his advancement, but by his readiness in falsehood, and by the singular skill with which he glazed over his falsehoods, so as to make all men believe them, he deceived his nearest friends; affecting humanity, yet most sanguinary for the slightest advantage; lofty in his ambition, but stooping to the basest means to obtain his end. He began as a single robber, but gradually collected a powerful and select banditti, for he would only admit men distinguished either for strength, bravery, or warlike skill. This band he brought with him to Jerusalem. By representing the Roman army as broken and enfeebled by the campaign in Galilee, and in no condition to besiege Jerusalem, John won over to himself a strong party in the city.

In the Holy City, as in every other place in Judæa, the populace was divided: the younger men were for war, and the older for a more prudent course. Between these two parties, a fierce warfare set in, and whenever the insurgents had time to breathe from the assaults of the Romans, they turned their swords against each other. The war and the peace factions not only distracted the public councils, but in every family, among the dearest and most intimate friends, this vital question created stern and bloody divisions. The unoffending and peaceful, who saw their houses burning and their families plundered, thought they could have nothing worse to apprehend from the conquest of the Romans than from the lawless violence of their own countrymen. In Jerusalem matters were especially bad. Besides the discontented and lawless class of the inhabitants, and the band of John of Gischala, numbers of the most desperate ruffians from the provinces stole into the city, where they formed a great and formidable troop. No effort was made to exclude them, as the rulers thought they would add to the strength of the garrison. The robbers were not long in spreading terror through Jerusalem. No one was safe from them. They plundered and massacred on all sides, sparing neither age nor rank; and at length ventured to the extreme measure of electing a high-priest, after first deposing the rightful occupant of that office. They chose an ignorant clown named Phanius, whose blunders caused them much amusement, while the more religious priests wept bitterly at this profanation of the sacred office. This brought matters to a crisis; and the people, under the lead of Ananus, the legitimate high-priest, attacked the robbers, and drove them, after a fierce conflict, into the Temple, before which Ananus posted a strong guard.

In this state of affairs, the subtle and ambitious John of Gischala pursued his own dark course. By deceiving the party of Ananus, he managed to obtain admittance into the Temple, on the pretext of using his influence with the robbers to induce them to submit; but once in the sacred edifice, he urged the Zealots to increased resistance, assuring them that it was the purpose of Ananus to admit the Romans to the city. The Zealots at once sent messengers to the Idumæans, beseeching their assistance, and 20,000 Idumæans marched to Jerusalem. Ananus, though denying that he meant to surrender the city to the common enemy, refused to admit the new comers, who encamped that night without the walls, uncertain what course to pursue. A terrible tempest burst over the city at nightfall and raged all night. It was so fierce that the Idumæans, who were exposed to its fury,

took it as a mark of Divine displeasure at their advance upon the Holy City. It had the effect of inducing Ananus to relax his vigilance, and taking advantage of this, the Zealots sent out a party into the city, which opened the gates and admitted the Idumæans. A fierce attack was made upon the city by the Idumæans from the streets, and by the Zealots from the Temple. They were triumphant. The city was taken, 8500 of the people were slain, and the high-priests Ananus and Jesus, the son of Gamala, were seized and put to death.

With the death of Ananus, all hopes of peace were extinguished, and from that night Josephus dates the ruin of Jerusalem. The vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was not glutted by the blood of their principal enemies. They continued to massacre the people like a herd of animals. The lower orders they cut down wherever they met them; those of higher rank, particularly the youth, were dragged to prison, that they might force them, by the fear of death, to embrace their party. No one complied; all preferred death to an alliance with such wicked conspirators. They were scourged and tortured, but still resolutely endured, and at length were relieved from their trials by the more merciful sword of the murderer. They were seized by day, and all the night these horrors went on; at length their dead bodies were cast out into the streets to make room for more victims in the crowded prisons. Such was the terror of the people, that they neither dared to lament nor bury their miserable kindred; but retired into the furthest part of their houses to weep, for fear the enemy should detect their sorrow; for to deplore the dead was to deserve death. By night they scraped up a little dust with their hands, and strewed it over the bodies; none but the most courageous would venture to do this by day. Thus perished 12,000 of the noblest blood in Jerusalem.

At length ashamed, or weary of this promiscuous massacre, the Zealots began to affect the forms of law, and set up tribunals of justice; but these, showing a desire to execute justice impartially, were broken up by force, and the work of blood was renewed. Finally the Idumæans left the city in disgust, declaring that they had come to defend it against the Romans, and had been deceived by the Zealots into becoming accomplices in horrible murders. Before they left they opened the prisons, and released 2000 of the people, who instantly fled to Simon the son of Gioras, of whom we shall hear more. Their departure removed the greatest check upon the Robber-Zealots, and the work of blood went on more vigorously than before. Niger of Peræa, their most distinguished soldier, was seized, dragged

through the streets and put to death, and after this they did not hesitate to murder any one who rendered himself obnoxious to them by reason of his wealth, his influence with the people, or his incautious speech. None but the very meanest in rank and fortune escaped their hands. Many escaped from the city to the Romans; yet some, such was the attachment to the very soil of Jerusalem, after they had got off, returned of their own accord, only in hopes that they might find burial in the Holy City. Hopes too often baffled; for so hardened were all hearts become, that even the reverence for the sacred rite was extinct. Both within the city, and in the villages, lay heaps of bodies rotting in the sun. To bury a relative was death. Such was the state of the people that the survivors envied the dead as released from suffering; those who were tormented in prisons even thought them happy whose bodies were lying unburied in the streets. Vespasian was strongly urged by his generals to advance upon the city at once and put an end to the rebellion, but he sagaciously decided to suspend his attack, which would surely unite all parties, and let the contending factions tear each other to pieces. Meanwhile the Roman arms had swept Peræa, as with the besom of destruction, and multitudes of the flying inhabitants were slaughtered and drowned at the fords of Jericho. The state of the Empire now engaged the attention of Vespasian, who was anxious to put an end to the war in Palestine, in order that his army might be at liberty for any further service. Moving southward, and devastating the country with fire and sword as he went, he reunited his forces at Jericho, and advanced toward Jerusalem. His march was suddenly checked by news from Rome, announcing the death of the Emperor Nero (A. D. 68). He retired with Titus to Alexandria to await the result of the civil war in Italy. He was proclaimed Emperor by his soldiers on the 1st of July, A. D. 69, and his generals at Rome secured his accession by the overthrow and death of Vitellius on the 21st of December. Vespasian did not sail from Alexandria until the following May, leaving Titus to finish the Jewish war, which had been suspended for nearly two years.

Meanwhile the troubles in Jerusalem had grown worse. By the beginning of A. D. 70 three parties had been formed, and, though these held the city and the fortifications against their common enemy the Romans, they spared no occasion of making war upon each other. The Zealots themselves were divided into two parties: those of John of Gischala, and of Eleazar, which held the Temple and its courts and the Antonia—8400 men; that of Simon Bar-Gioras, whose head-

quarters were in the tower Phasaëlus, and who held the Upper City, from the present Coenaculum to the Latin Convent, the Lower City in the valley, and the district where the old Acra had formerly stood, north of the Temple—10,000 men, and 5000 Idumæans, in all a force of between 23,000 and 24,000 soldiers, trained in the civil encounters of the last two years to great skill and thorough recklessness. The numbers of the other inhabitants, swelled as they were by the strangers and pilgrims who flocked from the country to the Passover, it is extremely difficult to determine. Tacitus, doubtless from some Roman source, gives the whole at 600,000. Josephus states that 1,100,000 perished during the siege, and that more than 40,000 were allowed to depart into the country, in addition to an “immense number” sold to the army, and who of course form a proportion of the 97,000 “carried captive during the whole war.” We may, therefore, take Josephus’s computation of the numbers at about 1,200,000. Even the smaller of these numbers seems very greatly in excess, and it can hardly have exceeded 60,000 or 70,000.

This state of the doomed city,—overcrowded with Jews, whose native passions and fervor, exasperated by the late war and exalted by the season of the Passover, doomed to be their last, were stimulated by the Zealots and inflamed by factions,—might well prepare those who knew the people for horrid deeds and more horrid sufferings. Pent up like sheep for the slaughter, they equally resembled wolves devouring one another. But the scene had a far more awful aspect, viewed in the light of ancient prophecy, as well as of Christ’s recent denunciations of woe. As they who rejected him did but “fill up the measure of their fathers,” so the warnings uttered to those fathers by Moses, by Solomon, and by the prophets, were but made more pointed and more instant in our Lord’s discourse at his last departure from the Temple. But the special significance of the destruction of Jerusalem, as the fulfilment of the last great prophecy uttered under the Old Covenant, as the proof of his authority who gave it, and as “the removal of those things that are shaken that those things which cannot be shaken might remain,” will be best considered in their place as the climax of the first stage in the history of the Christian Church. It need only be added here, that the Christians in Jerusalem were saved by their Lord’s warning from the judicial blindness of their fellow-countrymen. Taking advantage of the space before the siege was formed by Titus they departed in a body to Pella, a village of the Decapolis, beyond Jordan, which became the seat of the “Church of Jerusalem” till Hadrian permitted their return.

In the spring of A. D. 70, Titus reached Cæsarea from Alexandria, and having reorganized his forces, marched at once upon Jerusalem. His army numbered 30,000 fighting men, and was in fine condition. He halted at Scopus, a ridge about a mile to the north of the city, having narrowly escaped capture himself during a reconnoissance of the vicinity. He disposed his army in three camps on their first arrival—the 12th and 15th legions on the ridge of Scopus; the 5th a little in the rear; and the 10th on the top of the Mount of Olives, to guard the road to the Jordan valley.

The Jewish leaders now temporarily laid aside their quarrels, and uniting their forces, endeavored to prevent the formation of the siege by a fierce sortie upon the 10th legion, which was engaged in work on its intrenchments, many of the legionaries being unarmed. The sortie came near resulting in the defeat of this famous corps, but after a sharp fight the Jews were driven back into the city, and the Roman outposts established.

It was now the Passover, and although menaced by the enemy, the people of the crowded city flocked to the Temple to keep the Feast. They were admitted by Eleazar, and some of the adherents of John of Gischala entered with them, with their swords concealed under their cloaks. No sooner were they within, than they threw away their cloaks, and the peaceful multitude beheld the swords of these dauntless ruffians flashing over their heads. The worshippers apprehended a general massacre. Eleazar's Zealots knew well on whom the attack was made. They leaped down and took refuge in the subterranean chambers of the Temple. The multitude cowered round the altar; some were slain out of wantonness, or from private animosity—others trampled to death. At length, having glutted their vengeance upon those with whom they had no feud, the partizans of John came to terms with their real enemies. They were permitted to come up out of their hiding places, even to resume their arms, and Eleazar was still left in command; but one faction became thus absorbed in another, and two parties instead of three divided the city.

Jerusalem at this period was fortified by three walls, in all those parts where it was not surrounded by abrupt and impassable ravines; there it had but one. Each of the inner walls defended one of the several quarters into which the city was divided—or it might be almost said, one of the separate cities. Since the days in which David had built his capital on the rugged heights of Zion, great alterations had taken place in Jerusalem. That eminence was still occupied by the Upper City; but in addition, first the hill of Moriah had

been taken in, on which the Temple stood ; then Acra, which was originally, although a part of the same ridge, separated by a deep chasm from Moriah. This chasm was almost entirely filled up and the top of Acra levelled by the Asmonæan princes, so that Acra and Moriah were united, though on the side of Acra the Temple presented a formidable front, connected by several bridges or causeways with the Lower City. To the south, the height of Zion, the Upper City, was separated from the Lower by a ravine, which ran right through Jerusalem, called the Tyropæon, or the Valley of the Cheesemongers ; at the edge of this ravine, on both sides, the streets suddenly broke off, though the walls in some places must have crossed it, and it was bridged in more than one part. To the north extended a considerable suburb called Bezetha, or the new city.

The capture of the first wall only opened Bezetha ; the fortifications of the northern part of the Temple, the Antonia, and the second wall still defended the other quarters. The second wall forced, only a part of the Lower City was won ; the strong rock-built citadel of Antonia and the Temple, on one hand, and Zion on the other, were not in the least weakened. The whole circuit of these walls was guarded with towers, built of the same solid masonry with the rest of the walls. They were 35 feet broad, and 35 high ; but above this height were lofty chambers, and above those again, upper rooms, and large tanks to receive the rain water.

Broad flights of steps led up to them. Ninety of these towers stood in the first wall, 14 in the second, and 60 in the third. The intervals between the towers were about 350 feet. The whole circuit of the city, according to Josephus, was 33 stadia—rather more than 4 miles. The most magnificent of all these towers was that of Psephina, opposite to which Titus encamped. It was $122\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and commanded a noble view of the whole territory of Judæa, to the border of Arabia, and to the sea ; it was an octagon. Answering to this was the tower of Hippicus ; and, following the old wall, stood those of Mariamne and Phasaëlis, built by Herod, and named after his brother and friend and his wife. These were stupendous even as works of Herod. Hippicus was square ; $43\frac{3}{4}$ feet each way. The whole height of the tower was 140 feet—the tower itself $52\frac{1}{2}$, a deep tank or reservoir 35, two stories of chambers $43\frac{3}{4}$, battlements and pinnacles $8\frac{1}{4}$. Phasaëlis was a solid square of 70 feet. It was surrounded by a portico $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks ; and above the portico was another tower, divided into lofty chambers and baths. It was more richly ornamented than the rest with battlements

and pinnacles, so that its whole height was above 167 feet. It looked from a distance like the tall Pharos of Alexandria. This stately palace was the dwelling of Simon. Mariamne, though not equal in elevation, was more luxuriously fitted up; it was built of solid wall 35 feet high, and the same width: on the whole, with the upper chambers, it was about $76\frac{3}{4}$ feet high. These lofty towers appeared still higher from their situation. They stood upon the old wall, which ran along the steep brow of Zion. The masonry was perfect: they were built of white marble, cut in blocks 35 feet long, $17\frac{1}{2}$ wide, $8\frac{1}{4}$ high, so fitted that the towers seemed hewn out of the solid quarry.

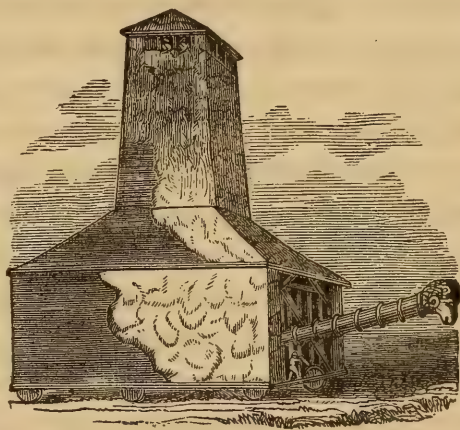
The fortress of Antonia stood alone, on a precipitous rock near 90 feet high, at the northwest corner of the Temple. It was likewise a work of Herod. The whole face of the rock was fronted with smooth stone for ornament, and to make the ascent so slippery as to be impracticable; round the top of the rock there was first a low wall, rather more than 5 feet high. The fortress was 70 feet in height. It had every luxury and convenience of a sumptuous palace, or even of a city; spacious halls, courts, and baths. It appeared like a vast square tower, with four other towers at each corner; three of them between 80 and 90 feet high: that at the corner next to the Temple above 120. From this the whole Temple might be seen, and broad flights of steps led down into the northern and western cloisters or porticos of the Temple, in which, during the Roman government, their guard was stationed.

High above the whole city rose the Temple, uniting the commanding strength of a citadel with the splendor of a sacred edifice. According to Josephus, the esplanade on which it stood had been considerably enlarged by the accumulation of fresh soil, since the days of Solomon, particularly on the north side. It now covered a square of a furlong each side. Solomon had faced the precipitous sides of the rock on the east, and perhaps the south, with huge blocks of stone; the other sides likewise had been built up with perpendicular walls to an equal height. These walls in no part were lower than 300 cubits (525 feet); but their whole height was not seen, excepting on the eastern and perhaps the southern sides, as the earth was heaped up to the level of the streets of the city. Some of the stones employed in this work were of the size of 70 feet probably in length. At a distance, the whole Temple looked literally like "a mount of snow, fretted with golden pinnacles."

Such was the strength of the city which Titus surveyed from the surrounding heights, if with something like awe at its impregnable

strength, with still greater wonder and admiration at its unexampled magnificence.

In the meantime Titus was cautiously advancing his approaches. The army was well furnished with artillery and machines of the latest and most approved invention. The first operation was to clear the ground between Scopus and the north wall of the city, fell the timber, destroy the fences of the gardens which fringed the wall, and level the rocky protuberances. This occupied four days. After it was done, the three legions were marched forward from Scopus, and encamped off the northwest corner of the walls, stretching from the Tower Psephintus to opposite Hippicus. The first step was to get possession of the outer wall. The point of attack chosen was in Simon's portion of the city, at a low and comparatively weak place near the monument of John Hyrcanus, close to the junction of the three walls, and where the Upper City came to a level with the surrounding ground. Round this spot the three legions erected banks, from which they opened batteries, pushing up the rams and other engines of attack to the foot of the wall. One of the rams, more powerful than the rest, went among the Jews by the sobriquet of *Nikón*, the conqueror. Three large towers, 75 feet high, were also erected, overtopping the wall. Meantime,



BATTERING-RAM AND TOWER

from their camp on the Mount of Olives, the 10th legion opened fire on the Temple and the east side of the city. They had the heaviest balistæ, and did great damage. Simon and his men did not suffer these works to go on without molestation. The catapults—both those taken from Cestius, and those found in Antonia—were set up on the wall, and constant desperate sallies were made, some of which inflicted great damage upon the Romans. At last the Jews began to tire of their fruitless assaults. They saw that the wall must fall, and, as they had done during Nebuchadnezzar's siege, they left their posts at night and went home. A breach was made by the redoubtable *Nikón* on the 7th Artemesius (about April 15th); and here the Romans entered, driving the Jews before them to the second wall. A great length of the wall was then broken down; such parts of Bezetha as had escaped destruction by Cestius were levelled, and a

new camp was formed on the spot formerly occupied by the Assyrians, and still known as the Assyrian camp.

This was a great step in advance. Titus now lay with the second wall of the city close to him on his right, while before him at no considerable distance rose Antonia and the Temple, with no obstacle in the interval to his attack. Still, however, he preferred, before advancing, to get possession of the second wall, and the neighborhood of John's monument was again chosen. Simon was no less reckless in assault, and no less fertile in stratagem than before, but, notwithstanding all his efforts, in five days a breach was again effected. The district into which the Romans had now penetrated was the great Valley which lay between the two main hills of the city, occupied then, as it is still, by an intricate mass of narrow and tortuous lanes, and containing the markets of the city—no doubt very like the present bazaars. Titus's breach was where the wool, cloth, and brass bazaars came up to the wall. This district was held by the Jews with the greatest tenacity. Knowing as they did every turn of the lanes and alleys, they had an immense advantage over the Romans, and it was only after four days' incessant fighting, much loss, and one thorough repulse, that the Romans were able to make good their position. However, at last Simon was obliged to retreat, and then Titus demolished the wall. This was the second step in the siege.

Meantime some shots had been exchanged in the direction of the Antonia, but no serious attack was made. Before beginning there in earnest, Titus resolved to give his troops a few days' rest, and the Jews a short opportunity for reflection. He therefore called in the 10th legion from the Mount of Olives, and held an inspection of the whole army on the ground north of the Temple—full in view of both the Temple and the Upper City, every wall and house in which were crowded with spectators. But the opportunity was thrown away upon the Jews, and after four days orders were given to recommence the attack. Hitherto the assault had been almost entirely on the city: it was now to be simultaneous on city and Temple. Accordingly, two pairs of large batteries were constructed, the one pair in front of Antonia; the other at the old point of attack, the monument of John Hyrcanus. The first pair was erected by the 5th and 12th legions, and was near the pool Struthius, probably the present *Birket Israil*, by the St. Stephen's gate; the second by the 10th and 15th, at the pool called the Almond pool—possibly that now known as the pool of Hezekiah—and near the high-priest's monument. These banks seem to have been constructed of timber and fascines, to which the Romans

must have been driven by the scarcity of earth. They absorbed the incessant labor of seventeen days, and were completed on the 29th Artemisius (about May 7). John in the meantime had not been idle; he had employed the seventeen days' respite in driving mines, through the solid limestone of the hill, from within the fortress to below the banks. The mines were formed with timber roofs and supports. When the banks were quite complete, and the engines placed upon them, the timber of the galleries was fired, the superincumbent ground gave way, and the labor of the Romans was totally destroyed. At the other point Simon had maintained a resistance with all his former intrepidity, and more than his former success. He had now greatly increased the number of his machines, and his people were much more expert in handling them than before, so that he was able to impede materially the progress of the works. And when they were completed, and the battering-rams had begun to make a sensible impression on the wall, he made a furious assault on them, and succeeded in firing the rams, seriously damaging the other engines, and destroying the banks.

It now became plain to Titus that some other measures for the reduction of the place must be adopted. It would appear that hitherto the southern and western parts of the city had not been invested, and on that side a certain amount of communication was kept up with the country, which, unless stopped, might prolong the siege indefinitely. The number who thus escaped is stated by Josephus at more than 500 a day. A council of war was therefore held, and it was resolved to encompass the whole place with a wall, and then recommence the assault. The wall began at the Roman camp—a spot probably outside the modern north wall, between the Damascus gate and the north-east corner; from thence it went to the lower part of Bezetha, about St. Stephen's gate; then across Kedron to the Mount of Olives; thence south by a rock called the "Pigeon's Rock"—possibly the modern "Tombs of the Prophets"—to the Mount of Offence. It then turned to the west; again dipped into the Kedron, ascended the Mount of Evil Counsel, and so kept on the upper side of the ravine to a village called Beth-Erebenthi, whence it ran outside of Herod's monument to its starting point at the camp. Its entire length was thirty-nine furlongs—very near five miles; and it contained thirteen stations, or guard-houses. The whole strength of the army was employed on the work, and it was completed in the short space of three days. The siege was then vigorously pressed, the north attack was relinquished, and the whole force concentrated on the Antonia. Four new banks

of greater size than before were constructed ; and, as all the timber in the neighborhood had been already cut down, the materials had to be procured from a distance of eleven miles. Twenty-one days were occupied in completing the banks. At length, on the 1st Panemus or Tamuz (about June 7), the fire from the banks commenced, under cover of which the rams were set to work, and that night a part of the wall fell at a spot where the foundations had been weakened by the mines employed against the former attacks. Still, this was but an outwork, and between it and the fortress itself a new wall was discovered, which John had taken the precaution to build. At length, after two desperate attempts, this wall and that of the inner fortress were scaled by a bold surprise ; and on the 5th Panemus (June 11) the Antonia was in the hands of the Romans. Another week was occupied in breaking down the outer walls of the fortress for the passage of the machines, and a further delay took place in erecting new banks on the fresh level for the bombardment and battery of the Temple.

During all this time the famine, which had set in in the Holy City soon after the commencement of the siege, increased. The woes of the unhappy people were fearful beyond comparison, and the desperation of the insurgents increased daily. No grain was exposed for public sale ; they forced open and searched the houses, and, if they found any, they punished the owners for their refusal ; if none was discovered, they tortured them with greater cruelty for concealing it with such care. The looks of the wretched beings were the marks by which they judged whether they had any secret store or not. Those who were hale and strong were condemned as guilty of concealment ; the plunderers passed by only the pale and emaciated. The wealthy secretly sold their whole property for a measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley, and, shrouding themselves in the darkest recesses of their houses, devoured it underground ; others made bread, snatched it half baked from the embers, and tore it with their teeth. Every kind feeling—love, respect, natural affection—were extinct, through the all-absorbing want. Wives would snatch the last morsel of food from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children ; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes. The most scanty supply of food was consumed in terror and peril. The marauders were always prowling about. If a house was closed, they supposed that eating was going on ; they burst in and squeezed the crumbs from the mouths and throats of those who had swallowed them. Old men were scourged till they surrendered the

food to which their hands clung desperately, and even were dragged about by the hair, till they gave up what they had. Children were seized as they hung upon the miserable morsels they had got, whirled around and dashed upon the pavement. Those who anticipated the plunderers by swallowing every atom were treated still more cruelly, as if they had wronged those who came to rob them. Tortures, which cannot be related with decency, were employed against those who had a loaf or a handful of barley. Nor did their own necessities excuse these cruelties ; sometimes it was done by those who had abundance of food with a deliberate design of husbanding their own resources. If any wretches crept out near the Roman posts to pick up some miserable herbs or vegetables, they were plundered on their return, and their remonstrances punished with death.

These were the sufferings of the lower orders. The higher classes fared no better. They were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some were accused of treasonable correspondence with the Romans ; others with an intention to desert. He that was plundered by Simon was sent to John ; he that had been stripped by John was made over to Simon ; so by turns they, as it were, shared the bodies and drained the blood of the citizens. Their ambition made them enemies ; their common crimes made them friends. They were jealous if either deprived the other of his share in some flagrant cruelty, and complained of being wronged if excluded from some atrocious iniquity.

Nor were the Romans more merciful. Many poor wretches, some few of them insurgents, but mostly the poorest of the people, would steal down the ravines by night to pick up whatever might serve for food. They would, most of them, have willingly deserted, but hesitated to leave their wives and children to be murdered. For these Titus laid men in ambush ; when attacked, they defended themselves ; as a punishment, they were scourged, tortured, and crucified ; and in the morning sometimes 500, sometimes more, of these miserable beings were seen writhing on crosses before the walls. This was done because it was thought unsafe to let them escape, and to terrify the rest. This spectacle checked desertion almost entirely.

After the capture of the second wall matters grew worse. Whole families lay perishing with hunger. The houses were full of dying women and children, the streets with old men gasping out their last breath. The bodies remained unburied, for either the emaciated relatives had not the strength for their melancholy duty, or, in the uncertainty of their own lives, neglected every office of kindness or charity. Some, indeed, died in the act of burying their friends ; others crept

into the cemeteries, lay down on a bier, and expired. There was no sorrow, no wailing; they had not strength to moan; they sat with dry eyes, and mouths drawn up into a kind of bitter smile. Those who were more hardy looked with envy on those who had already breathed their last. Many died with their eyes still fixed steadily on the Temple. There was a deep and heavy silence over the whole city, broken only by the robbers as they forced open houses to plunder the dead, and in licentious sport dragged away the last decent covering from their limbs; they would even try the edge of their swords on the dead. The soldiers, dreading the stench of the corpses, at first ordered them to be buried at the expense of the public treasury; as they grew more numerous, they were thrown over the walls into the ravines below.

Titus, as he went his rounds, saw these bodies rotting, and the ground reeking with gore wherever he trod; he groaned, lifted up his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his work.

Meanwhile the robbers cruelly murdered the high-priest and sixteen members of the Sanhedrim, and distributed the sacred oil and wine to the famishing people.

In the meantime the Romans pressed the siege of the Temple with vigor. The most desperate hand-to-hand encounters took place, some in the passages from the Antonia to the cloisters, some in the cloisters themselves, the Romans endeavoring to force their way in, the Jews preventing them. But the Romans gradually gained ground. First the western, and then the whole of the northern external cloister was burned (27th and 28th Panemus), and then the wall enclosing the court of Israel, and the holy house itself. In the interval, on the 17th Panemus, the daily sacrifice had failed, owing to the want of officiating priests; a circumstance which had greatly distressed the people, and was taken advantage of by Titus to make a further though fruitless invitation to surrender. He protested against the defilement of the sacred edifice, and promised that if the Jews would come forth and fight in any other place no Roman should violate the sanctity of the Temple. This offer was also rejected.

All this while the famine continued its dreadful ravages. Men would fight even the dearest friends for the most miserable morsel. The very dead were searched, as though they might conceal some scrap of food. Even the robbers began to suffer severely; they went prowling about like mad dogs, or reeling, like drunken men, from weakness, and entered and searched the same houses twice or thrice in the same hour. The most loathsome and disgusting food sold at an enormous price. They gnawed their belts, shoes, and even the leathern

coats of their shields; chopped hay and shoots of trees sold at high prices. Yet, what were all these horrors to that which followed? There was a woman of Peræa, from the village of Bethesob, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar. She possessed considerable wealth when she took refuge in the city. Day after day she had been plundered by the robbers, whom she had provoked by her bitter imprecations. No one, however, would mercifully put an end to her misery; and her mind maddened with wrong, her body preyed upon by famine, she wildly resolved upon an expedient which might gratify at once her vengeance and her hunger. She had an infant that was vainly endeavoring to obtain some moisture from her dry bosom; she seized it, cooked it, ate one-half, and set the other aside. The smoke and the smell of food quickly reached the robbers; they forced her door, and with horrible threats commanded her to give up what she had been feasting on. She replied, with appalling indifference, that she had carefully reserved for her good friends a part of her meal. She uncovered the remains of her child! The savage men stood speechless, at which she cried out with a shrill voice, "Eat, for I have eaten; be ye not more delicate than a woman, more tender-hearted than a mother; or, if ye are too religious to touch such food—I have eaten half already—leave me the rest." They retired, pale and trembling with horror. The story spread rapidly through the city, and reached the Roman camp, where it was first heard with incredulity, afterwards with the deepest commiseration.

The destruction of the outer cloisters had left the Romans masters of the great court of the Gentiles; on the 8th of August, the engines began to batter the western gate of the inner court. For six previous days the largest and most powerful of the battering rams had played upon the wall; the enormous size and compactness of the stones had resisted all its efforts. Other troops at the same time endeavored to undermine the northern gate, but with no better success; nothing, therefore, remained but to fix the scaling ladders and storm the cloisters. The assault was repulsed by the Jews, who captured several of the eagles. Driven on all hands from the top of the wall, Titus commanded fire to be set to the gates.

No sooner had the blazing torches been applied to the gates than the silver plates heated, the wood kindled, the whole flamed up and spread rapidly to the cloisters. Like wild beasts environed in a burning forest, the Jews saw the awful circle of fire hem them in on every side; their courage sank, they stood gasping, motionless and helpless; not a hand endeavored to quench the flames, or stop the

silent progress of the conflagration. Yet still fierce thoughts of desperate vengeance were brooding in their hearts. Through the whole night and the next day the fire went on consuming the whole range of cloisters. Titus at length gave orders that it should be extinguished, and the way through the gates levelled for the advance of the legionaries; and, in a council of war, it was resolved to save the Temple from destruction, if possible. But higher counsels had otherwise decreed, and the Temple of Jerusalem was to be forever obliterated from the face of the earth. The whole of the first day after the fire began, the Jews, from exhaustion and consternation, remained entirely inactive. The next, they made a furious sally from the eastern gate against the guards who were posted in the outer court. Titus himself was obliged to head his troops, and the sortie was with difficulty repelled.

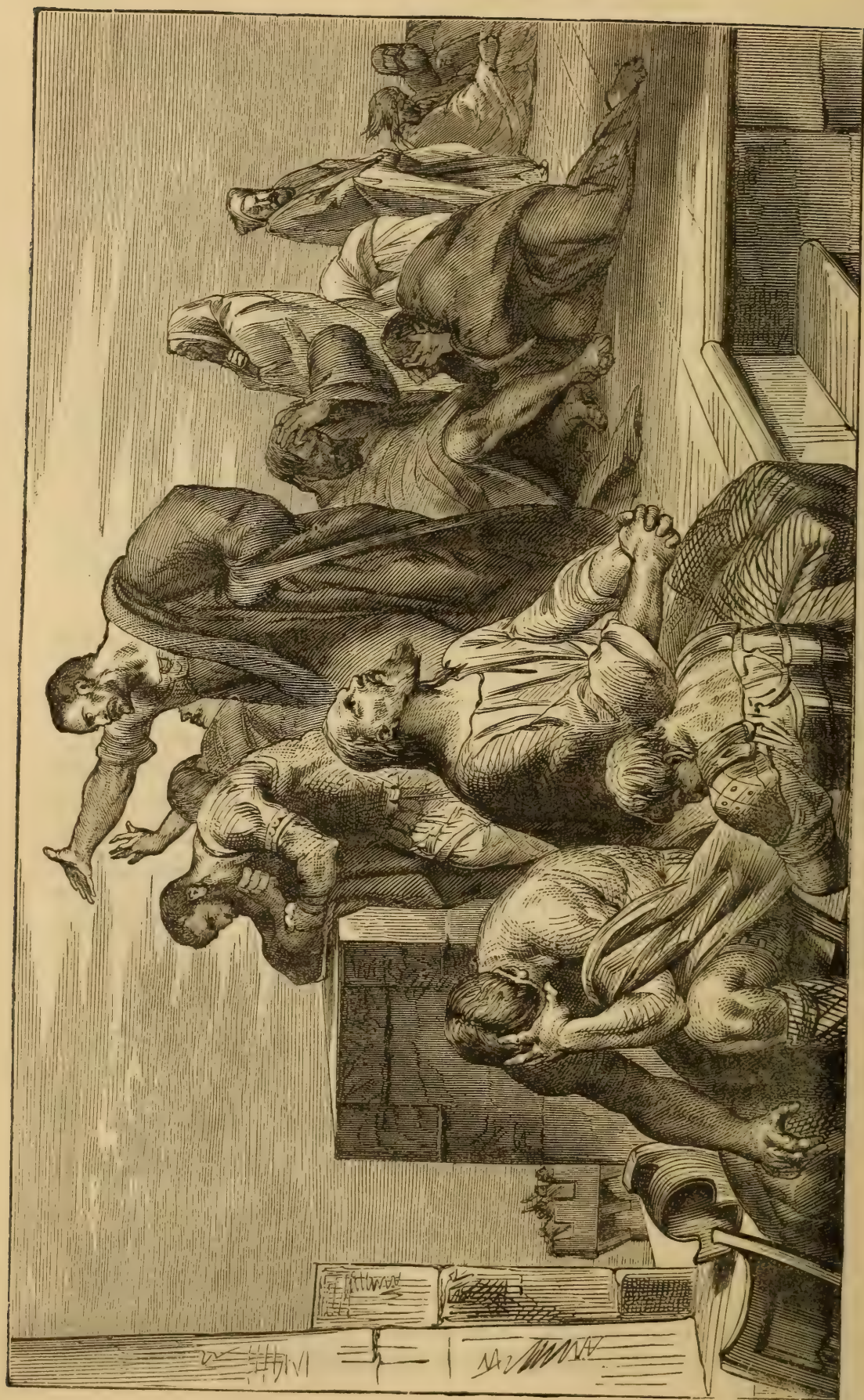
It was the 10th of August, the day already darkened in the Jewish calendar by the destruction of the former Temple by the King of Babylon; that day was almost passed. Titus withdrew again into the Antonia, intending the next morning to make a general assault. The quiet summer evening came on; the setting sun shone for the last time on the snow white walls and glistening pinnacles of the Temple roof. Titus had retired to rest; when suddenly a wild and terrible cry was heard, and a man came rushing in, announcing that the Temple was on fire. Some of the besieged, notwithstanding their repulse in the morning, had sallied out to attack the men who were busily employed in extinguishing the fires about the cloisters. The Romans not merely drove them back, but, entering the sacred space with them, forced their way to the door of the Temple. A soldier, without orders, mounting on the shoulders of one of his comrades, threw a blazing brand into a small gilded door on the north side of the chambers, in the outer building or porch. The flames sprang up at once. The Jews uttered one simultaneous shriek, and grasped their swords with a furious determination of revenging and perishing in the ruins of the Temple. Titus rushed down with the utmost speed; he shouted, he made signs to his soldiers to quench the fire; his voice was drowned, and his signs unnoticed, in the blind confusion. The legionaries either could not or would not hear; they rushed on, trampling each other down in their furious haste, or, stumbling over the crumbling ruins, perished with the enemy. Each exhorted the other, and each hurled his blazing brand into the inner part of the edifice, and then hurried to his work of carnage. The unarmed and defenceless people were slain in thousands; they lay

heaped like sacrifices, round the altar; the steps of the Temple ran with streams of blood, which washed down the bodies that lay about.

Titus found it impossible to check the rage of the soldiery; he entered with his officers, and surveyed the interior of the sacred edifice. The splendor filled them with wonder; and as the flames had not yet penetrated to the Holy Place, he made a last effort to save it, and springing forth, again exhorted the soldiers to stay the progress of the conflagration. The centurion Liberalis endeavored to force obedience with his staff of office; but even respect for the Emperor gave way to the furious animosity against the Jews, to the fierce excitement of battle, and to the insatiable hope of plunder. The soldiers saw everything around them radiant with gold, which shone dazzlingly in the wild light of the flames; they supposed that incalculable treasures were laid up in the Sanctuary. A soldier, unperceived, thrust a lighted torch between the hinges of the door; the whole building was in flames in an instant. The blinding smoke and fire forced the officers to retreat, and the noble edifice was left to its fate.

It was an appalling spectacle to the Romans: what was it to the Jews? The whole summit of the hill which commanded the city blazed like a volcano. One after another the buildings fell in with a tremendous crash, and were swallowed up in the fiery abyss. The roofs of cedar were like sheets of flame; the gilded pinnacles shone like pikes of red light; the gate towers sent up tall columns of flame and smoke. The neighboring hills were lighted up; and dark groups of people were seen watching in horrible anxiety the progress of the destruction; the walls and heights of the Upper City were crowded with faces, some pale with the agony of despair, others scowling unavailing vengeance. The shouts of the Roman soldiery as they ran to and fro, and the howlings of the insurgents who were perishing in the flames, mingled with the roaring of the conflagration and the thundering sound of falling timbers. The echoes of the mountains replied or brought back the shrieks of the people on the heights: all along the walls resounded screams and wailings: men who were expiring with famine rallied their remaining strength to utter a cry of anguish and desolation.

The slaughter within was even more dreadful than the spectacle without. Men and women, old and young, insurgents and priests, those who fought and those who entreated mercy, were hewn down in indiscriminate carnage. The number of the slain exceeded that of the slayers. The legionaries had to clamber over heaps of dead to



DESPAIR OF THE DEFENDERS OF JERUSALEM.

carry on the work of extermination. John, at the head of some of his troops, cut his way through, first into the outer court of the Temple, and afterward into the Upper City. Some of the priests upon the roof wrenched off the gilded spikes, with their sockets of lead, and used them as missiles against the Romans below. Afterward they fled to a part of the wall, about fourteen feet wide, where they were summoned to surrender; but two of them, Mair, son of Belga, and Joseph, son of Dalai, plunged headlong into the flames.

No part escaped the fury of the Romans. The treasuries with all their wealth of money, jewels, and costly robes,—the plunder which the Zealots had laid up,—were totally destroyed. Nothing remained but a small part of the outer cloister, in which about 6000 unarmed and defenceless people, with women and children, had taken refuge. These poor wretches, like multitudes of others, had been led up to the Temple by a false prophet, who had proclaimed that God commanded all the Jews to go up to the Temple, where he would display his Almighty power to save his people. For during all this time false prophets, suborned by the Zealots, had kept the people in a state of feverish excitement, looking every moment for the appearance of the Great Deliverer. The soldiers set fire to the building; every soul perished.

The whole Roman army entered the sacred precincts, and pitched their standards among the smoking ruins; they offered sacrifice for the victory, and with loud acclamations saluted Titus as Emperor. Their joy was not a little enhanced by the value of the plunder they had obtained, which was so great that gold fell in Syria to one half its former value. The few priests were still on the top of the walls to which they had escaped. A boy emaciated with hunger came down on a promise that his life should be spared. He immediately ran to drink, filled his vessel, and hurried away to his comrades with such speed that the soldiers could not catch him. Five days afterward the priests were starved into surrender; they entreated for their lives, but Titus answered that the hour of mercy was past; they were led to execution.

Much as had been gained, the work was not finished. The Upper City, higher than Moriah, enclosed by the original wall of David and Solomon, and on all sides precipitous except at the north, where it was defended by the wall and towers of Herod, was still to be taken. Titus tried a parley first through Josephus, and then in person, he standing on the east end of the bridge between the Temple and the Upper City, and John and Simon on the west end. His terms, how-

ever, were rejected, and no alternative was left him but to force on the siege. The whole of the low part of the town—the crowded lanes, of which we have so often heard—was burned, in the teeth of a frantic resistance from the Zealots, together with the council-house, the repository of the records (doubtless occupied by Simon since its former destruction), and the palace of Helena, which were situated in this quarter—the suburb of Ophel under the south wall of the Temple, and the houses as far as Siloam on the lower slopes of the Temple mount.

It took 18 days to erect the necessary works for the siege; the four legions were once more stationed at the west or northwest corner, where Herod's palace abutted on the wall, and where the three magnificent and impregnable towers of Hippicus, Phasaëlis, and Mariamne rose conspicuous. This was the main attack. Opposite the Temple, the precipitous nature of the slopes of the Upper City rendered it unlikely that any serious attempt would be made by the Jews, and this part accordingly, between the bridge and the Xystus, was left to the auxiliaries. The attack was commenced on the 7th of Gorpiaëus (about Sept. 11), and by the next day a breach was made in the wall, and the Romans at last entered the city. During the attack John and Simon appear to have stationed themselves in the towers just alluded to; and had they remained there, they would probably have been able to make terms, as the towers were considered impregnable. But on the first signs of the breach, they took flight, and traversing the city, descended into the valley of Hinnom below Siloam, and endeavored to force the wall of circumvallation and so make their escape. On being repulsed there, they took refuge apart in some of the subterraneous caverns or sewers of the city. John shortly after surrendered himself; but Simon held out for several weeks, and did not make his appearance until after Titus had quitted the city. They were both reserved for the triumph at Rome.

The city being taken, such parts as had escaped the former conflagrations were burned, and the whole of both city and Temple was ordered to be demolished, excepting the west wall of the Upper City, and Herod's three great towers at the northwest corner, which were left standing as memorials of the massive nature of the fortifications.

Of the Jews, the aged and infirm were killed; the children under seventeen were sold as slaves; the rest were sent, some to the Egyptian mines, some to the provincial amphitheatres, and some to grace the triumph of the Conqueror. Titus then departed, leaving the 10th legion, under the command of Terentius Rufus, to carry out the work



COIN, STRUCK BY THE EMPEROR VESPASIAN, COMMEMORATING THE CONQUEST OF JUDÆA.

of demolition. Of this Josephus assures us, that “the whole was so thoroughly levelled and dug up, that no one visiting it would believe that it had ever been inhabited.” During the whole siege the number killed was 1,100,000, that of prisoners 97,000. The number of those who lost their lives or their liberty in this exterminating war, and its previous massacres, stands as follows: killed, 1,356,460; prisoners, 101,700.

It might have been expected that the fall of Jerusalem would have utterly crushed the resistance of the Jews; but when Lucilius Bassus came to take the command of the Roman army after the departure of Titus, he found three strong fortresses still in arms—Herodion, Machærus, and Masada. Herodion immediately capitulated, but Machærus, beyond the Jordan, relying on its impregnable position, defied all the power of the enemy. It was at once besieged, and made a gallant defence, but the citadel was at length surrendered in order to save the life of Eleazar, the most valiant champion of the Jews, whom the Romans had captured and were about to crucify. Masada was still stronger, but it was finally reduced to such extremities that the garrison, seeing further resistance hopeless, determined to perish rather than fall into the hands of the Romans. They embraced their wives and children, and then slew them with their own hands. Ten men were then chosen by lot as executioners, and the rest, one after another, still clasping the lifeless bodies of their wives and children, held up their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots; nine fell by each other's hands; the last man, after he had carefully searched whether there was any more work for him to do, seized a lighted brand, set fire to the palace, and so, with resolute and unflinching hand, drove the sword to his own heart. When the Romans

entered the city, they found it tenantless, and not, without admiration, beheld this unexampled spectacle of self devotion.

Thus terminated the final subjugation of Judæa. An edict of the Emperor to set up all the lands to sale had been received by Bassus. Vespasian did not pursue the usual policy of the Romans, in sharing the conquered territory among military colonists. He reserved to the Imperial treasury the whole profits of the sale. Only 800 veterans were settled at Emmaus, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem. At the same time another edict was issued for the transfer of the annual capitation tax of two drachms, paid by the Jews in every quarter of the world, for the support of the Temple worship, to the fund for rebuilding the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which, as Gibbon observes, "by a remarkable coincidence, had been consumed by the flames of war about the same time with the Temple of Jerusalem." Thus the Holy Land was condemned to be portioned out to strangers, and the contributions for the worship of the God of Abraham levied for the maintenance of a heathen edifice.

Yet though entirely extinguished in Judæa, the embers of the war still burned in more distant countries. Serious troubles ensued, in which the Jews suffered greatly, and were compelled, in self-defence, to seize their more violent brethren, and deliver them to the authorities for punishment.

CHAPTER XLV.

SECULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS.—(*Concluded.*)

THE political existence of the Jewish nation was annihilated ; it was never again recognized as one of the States or kingdoms of the world. Our history has lost, as it were, its centre of unity ; we have to trace a despised and obscure race in almost every region of the world, and connect, as we can, the loose and scattered details of their story. We are called back, indeed, for a short time to Palestine, to relate new scenes of revolt, ruin, and persecution. But in later periods we must wander over the whole face of the habitable globe to gather the scanty traditions which mark the existence of the Jewish people among the different States of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America—where, refusing to mingle their blood with any other race of mankind, they dwell in their distinct families and communities, and still maintain, though sometimes long and utterly unconnected with each other, the principle of national unity. Jews in the indelible features of the countenance, in mental character, in customs, usages, and laws, in language and literature, above all, in religion ; in the recollections of the past, and in hopes of the future ; with ready pliancy they accommodate themselves to every soil, every climate, every gradation of manners and civilization, every form of government ; with inflexible pertinacity they practice their ancient usages, circumcision, abstinence from unclean meats, eating no animal food which has not been killed by a Jew ; rarely intermarry except among each other ; observe the fasts and festivals of their Church ; and assemble, wherever they are numerous enough, or dare to do so, in their synagogues for public worship. Denizens everywhere, rarely citizens ; even in the countries in which they have been the longest and most firmly established, they appear, to a certain degree, strangers or sojourners ; they dwell apart, though mingling with their neighbors in many of the affairs of life. For common purposes they adopt the language of the country they inhabit ; but the Hebrew remains the national tongue, in which their holy books are read, and their religious services conducted,—it is their literary and sacred language, as Latin was that of the Christian Church in the Dark Ages.

It was not long after the dissolution of the Jewish State that it revived again in appearance, under the form of two separate communities mostly dependent upon each other: one under a sovereignty purely spiritual, the other partly temporal and partly spiritual,—but each comprehending all the Jewish families in the two great divisions of the world. At the head of the Jews on this side of the Euphrates appeared the Patriarch of the West; the chief of the Mesopotamian community assumed the more striking but more temporal title of Resch-Glutha, or Prince of the Captivity. The origin of both these dignities, especially of the Western Patriarchate, is involved in much obscurity. It might have been expected that, from the character of the great war with Rome, the people, as well as the state of the Jews, would have fallen into utter dissolution, or, at least, verged rapidly toward total extermination. Besides the loss of nearly a million and a half of lives during the war, the markets of the Roman empire were glutted with Jewish slaves. The amphitheatres were crowded with these miserable people, who were forced to slay each other, not singly, but in troops; or fell in rapid succession, glad to escape the tyranny of their masters, by the more expeditious cruelty of the wild beasts. And in the unwholesome mines hundreds were doomed to toil for that wealth which was not to be their own. Yet still this inexhaustible race revived before long to offer new candidates for its inalienable inheritance of detestation and misery. Of the state of Palestine, indeed, immediately after the war, we have little accurate information. It is uncertain how far the enormous loss of life, and the numbers carried into captivity, drained the country of the Jewish population; or how far the rescript of Vespasian, which offered the whole landed property of the province for sale, introduced a foreign race into the possession of the soil. The immense numbers engaged in the rebellion during the reign of Hadrian imply either that the country was not nearly exhausted, or that the reproduction in this still fertile region was extremely rapid. In fact, it must be remembered, that, whatever havoc was made by the sword of the conqueror, by distress, by famine,—whatever the consumption of human life in the amphitheatre and the slave market, yet the ravage of the war was, after all, by no means universal in the province. Galilee, Judæa, and great part of Idumæa were wasted, and probably much depopulated; but, excepting a few towns which made resistance, the populous regions and wealthy cities beyond the Jordan escaped the devastation. The dominions of King Agrippa were, for the most part, respected. Samaria submitted without resistance, as did most of the cities on the

sea coast. Many of the rich and influential persons fell off from their more obstinate countrymen at the beginning or during the course of the war, were favorably received, and dismissed in safety by Titus.

Long before the destruction of the nation, the real power had passed into the hands of the Rabbins, who were not only the theological teachers, but actually the political leaders of the people. Fidelity to the Law was the highest duty in the eyes of a Jew; but with such an intricate, low and imperfect calendar it was impossible that the masses of the people should have sufficient knowledge of their ancient institutes to observe them with the necessary fidelity. Therefore, it was but natural that the Rabbins, who possessed not only a thorough knowledge of the Law, but an ingenuity in explaining, a readiness in applying, a facility in quoting, and a clearness in offering solutions of the difficult passages of the written statutes, should acquire a power and influence over the people, which the public officials, acting under the orders of the hatred Romans, could not obtain. Moreover, by degrees another worship, independent of the Temple, had grown up before the destruction of Jerusalem—that of the synagogues. The nation still met in the great Temple, for the purpose of national expiation or thanksgiving. The individual went there to make his legal offerings, or to utter his prayers in the more immediate presence of the God of Abraham. But besides this he had his synagogue—where, in a smaller community, he assembled with a few of his neighbors, for divine worship, for prayer, and for instruction in the Law. The latter more immediately, and gradually the former, fell entirely under the regulation of the learned interpreter of the Law, who, we may say, united the professions of the clergy and the Law,—the clergy considered as public instructors, for the law school and the synagogue were always closely connected, if they did not form parts of the same building. Thus there arose in the State the curious phenomenon of a spiritual supremacy, distinct from the priesthood; for though many of these teachers were actually priests and Levites, they were not necessarily so,—a supremacy which exercised the most unlimited dominion, not formally recognized by the constitution, but not the less real and substantial; for it was grounded in the general belief, ruled by the willing obedience of its subjects, and was rooted in the very minds and hearts of the people, till the maxim was openly promulgated, “The voice of the Rabbi, the voice of God.” Thus, though the high-priest was still the formal and acknowledged head of the State, the real influence passed away to these recognized interpreters of the divine word.

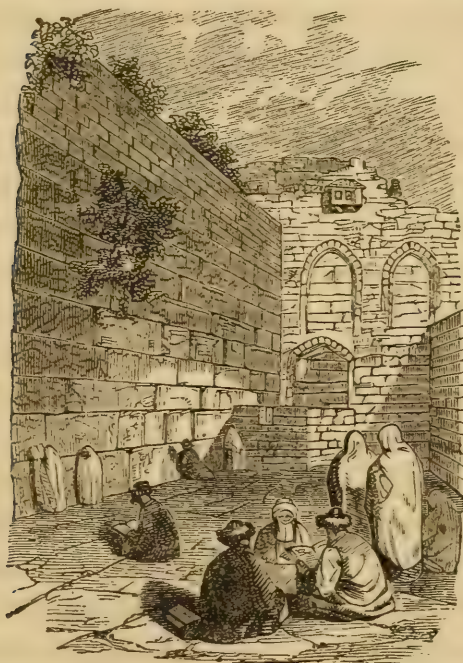
Hence the demolition of the Temple, the final cessation of the services, and the extinction of the priesthood, who did not survive their occupation,—events which, it might have been expected, would have been fatal to the national existence of the Jews as destroying the great bond of union,—produced scarcely any remarkable effect. The Levitical class had already been superseded as the judges and teachers of the people; the synagogue, with its law school, and its grave and learned Rabbi, was prepared to supply the place of the Temple with its solemn rites, regular sacrifices, and hereditary priesthood. Hence the remnant of the people, amid the general wreck of their institutions, the extinction of the race, at least the abrogation of the office of high-priest, and even the defection of the representative of their late sovereign Agrippa, naturally looked round with eagerness to see if any of their learned Rabbins had escaped the ruin; and directly they found them established in comparative security, willingly laid whatever allegiance they could dare to offer at their feet. Their Roman masters had no tribunal which they could approach; the administration of their own law was indispensable; hence, whether it assumed the form of an oligarchy, or a monarchy, they submitted themselves with the most implicit confidence, and in the most undoubting spirit, to the Rabbinical dominion. Thus Rabbinism became a new bond of national union, the great distinctive feature in the character of modern Judaism.

Meanwhile the Romans, though they despised the Jews, watched them with jealous vigilance during the reign of Vespasian and his immediate successors. The ruins of Jerusalem were held by a garrison of 800 men to prevent the rebuilding of the city by its former inhabitants; and Vespasian commanded a strict search to be made of all who claimed descent from the house of David, in order to cut off, if possible, all hopes of the restoration of the royal house or of the Messiah, the confidence in whose speedy coming still burned with feverish excitement in the hearts of all faithful Israelites. The reign of Nerva gave them a brief interval of peace with the rest of the world; and the payment of the tax for the Capitoline Temple was not so rigorously exacted. In the reign of Trajan, either the oppressions of their enemies, or their own mutinous and fanatic disposition, drove them into revolt as frantic and disastrous as that which had laid their city and Temple in ashes. In Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, they took up arms, and were crushed down again with remorseless severity. Their losses were immense; their own traditions report that as many fell in this disastrous war as originally escaped from Egypt under Moses—600,000 men.

In A. D. 117 Trajan died, and Hadrian ascended the throne. He had been employed in suppressing the rebellion just mentioned, and had witnessed the horrors perpetrated by the Jews in Cyprus, and he was by no means disposed to entertain sentiments favorable towards them. Soon after the beginning of his reign he inaugurated a series of severe measures. An edict was issued tantamount to the total suppression of Judaism; it interdicted circumcision, the reading of the Law, and the observance of the Sabbath.

During all this time the Jews had made no effort to recover their city. Three towers and part of the western wall alone remained of its strong fortifications, to protect the cohorts who occupied the conquered city, and the soldiers' huts were long the only buildings on its site. In despair of keeping the Jews in subjection by other means, the emperor had formed a design to restore Jerusalem, and thus prevent it from ever becoming a rallying-point for this turbulent race. In furtherance of his plan he had sent thither a colony of veterans, in numbers sufficient for the defence of a position so strong by nature against the then known modes of attack. To this measure Dion Cassius attributes a renewal of the insurrection, while Eusebius asserts that it was not carried into execution till the outbreak was quelled. Be this as it may, the embers of revolt, long smouldering, burst into a flame soon after Hadrian's departure from the East, in A. D. 132. The contemptuous indifference of the Romans, or the secrecy of their own plans, enabled the Jews to organize a wide-spread conspiracy. Bar-Cocheba, their leader, the third, according to Rabbinical writers, of a dynasty of the same name, princes of the captivity, was crowned king at Bether by the Jews who thronged to him, and by the populace was regarded as the Messiah. His armor-bearer, Rabbi Akiba, claimed descent from Sisera, and hated the Romans with the fierce rancor of his adopted nation. All the Jews in Palestine flocked to his standard. At an early period in the revolt they became masters of Jerusalem, and attempted to rebuild the Temple. Hadrian, alarmed at the rapid spread of the insurrection, and the ineffectual efforts of his troops to repress it, summoned from Britain Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time, to take the command of the army of Judæa. Two years were spent in a fierce guerilla warfare before Jerusalem was taken, after a desperate defence, in which Bar-Cocheba perished. The courage of the defenders was shaken by the falling in of the vaults on Mount Zion, and the Romans became masters of the position. But the war did not end with the capture of the city. The Jews in great force had occupied the fortress of Bether, and there maintained a struggle with

all the tenacity of despair against the repeated onsets of the Romans. At length, worn out by famine and disease, they yielded on the 9th of the month Ab, A. D. 135, and the grandson of Bar-Cocheba was among the slain. The slaughter was frightful. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have fallen by the sword, while the number of victims to the attendant calamities of war was countless. On the side of the Romans the loss was enormous, and so dearly bought was their victory that Hadrian, in his letter to the Senate, announcing the conclusion of the war, did not adopt the usual congratulatory phrase. Bar-Cocheba has left traces of his occupation of Jerusalem in coins, which were struck during the first two years of the war. Four silver coins, three of them undoubtedly belonging to Trajan, have been dis-



JEW'S WAILING-PLACE.

covered, restamped with Samaritan characters. But the rebel leader, amply supplied with the precious metals by the contributions of his followers, afterward coined his own money. The mint was probably at Jerusalem during the first two years of the war; the coins struck during that period bearing the inscription, "To the freedom of Jerusalem," or "Jerusalem the holy." They are mentioned in both Talmuds.

Hadrian's first policy, after the suppression of the revolt, was to obliterate the existence of Jerusalem as a city. The ruins which Titus had left were razed to the ground,

and the plow passed over the foundations of the Temple. A colony of Roman citizens occupied the new city which rose from the ashes of Jerusalem, and their number was afterward augmented by the emperor's veteran legionaries. A temple to the Capitoline Jupiter was erected on the site of the sacred edifice of the Jews. A temple to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, on the site afterward identified with the Sepulchre, appears on coins, with four columns and the inscription C. A. C., *Colonia Ælia Capitolina*, but it is more than doubtful whether it was erected at this time.

It was not, however, till the following year, A. D. 136, that Hadrian, on celebrating his Vicennalia, bestowed upon the new city the name

of *ÆLIA CAPITOLINA*, combining with his own family title the name of Jupiter of the Capitol, the guardian deity of the colony. Christians and pagans alone were allowed to reside in the city. Jews were forbidden to enter it on pain of death, and this prohibition remained in force in the time of Tertullian. About the middle of the fourth century the Jews were allowed to visit the neighborhood, and afterward, once a year, to enter the city itself, and weep over it on the anniversary of its capture. Jerome has drawn a vivid picture of the wretched crowds of Jews who in his day assembled at the wailing-place by the west wall of the Temple to bemoan the loss of their ancestral greatness. On the 9th of the month Ab might be seen the aged and decrepit of both sexes, with tattered garments and dishevelled hair, who met to weep over the downfall of Jerusalem, and purchased permission of the soldiery to prolong their lamentations ("et miles mercedem postulat ut illis flere plus liceat"). So completely were all traces of the ancient city obliterated that its very name was in process of time forgotten. It was not till after Constantine built the *Martyrion*, on the site of the crucifixion, that its ancient appellation was revived. In the 7th canon of the Council of Nicæa the Bishop of *Ælia* is mentioned; but Macarius, in subscribing to the canons, designated himself Bishop of Jerusalem. The name of *Ælia* occurs as late as A. D. 697, and is even found in Edrîsi and Mejr-ed-Din about 1495.

After this revolt the Jews made no further effort to throw off the Roman yoke or to regain their country, but were still treated with severity by their masters. In spite of these severities, however, in less than sixty years after the war under Hadrian, before the close of the second century after Christ, the Jews present the extraordinary spectacle of two regular and organized communities. One under a sort of spiritual head, the Patriarch of Tiberias, comprehending all of Israelitish descent who inhabited the Roman empire; the other under the Prince of the Captivity, to whom all the eastern Jews paid their allegiance. Their persecutions were relaxed, and at length they were allowed to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honors, and to obtain at the same time an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic

jurisdiction, and to receive from his despised brethren an annual contribution. New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the Sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbins, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner. Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behavior of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flowing out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of overreaching the idolators in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom,* which term they applied to Rome.

This was their condition under the mild rule of Antoninus Pius, but their imprudence drew upon them the dislike of the philosophic Marcus Aurelius, who declared them to be more unruly than the wild tribes against whom he waged war.

It would be interesting to trace at length the dispersion of this remarkable people over the face of the earth, but we have not the space. We can only say that they spread with the dominion of the Roman arms, part as slaves, part as free men with commercial objects, or seeking only a safe and peaceful settlement. Wherever the authority of Rome was owned, or civilization had set its mark, there were to be found Jews—either a few individuals, or regular settlements—all owning an allegiance to the Patriarch of Tiberias in the West, and to the Prince of the Captivity in the East. Some no doubt made their living by reputable traffic or industry; others were adventurers, more unscrupulous as to the means by which they obtained their subsistence. The empire swarmed with Jewish wonder-workers, mathematicians, astrologers, or whatever other name or office they assumed or received from their trembling hearers.

Meanwhile the power of the Rabbins increased. Their influence was not founded on the public services of religion alone. The whole course of education was committed to their care, or at least to their superintendence. The circumcision of a man child was considered almost unblessed if not graced by the presence of a Rabbi. They were called to tie the marriage knot, visit the sick, bury the dead, to counsel and admonish the people, and there was scarcely a domestic

* Gibbon.

epoch at which their presence was not considered an indispensable part of the ceremony. Nor were the Rabbins slow to profit by this. They constantly advanced their pretensions. They slowly withdrew into a spiritual order; they stood aloof from the worldlings; they avoided all familiar intercourse with them; they would not degrade themselves to intermarriage with them; they expected to be treated with reverence, but would hardly return the common salutation.

Wherever Jews resided a synagogue might be, and usually was formed. Every synagogue was visited in turn by the Legate of the Patriarch of Tiberias. These legates were called apostles. They had authority to regulate all differences which might arise, and to receive the revenue of the Patriarch. Every year a proclamation was made by sound of trumpet in every synagogue, commanding the payment of the tribute; its final day of settlement was on the last of May. On the return of these legates they informed the Patriarch of the state of the synagogues, assisted him as counsellors, and held a distinguished rank among the people.

The western Jews received considerable concessions from Severus, whose cause they espoused in the conflict with Niger for the Empire. The edict of Antoninus was re-enacted, though still with its limitation against circumcising proselytes. The Jews were permitted to undertake the tutelage of pagans, which shows that they had still the privileges of Roman citizenship, and they were exempt from burdens incompatible with their religion. Still they were interdicted from approaching the walls of their Holy City.

In the meantime, the Eastern Jews were more mercifully treated than those of the West, and the throne of the Prince of the Captivity was rapidly rising to the state and dignity which, perhaps, did not attain its perfect height till under the Persian monarchs. The Prince of the Captivity might recall in his splendor, particularly during his inauguration, some lofty reminiscences of the great Jewish monarchy under the ancestors from whom he claimed his descent, the holy David and the magnificent Solomon, though affectingly mingled with allusions to the present state of degradation. The ceremonial of his installation is thus described. The spiritual Heads of the people, the Masters of the learned schools, the Elders, and the people, assembled in great multitudes within a stately chamber, adorned with rich curtains, in Babylon, where, during his days of splendor, the Resch-Glutha fixed his residence. The Prince was seated on a lofty throne. The heads of the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha were on his right hand and his left. These chiefs of the learned men, having laid their

hands upon the Prince, with the sound of trumpets and other music, then delivered an address, exhorting the new monarch not to abuse his power; he was called to slavery rather than to sovereignty, for he was prince of a captive people. On the next Thursday he was inaugurated by the laying on of hands, and the sound of trumpets, and acclamations. He was escorted to his palace with great pomp, and received magnificent presents from all his subjects. On the Sabbath all the principal people assembled before his house, he placed himself at their head, and, his face covered with a silken veil, proceeded to the synagogue. Benedictions and hymns of thanksgiving announced his entrance. They then brought him the Book of the Law, out of which he read the first line; afterwards he addressed the assembly, with his eyes closed out of respect. He exhorted them to charity, and he set the example by offering liberal alms to the poor. The ceremony closed with new acclamations and prayers to God that, under the new Prince, He would be pleased to put an end to their calamities. The Prince gave his blessing to the people, and prayed for each province that it might be preserved from war and famine. He concluded his orisons in a low voice, lest his prayer should be repeated to the jealous ears of the native monarchs, for he prayed for the restoration of the kingdom of Israel, which could not rise but on the ruins of their empire. The Prince returned to his palace, where he gave a splendid banquet to the chief persons of the community. After that day he lived in a sort of stately oriental seclusion, never quitting his palace except to go to the schools of the learned, where, as he entered, the whole assembly rose, and continued standing till he took his seat. He sometimes paid a visit to the native Sovereign in Babylon (Bagdad). This probably refers to a somewhat later period. On these great occasions his imperial host sent his own chariot for his guest; but the Prince of the Captivity dared not accept the invidious distinction; he walked in humble and submissive modesty behind the chariot. Yet his own state was by no means wanting in splendor: he was arrayed in cloth of gold; fifty guards marched before him; all the Jews, who met him on the way, paid their homage, and fell behind into his train. He was received by the eunuchs, who conducted him to the throne, while one of his officers, as he marched slowly along, distributed gold and silver on all sides. As the Prince approached the imperial throne he prostrated himself on the ground, in token of vassalage. The eunuchs raised him and placed him on the left hand of the Sovereign. After the first salutation, the Prince represented the grievances, or discussed the affairs of his people.

The Court of the Resch-Glutha is described as equally splendid; in imitation of his Persian master, he had his officers, counsellors, and cupbearers. Rabbins were appointed as satraps over the different communities. This state, it is probable, was maintained by a tribute raised from the body of the people, and substituted for that which, in ancient times, was paid for the Temple in Jerusalem. His subjects in Babylonia were many of them wealthy. They were husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans. The Babylonian garments were still famous in the West, and probably great part of that lucrative manufacture was carried on by the Jews. They prided themselves on their learning as well as on their wealth. Though the Palestinian Jews affected to speak with contempt of Babylonian wisdom, yet in general estimation the schools of Nahardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha might compete with Sepphoris and Tiberias.

Whether the authority of the Prince of the Captivity extended beyond Babylonia and the adjacent districts is uncertain. The limits of Persia form an insuperable barrier to our knowledge, and almost all the rest of Asia, during this period, is covered, as it were, with impenetrable darkness. Many Jews were no doubt settled in Arabia. Mohammed found them both numerous and powerful, and a Jewish dynasty had long sat on one of the native thrones. All other accounts of Oriental Jews, at this early period, are so obscure, so entirely or so nearly fabulous, that they may wisely be dismissed; but there is one curious point, which, as it seems to rest on better evidence, demands more particular notice,—the establishment of a Jewish colony in China, if not anterior, certainly immediately subsequently to the time of our Lord. This singular discovery was made known to Europe by the Jesuit missionaries. They had the Books of the Law, and the book of Ezra, whose name they highly revered, and their religious belief and mode of worship corresponded to those of the Jews of Palestine. They knew nothing, or at least had preserved no knowledge of Christ or his religion. They were employed in agriculture and traffic. They had cultivated learning with success, and some of them, as was attested by extant inscriptions, had been highly honored with the imperial favor, and had attained the rank of Mandarins. They paid great respect to the name of Confucius, and after the Chinese customs preserved the memory of their fathers with religious reverence, on tablets inscribed with their names. In other respects they were strict Jews.

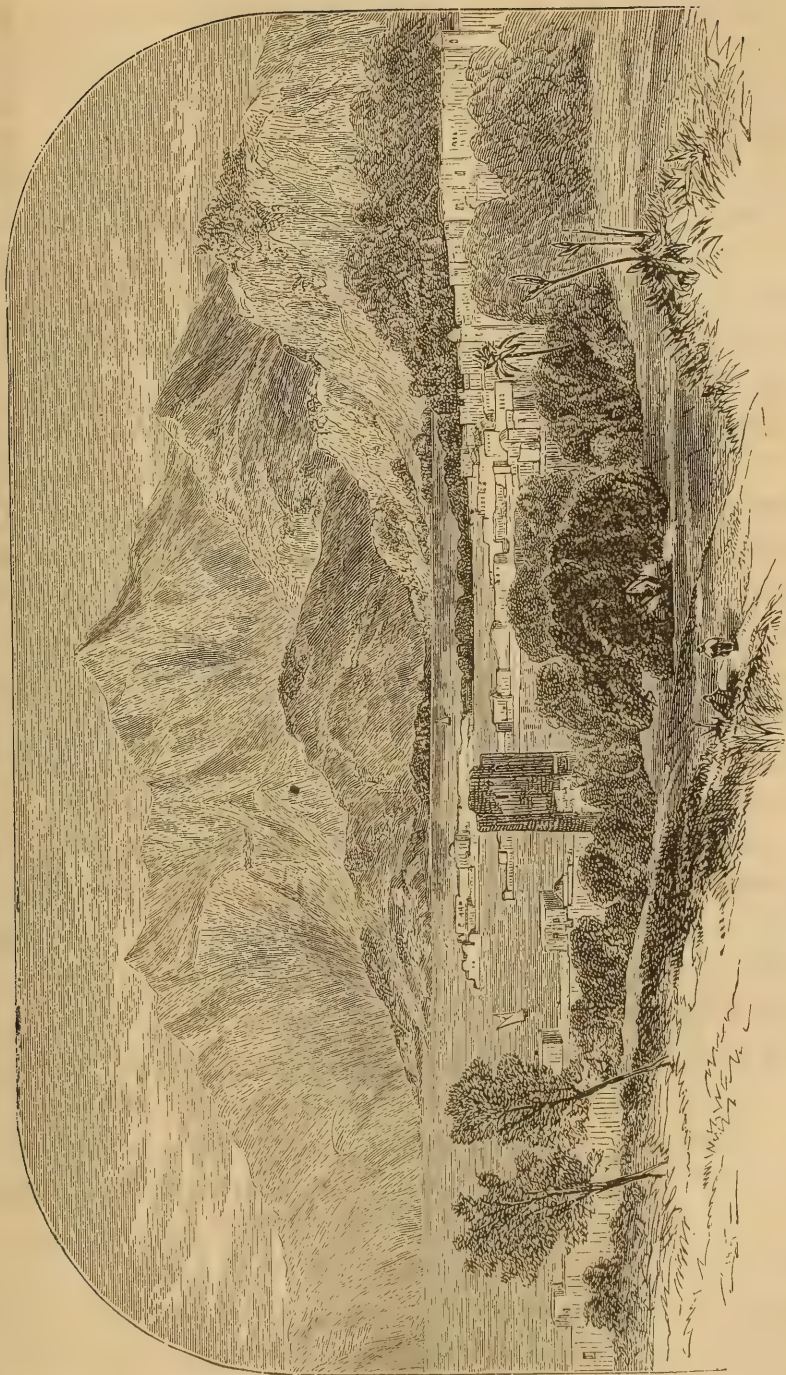
The middle of the third century beheld all Israel thus incorporated into their two communities, under their Papacy and their Caliphate.

The next five centuries worked important changes in their condition and history. In the East, the restoration of the Magian religion, under the great Persian monarchy, at once arrested the progress of Christianity in that quarter of the globe, and also added to the burdens of the Jews, who, however, still continued to receive more privileges from their masters than did their western brethren. According to some, they were persecuted by the Fire Worshippers, and to a certain extent this was doubtless true; but on the whole their condition must have been favorable, as the pomp of their Prince, the wealth of his subjects, and the flourishing condition of the Mesopotamian schools, are strong testimonies to the equitable and tolerant government of their Persian rulers. The compilation of the Babylonian Talmud, which belongs to this period, as it shows the industry of its compilers, seems to indicate likewise the profound peace enjoyed by the Jewish masters of the schools. The influence of the Talmud on European superstitions, opinions, and even literature, was remarkable; to the Jew the Talmud became the magic circle, within which the national mind patiently labored for ages in performing the bidding of the ancient and mighty enchanters, who drew the sacred line, beyond which it might not venture to pass.

The western Jews must have beheld with deeper dismay, and more profound astonishment at the mysterious dispensations of Providence, the rival religion of Christianity (that apostasy, as they esteemed it, from the worship of Jehovah) gradually extending over the whole of Europe, till at length, under Constantine, it ascended the imperial throne, and became the established religion of the Roman world. The Patriarchate of Tiberias seems gradually to have sunk in estimation. This small spiritual court fell, like more splendid and worldly thrones, through the struggles of the sovereign for unlimited sway, and the unwillingness of the people to submit even to constitutional authority. The exactions of the pontiff and of the spiritual aristocracy—the Rabbins—became more and more burdensome to the people. The people were impatient even of the customary taxation.

A temporary splendor was thrown around the Jewish name by the celebrity of Zenobia, the famous Queen of Palmyra, who was of Israelitish descent. But the Jews of Palestine neither derived much advantage from the prosperity, nor suffered in the fall of that extraordinary woman.

Under Constantine a decided effort was made to convert
A. D. 320. the Jews to Christianity, and they, in their turn, exerted themselves to make proselytes from the Christian ranks, and neither



CAPERNAUM.

side confined themselves to means purely spiritual in this contest. The Christians urged their conquests into the very heart of the enemy's country. Constantine, by the advice of his mother Helena, adorned with great magnificence the city which had risen on the ruins of Jerusalem. It had become a place of such splendor that Eusebius, in a transport of holy triumph, declared that it was the New Jerusalem foretold by the prophets. The Jews were probably still interdicted from disturbing the peace or profaning the soil of the Christian City, by entering its walls. They revenged themselves by rigidly excluding every stranger from the four great cities which they occupied—Dio Cæsarea (Sepphoris), Nazareth, Capernaum, and Tiberias. As it was the ambition of the Jews to regain a footing in the Holy City, so it was that of the Christians to establish a church among the dwellings of the circumcised.

The laws of Constantine were very severe upon the Jews.
A. D. 340-360. The first of these statutes enacted that if the Jews should stone, or endanger the life of a Christian convert, all who were concerned should be burned alive. This statute shows the still fiery zeal of the Jews, and their authority within the walls of their own synagogue; nor had they any right to complain if proselytes to the established faith should be protected from their violence under the severest penalties. The second clause of this statute prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under the pain of an arbitrary punishment; and, six months before his death, a third decree was issued by Constantine, prohibiting the Jews from possessing Christian slaves. Other laws were enacted, restricting their civil privileges; and, still earlier than these, a decree of the Council of Elvira (Illiberis) in Spain had prevented the Jews from mingling with the Christians in the harvest feasts, as had been their custom.

It is said that the Jews in the East revenged themselves for these oppressive laws against their brethren by exciting a furious persecution against the Christians, in which the Jews and Magians vied with each other in violence. Constantius, the son and successor of Constantine, enacted still sharper laws against the Jews, whose outrages upon the Christians of Alexandria unhappily afforded justification for these severe measures. They were heavily burdened and taxed; forbidden, under pain of death, from possessing Christian slaves, or marrying Christian women; and the interdict of Hadrian, which prohibited their approach to the Holy City, was formally renewed. This prohibition was more than ever galling by the distant view of the splendor which the new city had attained, and the sight of the long trains of Christian pilgrims wending their way thither.

Under such circumstances, they gladly hailed the accession of Julian, the apostate from Christianity. The temporal as well as the religious policy of Julian advised his conciliation of the A. D. 361. Jews. Could they be lured by his splendid promises to embrace his party, the Jews in Mesopotamia would have thrown great weight into his scale in his campaigns against the Persians ; and in his design of depressing Christianity, it was important to secure the support of every opposite sect. Probably with these views the memorable edict was issued for the rebuilding of the Temple on Mount Moriah, and the restoration of the Jewish worship in its original splendor. The execution of this project was entrusted, while Julian advanced with his ill-fated army to the East, to the care of his favorite, Alypius.

A. D. 362. The whole Jewish world was in commotion, and men and women crowded from all quarters to Jerusalem to assist in the great national work. Materials of every kind were provided at the emperor's expense and through the offerings of the Jews ; and so great was the enthusiasm of the Israelites that their women took part in the work, and in the laps of their garments carried off the earth which covered the ruins of the Temple. But a sudden earthquake and whirlwind shattered the stones of the former foundations ; the workmen fled for shelter to one of the neighboring churches, the doors of which were closed against them by an invisible hand, and a fire issuing from the Temple-mount raged the whole day and consumed their tools. Numbers perished in the flames. Some who escaped took refuge in a portico near at hand, which fell at night and crushed them as they slept. Whatever may have been the coloring which this story received as it passed through the hands of the ecclesiastical historians, the impartial narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus, the friend and companion-in-arms of the emperor, leaves no reasonable doubt of the truth of the main facts that the work was interrupted by fire, which all attributed to supernatural agency. In the time of Chrysostom the foundations of the Temple still remained, to which the orator could appeal. The event was regarded as a judgment of God upon the impious attempt of Julian to falsify the predictions of Christ : a position which Bishop Warburton defends with great skill in his treatise on the subject ; but other writers of high authority regard it as a legend invented by superfluous and short-sighted zeal.

The discomfiture of the Jews was complete ; and the resumption of their labors, could they have recovered from their panic, was forever broken off by the death of Julian. The emperor seems not to have

reaped the advantages he expected from his attempt to conciliate the race of Israel. The Mesopotamian Jews, instead of joining his army, remained faithful to their Persian masters, and abandoned such of their cities as were not defensible. The Apostate himself fell in this campaign, and in his death the last hopes of the Jew were extinguished.

The short reign of Jovian, whose policy it was to reverse all the acts of his predecessor, was oppressive to the Jews; but it was only a passing cloud. Valens and Valentinian reinstated the Jews and their Patriarch in their former rights; yet the state of the empire demanded the repeal of their most valuable privilege—exemption from the public service. The Jews could not complain if, admitted to the protection and rights of Roman citizenship, they were constrained to perform its duties.

During the declining days of the Roman empire, Christianity assumed a more commanding influence, and the Jews sometimes became a subject of contention between the Church and the throne. Persecuted by the Ecclesiastics as heretics and outcasts, they were protected by the emperor as useful and profitable subjects. The fierce zeal of some of these churchmen and the active fanaticism of the Jews frequently brought their contests to open violence, in which much blood was shed. The Arians were mainly favorable to the Jews, but they met with little else than sternness from the Catholic or orthodox Church. Meanwhile the Patriarchate expired in the person of Gamaliel (A. D. 429); and, although the Jerusalem Talmud had been compiled long since, it was eclipsed by the Babylonian Talmud, which became the law and the religion of the whole race of Israel.

The irruption of the Barbarians into Europe, during the latter half to about the end of the fifth century, which completely overturned society, affected the Jews much more lightly than the native inhabitants. Attached to no fixed residence, with little interest in the laws and usages of the different provinces; rarely encumbered with landed property or with immovable effects; sojourners, not settlers, denizens rather than citizens, they could retreat before the cloud burst to the more peaceful dwellings of their brethren, and bear with them the most valuable portion of their goods. True citizens of the world, they shifted their quarters, and found new channels for their trade as fast as the old ones were closed. But the watchful son of Israel fled to return again, in order that he might share in the plunder of the uncircumcised. If, indeed, individuals experienced considerable losses, their whole trading community had great opportunities of reimburse-

ment, which they were not likely to overlook or neglect in the wild confusion of property which attended the conquests of the invaders. Where battles were fought, and immense plunder fell into the hands of the wandering Barbarians, the Jews were still at hand to traffic the worthless and glittering baubles with which ignorant savages are delighted, or the more useful but comparatively cheap instruments and weapons of iron and brass, for the more valuable commodities of which the vendors knew not the price or the use. These, by the rapid and secret correspondence which no doubt the Israelites had already established with their brethren in every quarter of the world, were transported into more peaceful and unplundered regions, which still afforded a market for the luxuries and ornaments of life. Knowing the exact price which every article would bear in the various markets of the civilized world, and deterred by no scruples from spoiling the Gentiles, we may be sure the Jews made remarkably favorable bargains. Even the clergy were sometimes driven by their wants to sell the treasures and ornaments of their churches to the Jews.

Large numbers of Christian captives fell into the hands of the conquering Barbarians, and many of these were sold to the Jews as slaves. The Jews, indeed, seem to have had the slave trade entirely in their own hands. The Christian kings, the popes, and the councils all exerted themselves to lighten the hardships of these captives. Every effort was made to redeem them from bondage, and every difficulty was thrown in the way of the Jew in his effort to retain his Christian slaves. Pope Gregory the First was especially active in these efforts, though he used his influence also to prevent the persecution of the Jews. Chilperic of France compelled the Jews to receive baptism, and enforced his edicts with cruel severity.

Justinian put in force severe measures against the Jews and Samaritans. In litigations between Christians and Jews, or between Christians only, their testimony was admitted; but that of a Samaritan or a Manichæan was of no value. By another law, all unbelievers, heathen, Jews, and Samaritans, could neither be judges nor prefects, nor fill any other dignity in the state. Justinian also enacted, that in mixed marriages between Jews and Christians, the chief authority over the children should rest with the Christian parent. A Jew parent could not disinherit his Christian child. But the Samaritans were treated more harshly; they were entirely deprived of the right of bequeathing or conveying their property to unbelievers. Those of their children who embraced Christianity inherited to the exclusion of the rest. Samaritans could not sue in courts of law. Their syna-

gogues were ordered to be destroyed, and severe penalties were denounced against any one who should attempt to rebuild them. These cruel statutes—which sowed dissensions in the bosom of every family, caused endless litigations among the nearest relatives, almost offered a premium on filial disobedience, and enlisted only the basest motives on the side of true religion—were either too flagrantly iniquitous to be put in execution, or shocked the cooler judgment of the imperial legislator. Segris, Bishop of Cæsarea, obtained a mitigation of these severities against the Samaritans; but Justin revived all the oppressive statutes of his father, and the result was that the Samaritans gradually became extinct as a race. The supposition is that the majority of them embraced Christianity for the purpose of saving their property.

Meanwhile various causes had been contributing, since the downfall of the Patriarchate, to weaken the power of the Rabbins. Among other things the people, who had now entirely forgotten both the Hebrew of the Scriptures and the vernacular of Palestine, began imperiously to demand the general use of Greek translations. The craft of the Rabbins was in danger; it rested almost entirely on their knowledge of the original Hebrew writings, still more of the *Mischnaioth* and Talmudic comments. Hebrew was the sacred language, and the language of learning once superseded by Greek, the mystery would be open to profane eyes; and reason and plain common sense, instead of authority, might become the bold interpreters of the written Law, perhaps would dare to reject entirely the dominion of tradition. The Rabbins had much reason and more stubborn prejudice on their side. They were fighting for life and death, and armed themselves with all the spiritual terrors they could assume. They fulminated anathemas; they branded their opponents as freethinkers and Atheists. At length the affair came before the emperor. Whether his passion for legislation, which sometimes even the Christian bishops complained induced Justinian to intrude into concerns beyond his province, led him to regulate the synagogue, or whether the disputes ran so high as to disturb the public peace, and demand the interference of the supreme authority, or whether the appeal was in fact voluntarily made, an edict was issued which enacted that no one who wished to do so should be prevented from reading the Greek Scriptures in the synagogue; it enjoined those who read Greek to use the translation of the Seventy, which had been executed under the special though less manifest influence of the Holy Ghost, because the prophecies relating to Christianity were most clear in that translation; but it did not prohibit the version of Aquila or any other. It positively interdicted the use of the Mis-

chna, as the invention of worldly men, which misled the people into miserable superstition. None of the *Archiperacitæ*, the readers of *Peracha*, or extracts of the Talmud, on pain of confiscation of goods and corporal chastisement, were to forbid the use of other languages, or dare to utter ban or interdict against such practices. On the other hand, free-thinking, Atheism, and such crimes, were to be severely punished. Whoever denied the existence of God, of the angels, the creation, and the final judgment, was condemned to death. The law terminated with a solemn admonition to read the Scriptures, so as to improve their spirits and hearts, and increase in knowledge and morality. The law was wise and moderate; but, as Jost observes, the emperor probably prevented its operation by betraying too openly its object—the conversion of the Jews. The spirit of the age was against him; the Rabbins eventually triumphed; the Talmud maintained its authority.

In his former persecuting edicts, the short-sighted emperor had alike miscalculated his own strength and the weakness of the Jews. Rome, in the zenith of her power, might despise the discontents of a scattered people, or a mutinous province, but in these disastrous times it was dangerous for the feeble Eastern empire to alienate the affections of the meanest of its subjects. The Jews had the power, and could not be expected to want the desire of vengeance. Even in the West they were of some importance. During the siege of Naples by Belisarius, the Jews, who loved the milder dominion of the Gothic kings, defended one quarter of the city with obstinate resolution, and yielded only when the conqueror was within the gates. On the Eastern frontier, now that the Persian monarchy on the Tigris was an equal match for the wreck of the Roman empire on the Bosphorus, an oppressed and unruly population, on the accessible frontier of Syria, holding perpetual intercourse with their more favored, though by no means unsuspected brethren in Babylonia, might be suspected of awaiting with ill-suppressed impatience the time when, during some inevitable collision between the two empires, they might find an opportunity of vengeance on masters against whom they had so long an arrear of wrong. Therefore, they eagerly welcomed the advance of the Persian monarch, Chosroes II., who, in A. D. 610, invaded Palestine. They rose unanimously, joined the Persians, and assisted them to capture Jerusalem, then a Christian city. Once in possession of the place, they massacred the Christian inhabitants, but were soon terribly punished for their mad course by the victorious emperor, Heraclius, who not only drove the Persian monarch back into his

own dominions, but regained the provinces of Syria and Egypt, which had been overrun by the Persians. The law of Hadrian was reënacted, which prohibited the Jews from approaching within three miles of the city,—a law which, in the present exasperated state of the Christians, might be a measure of security or mercy rather than of oppression.

During the conflict between the Persian and Roman emperors, a power was rapidly growing up in the secret deserts of Arabia, which was to erect its throne upon the ruins of both. Mohammed had already announced his religious doctrine,—“There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet,”—and the valleys of Arabia had echoed with the triumphant battle cry of his followers, “The Koran or death!” The Jews were among the first of whom Mohammed endeavored to make proselytes,—the first opponents, and the first victims of the sanguinary teachings of the new Apostle. He was at first hopeful of winning them over to his religion; but, finding them unwilling to accept as the greatest of the prophets a descendant of Ishmael, turned his arms against them, and after a long struggle captured their castles and strongholds in Arabia, where they were very numerous and powerful. Omar and his generals conquered Jerusalem, Tiberias, Damascus, Antioch, and Alexandria from the Byzantines, and subdued Persia, thus bringing most of the eastern Jews under the rule of Islam. Jerusalem yielded an easy conquest to the triumphant Omar, and though the Jews might behold with secret dissatisfaction the magnificent mosque of the conqueror usurping the sacred hill on which the Temple of Solomon had stood, yet still they would find consolation in the degradation of the Christians, and the obscurity into which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was thrown; and even, perhaps, might cherish the enthusiastic hope that the new Temple might be destined for a holier use. Some Christian writers accuse the Jews of a deep-laid conspiracy to advance the cause of Mohammedanism; but probably this conspiracy was no more than their united prayers and vows that their oppressors might fall before a power which ruled them on the easy terms of tribute, the same which they exacted from all their conquered provinces.

In Spain, however, it is probable that they took a more active interest than their secret prayers and thanksgivings in the triumph of the Crescent. Spain had already taken the lead in Jewish persecution, and Spain had without doubt reason to rue the measures which set a great part of its most industrious population in justifiable hostility to its laws and government, and made them ready to hail the foreign conqueror as a deliverer and benefactor.

For above a century their wrongs had been accumulating. As early as the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king of the Goths, they had attained unexampled prosperity in the Peninsula. They were, to a great extent, the cultivators of the soil, which rewarded their patient industry with the most ample return; and often the administrators of the finances, for which they were well qualified by their knowledge of trade. Bigotry, envy, and avarice conspired to point them out as objects of persecution. Laws were passed, of which the spirit may be comprehended from the preamble and the titles: "Laws concerning the promulgation and ratification of statutes against Jewish wickedness, and for the general extirpation of Jewish errors. That the Jews may not celebrate the Passover according to their usage; that the Jews may not contract marriage according to their own customs; that the Jews may not practise circumcision; that the Jews make no distinction of meats; that the Jews bring no action against Christians; that the Jews be not permitted to bear witness against Christians; of the time when their converted descendants are admissible as witnesses; of the penalties attached to the transgression of these statutes by the Jews; against the circumcision of slaves by the Jews." The penalty for these offences was even more extraordinary than the offences themselves: the criminal was to be stoned to death, or burned by the hands of his own people. These laws, however, do not at first seem to have come into operation. It is suspected, from a passage in a letter of Pope Gregory, that the Israelites paid a large sum of money for their suspension. Sisebut, the fourth in succession from Recared, put these laws rigorously in force, and enacted others equally intolerant. Finally, he commanded them either to abandon their religion, or to leave the dominions of the Goths. They endeavored to dissuade him from his purpose, but he was remorseless. The Jews were thrown into prison, and treated with the utmost rigor. Some fled into France or Africa, others abandoned their religion, 90,000 are reported to have submitted to baptism; but how far their hearts renounced their creed, or how speedily they relapsed, must remain uncertain.

In the next reign but one, that of Sisenand, the Jews
 A. D. 612-633. obtained a relaxation of the oppressive statutes from an unexpected quarter. The Fourth Council of Toledo, influenced by the wise and good Isidore of Seville, considerably modified the laws of Sisebut; but the Sixth Council renewed the persecution, and severely censured the mild spirit of the Fourth Council. The Eighth Council of Toledo (A. D. 653) re-enacted the oppressive measures. The Ninth

Council had decreed that all baptized Jews were bound to appear in the church, not only on Christian but also on Jewish holidays, lest, while professed Christians, they should practise secret Judaism. But the Twelfth Council of Toledo, or rather the Legislature, with the full assent and approbation of the Council, in the reign of Ervig, far surpassed its predecessors in the elaborate cruelty of its enactments, even if aimed only at Jews professing Christianity. But though aimed professedly at the Jews within the pale of the Church, there is room for believing that these measures were in reality directed against all the Jews within the kingdom. The Jews were assembled in the church of the Holy Virgin at Toledo, and the resolutions of this Christian assembly were read aloud to them. The preamble complained that the crafty Jews had eluded all former laws, and attributed the failure of these statutes to the severity of the punishment enacted, which was death in all cases—contrary, it was added, to the Holy Scriptures. The penalties of the new statutes were mitigated, but not in mercy. The general punishment was one hundred lashes on the naked body; after that the offender was to be put in chains, banished, and his property confiscated to the lord of the soil. This was the penalty for profaning the name of Christ, rejecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, blaspheming the Trinity; for not bringing children or servants, themselves, or their dependants, to baptism; for observing the Passover, the New Moon, the Feast of Tabernacles (in these cases, on real conversion, the land was restored); for violating the Christian Sabbath, or the great festivals of the Church, either by working in the field or in manufacture. If these days were desecrated by a servant, the master was liable to a fine. The circumcision of a child was more cruelly visited, on the man by mutilation; on the woman by the loss of her nose and the seizure of her property. The same penalty was attached to the conversion of a Christian to Judaism. The former punishment—scourging, imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation—was incurred by those who made a difference in meats. An exemption was granted to new converts, who were not constrained to eat swine's flesh if their nature revolted against it. The same penalty fell on all who intermarried within the sixth degree of relationship. Such marriages were declared null; the property was to be divided among the children, if not Jews. If there were no children, or only children educated in Judaism, it fell to the lord of the soil. No marriage was hereafter to be contracted without a clause in the act of dower that both would become Christians. All who offended against this law, even the parents concerned in such a marriage, were to be fined or

scourged. All subjects of the kingdom who harbored, assisted, or concealed the flight of a Jew, were to be scourged and have their property confiscated. Whoever received bribes from a Jew to conceal his practice of Judaism, was fined thrice the sum he had received. The Jew who read, or allowed his children to read, books written against Christianity, suffered one hundred lashes; on the second offence the lashes were repeated, with banishment and confiscation. Christian slaves of Jews were declared free; the Jews had no right of emancipating them; but a given time was allowed in which they might sell those of whom they were possessed. As many Jews, in order to retain their Christian slaves, pretended to Christianity, the whole race were commanded, by a given day, to bring their slaves for sale, or publicly to embrace Christianity. If not immediately baptized, they were to lodge a solemn protest of their faith with the bishop; and all converts were to take an oath, of which the form was subjoined, an oath of terrific sublimity, which even now makes the reader shudder, when he remembers that it was forced upon unwilling consciences, and perhaps taken by those who secretly renounced its obligations. All Jewish slaves, by embracing Christianity, obtained their freedom. No Jew could take any office by which he might have authority over or constrain a Christian, except in certain cases where power might be granted by the feudal lord. In such a case, if he abused the law, he was punished by the loss of half his property or by stripes. Even the noble who granted such a power was liable to a fine, or, in default of payment, to the same ignominious punishment. No Jew might be intendant, house steward, or overseer. Should a bishop, priest, or other ecclesiastic, commit the property of the church to a Jewish intendant, his property was to be confiscated; in default, himself burnt. No Jew could travel from one town or province to another without reporting himself to the bishop or judge of the place. They were forced to eat, drink, and communicate with Christians; they could not move without a certificate of good behavior and a passport. On the Jewish Sabbath and holy days they were all to assemble before the bishop. The bishop was to appoint women to overlook their wives and daughters. The spiritual person who took a bribe to relax his vigilance was to be degraded and excommunicated. Whoever protected a Jew against his spiritual overseer, was to be excommunicated and pay a heavy fine. No civil judge could act in any case of this kind without the concurrence of the priesthood, if their presence could be procured. The remission of penalties might be granted on a certificate of Christian behavior. All spiritual persons were to communi-

cate these statutes to the Jews in their respective dioceses and cures. Such were the acts of the kingdom of Spain, ratified or commanded by the Twelfth Council of Toledo; but happily laws, when they are carried to such an extreme of cruelty as to shock the general feeling, usually prevent their own execution. The council might enact, but the people would carry into effect but imperfectly these horrible scenes of scourging and confiscation. Wealth, notwithstanding the menaces of the law, would purchase immunity and exemption; and though many fled, and many probably outwardly conformed, the successor of Ervig, Egica, found it expedient to relax the laws, so far as to allow baptized Jews all the privileges of citizens, which before were but jealously or imperfectly bestowed; in all other respects the statutes of Ervig remained in force. Fear may have extorted this concession; but the fear of the monarch shows how ineffective the former laws must have been if the Jews were still so numerous as to be formidable.

Already the shores of Africa were beginning to gleam with the camps of the Saracens, who threatened to cross the narrow strait, and overwhelm the trembling Gothic monarchy. The Jews were accused of a general conspiracy to aid the Saracens, and it is no wonder that they should have done what lay in their power to accelerate the march of the victorious deliverer. The Church and State united in a decree to confiscate all the property of the Jews to the royal treasury,—to disperse the whole race, as slaves, through the country,—to seize all their children under seven years of age, to bring them up as Christians, marry them to Christian wives, and to abolish forever the exercise of the Jewish faith. A great flight of the Jews probably took place; for Witiza, the successor of Egica, attempting too late to heal the wounds by conciliation, granted them permission to return into the Gothic States, with full rights of freedom and citizenship. But the vows of the Jews had been heard, or their intrigues had been successful. They returned, and to the enjoyment of all rights and privileges of freedom,—not, indeed, under the Christian kings, but under the dominion of the Moorish Caliphs, who established their rule over almost the whole of Spain. The munificence of these sovereigns bears the appearance of gratitude for valuable services, and confirms the suspicion that the Jews were highly instrumental in advancing the triumph of the Crescent. At all events, when Toledo opened her gates to the Moorish conqueror (whether the Jews were openly or secretly active in the fall of the city), with what infinite satisfaction must they have beheld the capital of the persecuting Visigothic kings, and the seat of those remorseless Councils which had

forcibly baptized or exiled their devoted ancestors, or deprived them of their children, now become the palace of kings, if not kindred in lineage, yet Monotheists like themselves, under whose rule they knew that their brethren in the East and in Africa were permitted to enjoy their lives and their religion undisturbed, under whom they found equal justice, rose to high honor, at least labored under no proscription, dreaded no persecution! How much more must they have exulted when they were summoned to assume the command of this great city, and to maintain it for their Moslem deliverers! The reward of their prayers or their acts for the success of Islamism was a golden age of freedom, of civilization, and of letters. They shared with and emulated their splendid masters in all the luxuries and arts which soften and embellish life, during that era of high, though, if we may so say, somewhat barbaric civilization, under which the southern provinces of Spain became that paradise for which they were designed by nature.

France had obeyed the signal of Spain, and hung out the bloody flag of persecution. But her measures were ill combined, and probably worse executed; for many of the fugitives from Spain sought and found comparative security among their brethren in Gaul. In A. D. 615, Jews were disqualified from all military and civil offices which gave them authority over Christians. The Council of Rheims (A. D. 627) annulled all bargains entered into by Jews for the purchase of Christian slaves; that of Chalons, on the Marne, prohibited the Jews from selling Christian slaves beyond the frontier of the kingdom. Dagobert commanded all Jews to forswear their religion or leave the kingdom. But in the northern part of France this edict was so little enforced, that a Jew held the office of tax collector at the Gate of St. Denys in Paris. In the south, where they were far more numerous and wealthy, they carried on their trade with uninterrupted success. In the great rebellion of the Gallic part of the Visigothic kingdom, Paul, who had usurped the throne, and Hilderic Count of Nismes, had recalled the Jews into the realm. King Wamba, the predecessor of Ervig, on the suppression of the rebellion, took vengeance on the Jews by reënforcing the persecuting edicts of Sisebut I.; but in later days the wiser monarchs of the Visigothic kingdom in France altogether renounced the intolerant policy of the Merovingian race.

Under the Caliphs, the successors of Mohammed, the Jews were protected and enjoyed what may be called their golden age. They taught their Moslem masters in the East the arts of civilization and refinement, and aided them in many ways to lay aside their stern

barbaric customs for the manners of a more peaceful and civilized state. The Caliph readily acknowledged as his vassal the Prince of the Captivity, who maintained his state as representative of the Jewish community; probably, through him the tribute was levied on his brethren. As early as the time of Omar, the second Caliph, and his successor Abdamelech, a trust of great importance, the coinage, had been committed to the care of a Jew. But it was not by mechanical operations alone, like the coinage, or by traffic, in which, as single traders, or even as mercantile firms, they pervaded the whole East as well as the West, that the Jews rendered invaluable services to the Barbarian conquerors, and aided very powerfully in raising them from the chieftains of wild, marauding tribes into magnificent, in some respects enlightened, sovereigns. By traffic, residence, perhaps habits, they were familiar with Greek, and acquired Arabic, as a kindred language to their own, with great facility. Arabic, indeed, to a great extent, became the vernacular tongue of the Jews. Hebrew, Rabbinical Hebrew, became a sort of sacred language. We know what took place to a great extent under the flourishing dominions of the Mussulmans in Spain, when Europe, seeking her old lost treasures of arts and knowledge among the more enlightened descendants of the Arabs, found the learned Jews of Cordova and Toledo, as it were, half way between the East and West, and used them as intermediate agents in that intellectual intercourse. So, in all probability, at an earlier period, in Damascus and Bagdad, the Jews were the most active interpreters, not only of the western languages, but of the western mind to the conquerors.

About A. D. 753, under Abu Giafar Almansor, we find the Jews intrusted with the office of exacting a heavy mulct laid upon the Christians. It was a tax which comprehended ecclesiastics, monks, hermits, those who stood on columns. The sacred vessels of churches were seized and purchased by the Jews. Under this fostering government the schools flourished; those in Sura and Pumbeditha were crowded with hearers; the Gaonim, or the Illustrious, were at the height of their fame; they formed a sort of senate, and while the Prince of the Captivity maintained the sovereign executive power, they assumed the legislative. Their reign was for the most part undisturbed, though sometimes a rapacious Caliph or an over-zealous Iman might make them feel that the sword of authority still hung over them, and that the fire of zealous Islamism was not yet burned out. Giafar the Great is reported to have framed an edict to force Jews and Christians to embrace Islamism. Sultan Vathek held them

in contempt and dislike. His brother and successor, Motavakel, was a sterner persecutor. He issued an edict that all the Jews and Christians in his empire should wear a leather girdle, to distinguish them from the faithful. He prohibited them from sitting on the Divan of Justice. At first he only forbade their use of iron stirrups; but he degraded them still farther; they were no longer to mount the noble horse, they were only permitted to ride the mule or the ass. This debasing distinction is still put in force by law or by usage, enforced by popular hatred, in many parts of the Turkish dominions.

A. D. 717. It was during this period that the Karaites, the Protestants of Judaism, who, perhaps, had never been entirely extinct, grew again into a formidable sect. The Luther of this Reformation, which, perhaps, was not less rapidly diffused for its similarity to the simpler creed of Islamism, was named Anan, who, with his son Saul, revolted from Rabbinism. In a contest for the succession to the Princedom of the Captivity, or to some other high office, Anan was passed by, and his younger brother appointed. Embittered by this affront, Anan assembled the wreck of the Sadducean party, so called probably by contempt, and persuaded them to name him to the dignity. Tumults arose; the government interfered; and Anan was thrown into prison. He recovered his freedom, some say by a large sum of money, which his followers gladly paid, as he gave out that he had been visited in a dream by the Prophet Elias, who encouraged him in his adherence to the pure Law of Moses. But his success was chiefly owing to an artifice suggested by an Arabian philosopher, whom he met with in prison. He demanded of the Vizier a public disputation with his adversaries, and represented the only cause of their differences to be a dispute about the period of the new moon. The Caliph was a dabbler in astronomy; and Anan, by dexterously adopting his opinion, obtained a triumph. The Karaites retired to the neighborhood of Jerusalem, to maintain in peace their simple creed, in their adherence to which the sight of the Holy City might confirm them. They hoped that thus a pure and righteous people might be ready to hail the accomplishment of its last Article. The following were, and still are, the Articles of the Karaite belief:—I. That the world was created; II. That it had an uncreated Creator; III. That God is without form, and in every sense One; IV. That God sent Moses; V. That God delivered the Law to Moses; VI. That the believer must deduce his creed from the knowledge of the Law in its original language, and from the pure interpretation of it; VII. That God inspired the rest of the Prophets;

VIII. That God will raise the dead; IX. That God will reward and punish all men before his throne; X. That God has not rejected his unhappy people, but is purifying them by affliction, and that they must daily strive to render themselves worthy of redemption through Messiah, the son of David. The Karaites formed a regular community, under their Nasi, which name afterward gave place to that of Hachim; they have since spread into many countries, where they are hated and denounced as heretics by the Rabbins. They found their way from the East into Spain at the height of Jewish prosperity and learning. They made more progress in the Christian States than among the Arabic Jews. They were met with jealous opposition by the Rabbinical authorities; they made proselytes from their familiarity with the Arabic, more vernacular with the Jew than the Rabbinical Hebrew. But all intermarriages were forbidden by the dominant party; their trade was discouraged; they had no great or eloquent writers, and had dwindled away almost to nothing before the great expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Their chief settlements in later days have been in Poland and the east of Europe, in the Taurus, and in Tartary.

Under Charlemagne, the Jews enjoyed considerable prosperity, though at the beginning of his reign they were treated with the old Roman or religious contempt, and subjected to many disadvantages. As the time advanced, however, the great monarch became more liberal. The commerce of the Jews flourished, and found a wide field in the extended domains of Charlemagne. They traded with the East, in their own ships, from the ports of Narbonne and Marseilles; and in Narbonne they were so prosperous that of the two prefects or mayors of the city, one was always a Jew, and the most regular and stately part of the city of Lyons was the Jewish quarter. The superior intelligence and education of the Jews, in a period when nobles and kings, and even the clergy, could not always write their names, pointed them out for offices of trust. They were the physicians, the ministers of finance, to nobles and monarchs. As physicians they alone perhaps (for they had taught the Arabians) kept up the sacred traditions of the art, the knowledge of the properties of drugs, which had come down from the East and from the Greeks. They were in the courts of kings, in the schools of Salerno and Montpelier. It is true that if their medical skill (which all mankind must submit to the necessity of employing) forced them into places of trust and honor, it exposed them to inevitable dangers. Their skill was attributed by the ignorant people of the times to sorcery and unlawful dealing. If

they were successful, they were accused of working their cures by diabolic aid; if unsuccessful, they were suspected of knowingly administering poison to the patient.

As financiers, too, we find them in the courts of the kings and of the great vassals, encountering all the hatred which attaches to the levying heavy, mostly ill-apportioned, taxation upon an impoverished people. Their wisest measures, probably, as beyond the political economy of the age, would be arraigned as the most cruel and iniquitous; yet they were unable or unwilling to decline these perilous dignities, by which, honestly or dishonestly, they obtained great opportunities of advantage, and stored up wealth to themselves, to be the righteous or unrighteous pretext for the plunder by the sovereign whom they served; or the vengeance of the people whom they stripped. In them the possession of wealth was sufficient proof of extortion and iniquity. At all events, they were usurers; and whether they exercised usury on what might now be called fair or unfair terms, usury was in itself a sin and a crime. Charlemagne even promoted them to higher honors, and sent one of their number, Isaac, as his ambassador to the magnificent Caliph Haroun Alraschid. Under Louis le Débonnaire, or the Pious, their privileges were increased. They were even protected in their slave trade. They were confirmed in their property and rights, and were given the full and free privileges of their citizenship, including the free observance of their law.

These privileges excited the jealous indignation of Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, who endeavored to curtail them; but without avail. The court turned a deaf ear to his appeals, and sent him back to his diocese. His efforts were followed up by his successor, Amilo, Archbishop of Lyons, in the reign of Charles the Bald, who energetically strove, and with better success, to renew the persecution of the Jews. The Lyonese Jews began to feel the iron hand of the Church again, and the Councils soon began to launch their thunders against the whole race. In A. D. 845, the Council of Meaux reënacted the exclusion of the Jews from all civil offices, and in the same year this decree was followed by that of Paris, to the same effect. After the death of Charles the Bald, the Jews passed from the protection of the sovereign to the mercies of the countless petty sovereigns who arose under the feudal system, and whose means of raising money was to get it by plunder and massacre. In A. D. 897, Charles the Simple issued a decree, bestowing upon the Archbishop of Narbonne all the lands and vineyards possessed by the Jews, however acquired, in the whole county.

In Germany, until the time of the Crusades, their trade continued to prosper, and their relations to the Christian merchants seem in general to have been amicable. The traffic of Germany at

A. D. 845-897. this period was very largely in the hands of the Jews, who furnished the Church with gold and velvet and precious stones, and frankincense for her services; the nobility with spices and rare wines for banquets, and gaudy clothing for their apparel; all classes with drugs, which the Jews probably administered. Above all, the slave trade, the traffic in captives taken in war, was still active. The constant legislation on that subject, even to a late period, shows how deeply the Jews were concerned in this traffic, which in those days brought much property and little discredit to the Jew, thus dealing to Christians some revengeful satisfaction for their insults and wrongs. The Jews probably alone, the wealthier of them, had capital; they alone had mutual intelligence and correspondence; they frequented every fair and market; they knew and communicated to each other the prices of commodities; they were a vast mercantile firm spread through Europe, and having some, it might be precarious, connection with their brethren in the East, in Africa, in Spain, in most Mohammedan countries. Trade alone, active, prosperous trade, will account for their vast numbers, their dangerous wealth, even their rising intellectual importance.

From this view, we turn to a sadder spectacle—the rapid progress of the Iron Age of Judaism, which, in the East and in the West, gradually spread over the Jewish communities, till they sank again to their bitter, and, it might almost seem indefeasible, inheritance of hatred and contempt. They had risen but to be trampled down by the fiercer and more unrelenting tread of oppression and persecution. The world, which before seemed to have made a sort of tacit agreement to allow them time to regain wealth that might be plundered and blood that might be poured forth like water, now seems to have entered into a conspiracy as extensive, to drain the treasures and the blood of this devoted race.

Their hardships began in the East. Sultan Motavakel's A. D. 847-1036. edict (A. D. 847), aimed at both Jews and Christians, has already been noticed. After his reign, the Caliphate in the East fell into confusion, split up into separate kingdoms under conflicting sovereigns. About this time Saccai was Prince of the Captivity. Towards the middle of the tenth century (A. D. 934), David ben Saccai held that high office. Under David ben Saccai, the Resch-Glutha resumed the pomp, title, and independence of a king. The

Jews boast that, while his weaker ancestors had condescended to pay tribute, David refused that humiliating act of submission. But it was the feebleness of the Caliphate under Muctador, rather than the power of the Resch-Glutha, which encouraged this contumacy. It has been conjectured that the interval during both these periods, from A. D. 817 to about A. D. 916, was filled by a line of hereditary princes.

The high office of Master of the Schools seems to have been united to that of the Prince of the Captivity, in the person of Scherira, who ruled and taught with universal admiration in the School of Pherutz Schabur from A. D. 967 to A. D. 997. Pherutz Schabur was a city five miles from Babylon. It is asserted, no doubt with the usual Jewish exaggeration, that this city was inhabited by 900,000 Jews. At the end of thirty years, Scherira felt the approach of age, and associated his son Hai in the supremacy. But the term of this high office drew near. A violent and rapacious sovereign, Ahmed Kader, filled the throne of the Caliphs. He cast a jealous look upon the powers and wealth of this vassal sovereign. Scherira, now one hundred years old, and his son Hai, were seized either with or without pretext, their riches confiscated, and the old man hung up by the hand. Hai escaped to resume his office, and to transmit its honors and its dangers to Hezekiah, who was elected Chief of the Captivity. But after a reign of two years, Hezekiah was arrested with his whole family by the order of the Caliph, Abdallah Kaim ben Marillah (A. D. 1036). The Schools were closed. Many of the learned fled to Egypt or Spain (the revulsion in Spain under the Almohades had not yet taken place); all were dispersed. Among the rest, two sons of the unfortunate Prince of the Captivity effected their escape to Spain, while the last of the House of David (for of that lineage they fondly boasted), who reigned over the Jews of the Dispersion in Babylonia, perished on an ignominious scaffold.

The Jewish communities in Palestine suffered a slower but more complete dissolution. Benjamin of Tudela (A. D. 1160-1173) gives us an account in the twelfth century of the few Jews who still clung in poverty and wretchedness to their native land. In Tyre he found 400 Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied Sichem; but in Jerusalem there were only 200 descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained 153 Jews; Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the kingly patriarchate, but 50. In the Byzantine Empire, according to the same authority, the numbers of the Jews had greatly diminished. Corinth contained 300 Jews; Thebes, 2000 silk-workers and dyers.

Two hundred cultivated the gardens at the foot of Parnassus. Patras and Lepanto contained a small number; Constantinople, 2000 silk-workers and merchants, with 500 Karaites. They inhabited part of Pera, were subject to the ordinary tribunals, and were often treated with great insult and outrage by the fanatic Greeks.

We now pursue our dark progress to the West, where we find all orders gradually arrayed in fierce and implacable animosity against the race of Israel. Every passion was in arms against them. The monarchs were instigated by avarice; the nobility by the warlike spirit generated by chivalry; the clergy by bigotry; the people by all these concurrent motives. Each of the great changes, which were gradually taking place in the state of the world, seemed to darken the condition of this unhappy people, till the outward degradation worked inward upon their own minds. Confined to base and sordid occupations, they contracted their thoughts and feelings to their station. Individual and national character must be endowed with more than ordinary greatness if it can long maintain self-estimation after it has totally lost the esteem of mankind; the despised will usually become despicable.

In that singular structure, the Feudal System, the Jews alone found no proper place. They were a sort of outlying caste in the midst of society, yet scarcely forming a part of it; recognized by the Constitution, but not belonging to it; a kind of perpetual anomaly in the polity. Their condition varied according to the different form which the feudal system assumed in different countries. In that part of Germany which constituted the Empire, the Jews, who were always of a lower order than their brethren in Spain and in the south of France, were in some respects under the old Roman law. By this law their existence was recognized, their freedom of worship in their synagogues was permitted, and they were exempted from military service—they were regarded as too degraded to engage in the noble profession of arms. The whole Jewish community were considered the especial servants of the Imperial Chamber, that is, the Emperor alone could make ordinances affecting the whole body, and the whole body could demand justice or make appeal to their liege lord. But this imperial right would not have been recognized by the great vassals as allowing the Emperor to seize, punish, plunder, or in any manner interfere with the Jews domiciliated in their several feuds. In fact, while the community was subject to the liege lord, the great feudatories and the free cities either obtained by charter, of which there are numerous instances, or assumed with a strong hand, or were

persuaded by the Jews themselves, to accept dominion over the Israelitish inhabitants of their domains. The high and remote tribunal of the Emperor would afford inadequate protection for any oppressed Jew; he was glad to have a nearer and more immediate court of appeal. Travelling, as the Israelites perpetually did, from town to town, from province to province, the fierce baron might respect the passport, which was always absolutely necessary, of some powerful noble, some princely bishop, or some wealthy community of burghers, while he would have smiled in scorn at the general imperial edict for allowing the Jews to pass unmolested. In some cities, as in Worms, there were regular officers appointed to protect the Jews, who could not perform any of their ceremonies or processions in public without these guardians to shield them from the violence of the populace. In France and in England they were the property of the King, who frequently granted them to favorites, like lands, resumed them, and treated them altogether as goods pertaining to the crown. In Italy, at least in the South, besides the doubtful protection of the Emperor, they acknowledged the more powerful authority of the Pope. They were supposed to be in some manner under the special jurisdiction of the See of Rome. In the Norman kingdom of Naples the feudal system soon makes its appearance. Sichelgaite, wife of Roger, Duke of Apulia (son of Robert Guiscard), bequeaths the revenue of the Jews in the city of Salerno to the Church of Our Lady. Duke Roger makes over the Jewry and all the Jews, except those of his proper domain, to the Archbishop of Salerno. In the South of France they seem to have been considered as a kind of foreign vassals of the great feudatories; in the North, of the King. For while the edicts of the sovereign for their expulsion and readmission into the land were recognized in the North, they seem to have been executed either imperfectly or not at all in the South. The general effect of the feudal system was to detach the Jews entirely from the cultivation of the soil, though it worked more slowly in some countries—in the south of France and in Spain—than in others. They could not be lords, they were not serfs,—they would not serve, or by the older law were exempted from military service to their lords. But this almost extra legal protection under the great vassals was of course subject to every caprice of the lawless and ignorant petty chieftains who exercised these local sovereignties. It was obtained only by proving to the liege lord that it was his interest to protect; and his eyes, blinded by ignorance and perhaps bigotry, could only be opened to his real interests by immediate and palpable advantages. The Jew must pay

largely for precarious protection; he was only tolerated as a source of revenue, and till almost his life-blood was drawn, it would be difficult to satisfy the inevitable demands of a needy and rapacious master. The Jew thus often became a valuable property; he was granted away, he was named in a marriage settlement, he was bequeathed, in fact he was pawned, he was sold, he was stolen. Permission to the Jew to employ his industry for his own profit implied a share in that profit to the lord. Even churchmen of the highest rank did not disdain such lucrative property.

Chivalry, in spite of the benefits which it conferred upon the character and institutions of modern Europe, was a source of almost unmitigated wretchedness to the Jew, unless in so far as the splendor which the knight might display in his arms and accoutrements was a lucrative source of traffic. Though the Jew made a good profit on the arms of the knight and the jewels with which that personage decked his lady-love, and often held him in his power by reason of debts contracted for such purposes, his own condition was not bettered. The knight was bound by the tenure of his rank to hate and despise the Jew. Religious fanaticism was inseparable from chivalry. The knight, as he could not prevent the sufferings of his Saviour, felt bound to revenge them, and held the Jew of his own time responsible for them. The only refuge of the Jew from the hatred of the knight was in his contempt. The knight was not suffered to profane his sword with such vile blood; it was loftier revenge to trample him under foot. The lower classes imitated the hatred, but not the forbearance of their betters, and eagerly strove to show their zeal for the religion of Christ by persecuting the Jew—often by slaying him.

The power of the clergy, no doubt, tended greatly to increase this detestation against the unhappy Jew. Their breath was never wanting to fan the embers of persecution. There were exceptions to the rule, it is true; and of all European sovereigns, the Popes, with some exceptions, have pursued the most generous policy towards the Jews. Innocent III. began by protecting them, but their wealth, power, and influence in France at length aroused his jealousy, and he set his face sternly against them. In Italy, and even in Rome, the Jews have been more rarely molested than in other countries. They have long inhabited in Rome a separate quarter of the city, but this might have been originally a measure at least as much of kindness as contempt—a remedy against insult rather than an exclusion from society. In the remote provinces it is to be feared that religious animosity was often aggravated by that hatred which unprincipled men feel towards

those who possess the secret of their crimes. The sacred property of the Church was still often pawned by the licentious monks or clergy. No one would dare to receive the sacred pledge but a Jew, who thus frequently became odious, not only as an importunate creditor, but as exposing, by clamorous and public demands of payment, transactions never meant to meet the light.

In many cases it was religion itself which seemed to the Christian clergy to impose the duty of persecution. In Beziers, at the beginning of the Holy Week (of the week during which the sufferings of the Redeemer on the cross and his divine patience were represented, in symbol and in language, to the eyes and to the heart of the believer, not forgetting his sublime words of prayer for his enemies, even the Jews), it was an ancient usage to pelt the Jews with stones—a perilous licence for a fierce rabble. The preacher on that day urged his people to perform this act as a religious duty. The bishop who put down this practice, Raymond, of Trincavel, was accused of having been bribed; no other motive could be suggested for this act of humanity, justice, and piety.

Avarice and usurious practices were charged against the race of Israel, and not without justice. In the nation and in the individual the pursuit of gain, as the sole object of life, must give a mean and sordid cast to the character. To acquire largely, whether fairly or not, was the highest ambition of the Jew, who rarely dared or wished to spend liberally. All the circumstances of the times contributed to this debasing change. The more extended branches of commerce were almost entirely cut off. Their brethren in the East had lost their wealth; the navigation of the Mediterranean was interrupted by the Norman pirates; the slave trade had entirely ceased or was prohibited, as well by the habits of the times as by law. In the cities and free towns they were excluded, by the jealous corporate spirit, from all share in the burghers' privileges. The spirit of the age despised traffic, and the merchant is honorable only where he is held in honor. The Jews, no doubt, possessed great wealth; what was extorted from them is ample proof of the fact, and some of them by stealth enjoyed it; but even the wealthiest and most liberal were often obliged to put on the sordid demeanor and affect the miserable poverty of the poor peddler of their own nation, whose whole stock consisted in his pack of the cheapest portable articles.

The necessity of perpetual deception could not but have a baneful effect on the manners and mind of the people. Their chief trade seems to have been money-lending, of which, till they were rivalled and

driven out of the open market by the Lombards, they were the sole possessors. This occupation was not likely to diminish either their own sordid meanness or their unpopularity. The ignorance of the age denounced all interest for money alike as usury. The Jew was judged out of his own law, and all the scriptural denunciations against usury were brought forward, especially by the clergy, to condemn a traffic of which they felt and submitted to the necessity. The condemnation of usury by the Church as unlawful contributed, with the violence of the times, to render the payment of the usurer's bond extremely insecure. He argued, not unfairly, that the more precarious, the greater ought to be his gains; he took refuge in fraud from violence and injustice. Society was at war with the Jew. Some sudden demand of tribute, or some lawless plunderer, would sweep away at once the hard-wrung earnings of years; the Jew, therefore, still practised slow and perpetual reprisals, and reimbursed himself from the wants of the needy for his losses from the violent. Demolish his secret hive, like the ant, the model suggested by his wise king, he would reconstruct it again, and ever at the expense of his enemy. It was, generally throughout the world, the Christian, who, according to our universal Master of nature, would spit upon and spurn the Jew; and the Jew, who, when he found his advantage, would have the pound of flesh nearest the heart of his bondsman. It was a contest of religious zeal which had degenerated into the blindest bigotry, and associated itself with the most ferocious and unchristian passions against industry and patience, which had made a forced but intimate alliance with the most sordid craft and the most unfeeling avarice, to the utter extinction of every lofty principle of integrity and honor.

Attempts were constantly made to restrict the exactions of the Jews from the poor; they were prohibited from taking in pawn the tools of the artisan and the implements of husbandry. By a law of Philip Augustus the interest on loans was limited to two deniers per week on the livre; this would amount to above forty per cent. Later the rate of interest was doubled, for it was found that the debtor was compelled by the Jew to inscribe a larger sum than he actually borrowed. Interest on debts was generally limited to the year, to prevent—which it did not do—all accumulation. The weekly interest was manifestly intended for the debts of the poor. There is a very curious parchment roll in the French royal archives, according to which (probably during one of the expulsions of the Jews) certain inhabitants of the small town of Vitry, about five hundred, claimed sums said to have been extorted from them by the Jews to the amount of eight hundred

and forty-four livres nine sous. These may show how widely these exactions spread, and how they affected the poorest classes of society. It shows, too, the utter insecurity of all these debts, and that the Jews, almost the only holders of that rare commodity—money—could hardly be expected to refrain from making as rich a harvest as possible during their short gleam of broken sunshine.

The first scene in the tragic drama of the Iron Age of Judaism in the West is laid in a country where we should least expect to find it, the Arabian kingdom of Grenada. It took place when the Golden Age was in all its brightness—a foreshadowing of darkness to come. It was brought on by the imprudent zeal of the Jews. The nation was in the highest degree of prosperity and esteem. Rabbi Samuel Levi was at once prince of his own nation and vizier of the king, Mohammed ben Gehwar, when one of the Wise Men, Joseph Hallevi, attempted to make converts among the Moslemites. The stern orthodoxy of Islamism took fire, the rash teachers were hanged, the race persecuted, and fifteen hundred families, of whom it was said that he who had not heard of their splendor, their glory, and their prosperity, had heard nothing, sank into disgrace and destitution.

A few years after, the Christian monarch, Ferdinand the Great, as though determined not to be outdone in religious zeal by his rival, the Moslemite king, before he undertook a war against the Moors, determined to let loose the sword against the Jews in his own territories. To their honor the clergy interfered, prevented the massacre, and secured not only the approval of their own consciences, but likewise that of the Pope, Alexander the Second, who, citing the example of his predecessor, Gregory the Great, highly commended their humanity. The sterner Hildebrand assumed a different tone; he rebuked Alfonso the Sixth for having made laws restoring to the Jews certain rights, submitting, as the Pontiff declared, the Church to the synagogue of devils. During this whole period of contest between the Christians for the recovery of Spain, and the Mussulmans in their desperate defence of their conquests, the Jews stood on a perilous neutral ground. Their creed was obnoxious in different degrees to both. If they could have lived a peaceful life, they were disposed to submit quietly to the conqueror, but their wealth tempted the cupidity of both; both were inclined to employ them in the unpopular but lucrative functions of financiers and tax-gatherers; and their own propensities to gain induced them to undertake these offices under Christian or Mohammedan rulers.

The Crusades affected the Jews strangely. They must have been

overwhelmed with astonishment at the spectacle of Christians fighting for the conquest of that land which they looked upon, with unwavering hope, as the future kingdom of their own race under their Messiah ; but they quietly concealed their feelings, and applied themselves to the task of providing equipments for the warriors of the Cross. Out of these bargains they no doubt made large gains. Arms and money must be had for the crusader, and the merchant or usurer might dictate his own terms. No knight could stay at home with honor ; and nothing was too valuable, too dear, or too sacred, but that it might be parted with to equip the soldier of the Cross.

But gain was not all that the Crusades brought to the Jews. When the immense mob of undisciplined warriors, called the Army of the Cross, led by Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, and under the guidance of a goose and a goat, assembled near the city of Treves, a murmur rapidly spread through the camp, that while they were marching to recover the sepulchre of Christ from the infidel, they were leaving behind the wretches who had crucified him ; and with one impulse the army rushed into the city, and began a relentless pillage, violation, and massacre of every Jew they could find. In this horrible day men were seen to slay their own children, to save them from the worse usages of these savages. Women, having deliberately tied stones around themselves that they might sink, plunged from the bridge, to save their honor and escape baptism. Their husbands had rather send them to the bosom of Abraham than leave them to the mercy, or rather the lustful cruelties, of the Christians. The rest fled to the palace of the bishop, Engelbert, as a place of refuge, but he sternly refused protection to any except upon their recantation of their faith and submission to baptism. The same bloody scenes were repeated in Metz, in Spiers, in Worms, in Mayence, in Cologne. The holy army passed on ; everywhere the tracks of the Crusaders were deeply marked with Jewish blood. A troop under Count Emico carried these outrages to the cities on the Maine and the Danube, even as far as Hungary, where the influence of the king, Coloman, could not arrest his violence. The Emperor Henry the Fourth seems to have been the only person who saw the atrocity of these massacres ; in an edict issued from Ratisbon, he permitted such Jews as had been baptized by force to resume their religion, and ordered their property to be restored. At this period, many took refuge in Silesia and Poland. It is said that upon the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Boulogne, all the Jews in the Holy City were put to the sword by the Christian conquerors.

Half a century later, another storm burst upon this unhappy race. The Monk Rodolph passed through the cities of Germany to preach the duty of wreaking vengeance on all the enemies of God. The terrible cry of "H E P," the signal for the massacre of the Jews (supposed to be an abbreviation of "*Hierosolyma est perdita*"—*Jerusalem is lost*), ran through the cities of the Rhine. The Jews knew who were included under the fatal designation of Christ's enemies; some made a timely retreat, but frightful havoc took place in Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Spiers, and Strasbourg. They found an unexpected protector in the holy St. Bernard, who openly reprobated these barbarities, and, in a letter to the Bishop of Spiers, declared that the Jews were neither to be persecuted nor put to death, nor even driven into exile. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, took the opposite side, and strongly urged the king of France to give up the Jews in his realm to general pillage. The German Jews suffered greatly during the second Crusade, owing to the absence of their legal protector, the Emperor Conrad, in the Holy Land, and in spite of the intervention of the Pope in their behalf. An attempt to raise the old terrible cry of "Hep," before the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa, was put down by the stern vigor of the emperor. The Pope, Eugenius the Third, espoused the same humane part; and it has been conjectured that his release of all debts due to Jewish usurers was a kind of charitable injustice, to diminish the general odium against this unhappy people. The turbulent Rodolph was shut up in his cloister.

In France the Jews were numerous and wealthy. They boast that they were as numerous as when they went forth from Egypt. In the South they were especially flourishing, and their prosperous schools and splendid synagogues were famous. Here they were more mingled with the people, and were not entirely dispossessed of their landed property. In the North they were spread throughout the country; they were to be found in every large city and town. But Paris was their headquarters. That they possessed in Paris and its neighborhood, lands, houses, meadows, vineyards, barns, and other immovable property, was sadly shown when the edict for the confiscation of all these possessions was issued. It is said by Monkish writers that they owned half Paris.

The people hated them. Almost everybody owed them money. Even the king and the great nobles were their debtors. The lavish expenditure caused by the Crusades, and the heavy exactions of the government, had made it necessary to raise money on any terms.

Thus the Jews had a hold upon almost all the estates of the country; they had mortgages on half Paris. Even the clergy pawned the sacred vessels, and the reliques of their churches, to raise money for their expensive pleasures. Thus ground down by the extortions of the Jews, the people revenged themselves by charging them with the most blasphemous and sanguinary crimes. They were accused of horribly profaning the sacred vessels which they held in pawn, and of luring Christian children into their houses to slay them. Such was the state of affairs when the ambitious Philip Augustus came to the throne. He at once relieved his burdened subjects by an edict which confiscated all debts due to the Jews, and commanded them to surrender all pledges in their hands. Soon after this they were arrested and dragged to prison, while the royal officers took possession of their houses. Later still, the king confiscated all their immovable property, compelled them to sell their movables at a sacrifice, and banished them from the kingdom. He was deaf to all appeals for mercy. The decree was rigidly executed in the royal domains; in the south of France the great vassals paid less respect to the royal edict, even where it had authority, and the Jews were still found in those provinces, sometimes in offices of trust.

Less than twenty years later, the evil effects of these summary proceedings having been felt, Philip Augustus consented to allow the Jews to return to France upon certain conditions, which, considering the times, were favorable to them. Twenty years later a royal edict prescribed a fixed method of regulating the money affairs of the Jews in the kingdom. The interest allowed was more than forty per cent. In the South the condition of the Jews was still comparatively prosperous; it was among the bitter charges of Pope Innocent the Third against Raymond, the heretical Count of Toulouse, that he employed Jews in high official situations.

A. D. 1223. On the accession of Louis VIII. (A. D. 1223) he gratified his impoverished barons with a new decree, which at once annulled all future interest on debts due to the Jews, and commanded the payment of the capital within three years, at three separate instalments. The Jews were declared attached to the soil, and assigned as property to the feudatories, or rather recognized as property belonging to them of right; no one might receive or retain the Jew of another.

A. D. 1226. Louis IX., though he strove to be just, was a cruel sovereign to the Jews. He exerted himself from an early period of his reign to compel them to give up the practice of

usury, which he conscientiously regarded as unlawful. He abhorred equally the Lombard and Cahorsin usurers, but these being Christians, he left the Church to deal with them, while he took the unbelieving Jews into his own hands. Soon after his accession, he recognized the property of each baron in his Jews, whom he might seize by force on the estate of another. In 1234, St. Louis, for the welfare of his soul, the souls of his father and all his ancestors, annulled one-third of all debts due to Jews. No bailiff might arrest or maltreat a Christian for any debt due to a Jew, or force him to sell his hereditaments. The king himself, in his zeal for the Crusades, had been obliged to borrow from the Jews on usurious terms. There is a singular struggle between the conscience and bigotry of the good king, and conscience gets the upper hand. He orders that measures be taken by trustworthy persons to make restitution even to the heirs of those usurers to whom debts are due. There is also a singular conflict between the intolerance and the piety of the saint. Though in one place the law states that the Jews are to be expelled from the realm and their property sold, yet their synagogues with their cemeteries are to be restored, as though he would not cut them off from the worship of God. But policy or justice entered little into the minds of the populace. In 1239, they rose upon the Jewish quarter in Paris, and committed frightful ravages. Their example was followed in Orleans and many other considerable cities. The great vassals were not behind in lawless barbarity. The Assize of Brittany surpassed the worst fanaticism or injustice of sovereign or people. It was held by John the Red, at Ploermel. It complained that husbandry was ruined by the usurious exactions of the Jews. It banished them from the country, annulled all their debts, gave permission to those who possessed their property to retain it; it prohibited any molestation or information against a Christian who might kill a Jew; in other words, it licensed general pillage and murder.

St. Louis next made war upon the religion of the Jews. He was convinced that the Talmud taught them not only impiety and superstition, but also the damnable arts of sorcery, which they used in revenge upon the Christians. He therefore ordered all these volumes to be found in his realm to be seized and destroyed. Four and twenty carts-full of ponderous tomes were burned in Paris. Many of the Wise Men fled to secure their treasures of knowledge, and their wealth was seized by the king, who wanted money for his Crusade.

Heretofore the Jew, notwithstanding his marked and indelible features, by adopting the common dress of the country, might escape the

blind fury of the populace. To complete his outlawry, and to mark him out as an object of inevitable persecution, it was ordained that he should wear a sort of conspicuous outward brand upon his dress ; this was called the *Rouelle*. It was to be worn by both sexes, and consisted of a piece of blue cloth on the front and on the back of the garment. This device originated in the clergy. The Council of Lateran, under Innocent III., made its use general throughout Christendom. It was enforced by other councils, as at Rouen and at Arles. It was finally made a law of the realm by St. Louis in the year before his death, who thus bequeathed to the miserable subjects, whom he had oppressed during his life, a new legacy of shame and calamity.

A. D.
1241-1267. In Germany the clergy and the people continued to persecute the Jews, while the emperors strove to protect them. Frederick Barbarossa was accused of too great leniency to them ; he called the Archbishop of Cologne to account for his maltreatment of them. Frederick the Second was accused by the clergy of extending unchristian protection over this proscribed race. The emperor was informed that three Christian children had been found dead, at the time of the Passover, in the house of a Jew. "Let them be buried," coolly replied the philosophic emperor. But the emperor rendered the Jews a more effectual service by instituting an investigation of the fact whether Jews were bound to murder children on that day. The cause was decided by grave theologians by the acquittal of the Jews from this monstrous charge. But our astonishment is great on finding Frederick's mortal antagonist, Innocent IV., one of the haughtiest bigots who ever sat on the Papal throne, issuing a bull to the archbishops, bishops, and nobles of Germany, in which he treats with scorn the figments of murders charged against the Jews, and brands as crimes the cruelties exercised against them. Of all the bulls issued from the Vatican this is one of the most extraordinary ; and the Pontiff is not free from the suspicion of wishing to usurp authority and display his supremacy over the subjects of the emperor.

The Council of Vienna (A. D. 1267) urged still farther that most dangerous plan of persecution—the total separation of the Jews from the society, and consequently from the sympathies, of their fellow-men. The decrees of this council were addressed to the Archbishops of Salzburg and Prague, and to their suffragans, as well as to the prelates of Vienna. The Jew was ordered to wear the high-horned cap, under pain of an arbitrary fine by his liege lord. The Jew was to pay the parish priest not only tithes, but all dues which might have been demanded if his house had been occupied by a Christian. The

Jews were not to frequent the stoves, the baths, or the shops of the Christians; they were not to have any Christian servants, man or maid, especially not nurses. Sexual intercourse with a Christian woman was severely punished; in the man with imprisonment; the woman was to be flogged out of the town. No Christian might receive a Jew at a banquet, or eat and drink with Jews, or dance at their weddings, or buy meat of them, lest it should be poisoned. Charges of usury were to be tried by the ecclesiastical courts. When the host was carried through the streets, the Jews, at the sound of the bell, were to shut themselves up in their houses, and to close their doors and windows. Jews were forbidden to dispute upon religious subjects. They were not to prevent their wives and children from becoming converts to Christianity, and above all, were not to seek to convert Christians to Judaism, or to circumcise Christian proselytes. They were forbidden to build new synagogues; they might repair those already in use, but neither make them larger nor more costly; above all, not of a greater height.

A. D.
1080-1106 In Spain the petty sovereigns, who held the last of the Moorish possessions, continued the persecution of the Jews; but the first Christian monarchs protected them, and allowed them to remain in the country on liberal conditions. The protection of the sovereign was not always sufficient to save them from violence at the hands of the fanatical populace. Nearly a century passed in which the almost total silence of history, Jewish and Christian, is the best proof of the peace and prosperity of the Jews under the Christian sovereigns. During this period the persecutions of the Mohammedan kings of Morocco caused multitudes of the Jews to leave Africa and settle in the rising kingdom of Portugal.

A. D.
1296-1320. In France the story of this race is still one of wrong. Philip III. enforced and increased the severity of the laws of Louis IX. During his wars in Languedoc (1296), Philip extorted large sums from the Jews on the charge of immoderate usury.

Philip the Fair, the most rapacious and cruel of French sovereigns, did not leave the rich Jews in peace. His whole reign was a period of financial difficulty. He began his reign by expelling from his realm the Jews who had fled to Gascony from England, where they had already been plundered. After at first seeming to protect the Jews from the clergy and the Inquisition—a shrewd policy by which he allowed them to become richer and better worth plundering—he suddenly expelled the whole race from France (A. D. 1306). Their debts were

confiscated to the crown, and all their vast possessions and splendid establishments, their goods and valuables, were sold for the benefit of the king. Their synagogues were converted into churches, their cemeteries desecrated, their grave-stones torn up and used for building. Five years after, whether the law of expulsion had been imperfectly executed, or many of them had stolen back to the place of their former abode; or whether, as the king declared, they had been allowed to return to prove their own debts for the advantage of the crown, a second total expulsion took place, and the soil of France was for a time secured from the profanation of the feet of the circumcised.

The disordered state of the finances of the country obliged Louis X. to readmit the Jews, who purchased the right to reside in France for twelve years at a heavy price. Their synagogues, cemeteries, and sacred books (except the Talmud) were restored to them. Philip the Long granted considerable privileges to the Jews on the royal domain, not the least of which were the abolition of their serfdom, and the granting of the right to bequeath their property to their nearest relative. The most singular of his laws was one which confiscated the whole property of the Jew converted to Christianity. Still, in spite of their privileges, they were often exposed to the rapacity of the nobles and even of the king himself, and to the cruelties of the clergy and the Inquisition.

When that singular outbreak, known as the Rising of the Shepherds, took place, the Jews suffered terribly from it. Under the strange idea that the Holy Land was only to be conquered by shepherds and the poor in spirit, the shepherds and peasants of France flocked together in immense numbers, led by a monk and a priest. They marched across the kingdom, one party northward, to Paris, the other into Languedoc, their numbers increasing as they went. Being without arms, it was proposed to plunder the Jews and purchase arms with the spoils. The idea was at once acted upon. In their agony of distress, the Jews appealed to the king, who commanded the Shepherds to let the Jews alone, and sent a few horse-men to protect the assailed race. The Shepherds laughed to scorn this feeble aid. The Pope, at Avignon, issued an anathema, equally ineffectual. The Jews were everywhere massacred and put to the torture. Where they could, they fled to the fortified places, often pursued and finally massacred by their cruel antagonists. These terrible scenes took place in almost all the cities of Languedoc.

As a natural consequence of the Shepherd's Rising, a terrible pestilence swept over France in the ensuing years. Dark rumors were

circulated that the Jews had poisoned the fountains and even the rivers of the kingdom and had in other ways brought the scourge upon the land. This ignorant belief was confirmed by the fact that the Jews were almost entirely free from the plague, owing, doubtless, to the cleanliness and carefulness as to food required of them by their ceremonial law. The Pope, John XX.-I., adopted the popular belief, and after denouncing their detestable sorceries and magic, commanded their Talmuds to be burned. The Papal sanction was thus given to the atrocities which followed. In many provinces, especially in Aquitaine, the Jews were burned without distinction. At Chinon, a deep ditch was dug, an enormous pile raised, and 160 of both sexes burned together. Many of them plunged into the ditch of their own accord, singing hymns, as though going to a wedding. Many women with their children threw themselves in to escape forcible baptism. At Paris, those alone were burned who confessed their crimes, but the richest were detained in prison to verify their confiscated debts. The king received from their spoils 150,000 livres.

In the midst of this, Philip V. died (A. D. 1322), and the heir, King Charles IV., graciously pardoned the survivors, on condition of a large payment. They were then allowed, as an act of mercy, to collect what remained of their effects, and leave the country.

A second pestilence, in A. D. 1348, completed the wretchedness of the few Jews that remained in this desolated land; while themselves were perishing by hundreds, the old accusation of poisoning the wells was renewed, and the sword of vengeance let loose to waste what the plague had spared.

Under the Regency of the Dauphin, notwithstanding the A. D. 1360. terrible condition of the kingdom, the Jews purchased the right to reenter France. The treaty was for twenty years, and was highly favorable to the Jews, who, outcasts, indeed, equally in the rest of the world, were content to purchase a limited period of residence, precarious safety, with the chance of gain among a people who, from the king in his palace, the noble in his castle, to the insurgent peasant, looked on them with undisguised hatred, and were ready, on the first impulse, to renew all the horrors of former massacres, plunder, and exile.

For sometime the position of the Jews seemed materially improved, for the Crown protected them. Still the bigotry of the clergy continued to fan the embers of popular hatred, and the clouds began to gather over the Israelites again. In 1380, during the administration of the Duke of Anjou, the people rose against the Jews, and pillaged

and massacred them, in spite of the efforts of the government to protect them. Meanwhile they bought an extension of their term of sufferance in France for ten years, at a cost of 3000 livres in gold; they were heavily taxed; and in 1378, they lent the king 20,000 livres in gold, and covenanted to furnish 200 per week. It was from the wealth of the Jews that Paris began to rear her fortresses and lofty edifices.

In spite of their burdens and trials, they increased in numbers and in wealth. Their usury increased the popular hatred of them, and at length roused all classes against them. On the 7th of September, 1394, Charles VI., to their astonishment and dismay, ordered them to leave the country. He graciously accorded them permission to receive all debts due them and to sell their property. The cause of this change in the royal policy is probably to be sought in the malady of the unhappy king. His confessor was perpetually at his ear; urging to the disordered and melancholy monarch the sin of thus protecting an accursed people from the miseries to which they were deservedly doomed by the wrath of God. The nobles hated them as debtors, the people as fanatics. The queen was won over, and the advice of those few wise counsellors who represented the danger of depriving the country of the industry of such a thriving and laborious community, was overborne by more stern advisers. An accusation made without proof against the Jews of Paris, of the murder of converts to the Church, aggravated the popular fury. Four of the most wealthy were scourged two successive Sundays in all the cross-roads of Paris, and bought their lives at the price of 18,000 francs. The rest were allowed a month to wind up their affairs, and the whole Jewish community crossed for the last time the borders of France, for a long and indefinite period of banishment.

The history of the German Jews during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries displays the same dreary picture of a people generally sordid, sometimes opulent, holding their wealth and their lives on the most precarious tenure. No fanatic monk set the populace in commotion, no public calamity took place, no atrocious or extravagant report was propagated, but it fell upon the heads of this unhappy caste. In Germany the Black Plague raged in all its fury, and the Jews were charged with causing it, and themselves enjoying comparative security amid the general desolation. Fatal tumults were caused by the march of the Flagellants, who, not satisfied with scourging their own bodies, atoned, as they thought, for their sins, by plundering and murdering the Jews in Frankfort and other places. Dark crimes were

everywhere charged against the Jews. The power of the emperor was ineffectual for their protection, even where exerted in their behalf. Still persecuted in one city, they fled to another, and thus spread over the whole of Germany, Brunswick, Austria, Franconia, the Rhine Provinces, Silesia, Brandenburg, Bohemia, Lithuania, and Poland. Oppressed by the nobles, anathematized by the clergy, hated as rivals in trade by the burghers in the commercial cities, despised and abhorred by the populace, their existence is known by the chronicle, rarely of protective edicts, more often of their massacre; in Prague, where no doubt their wild old cemetery, if its legends were carefully deciphered, would tell terrible stories; in Nuremberg, Würzburg, and Rottenberg.

There were Jews in England in the time of the Saxons. Egbricht, Archbishop of York (A. D. 740), prohibited Christians from attending Jewish feasts. They are said to have purchased from William the Conqueror the right to settle in the country. William Rufus openly protected them, but made them pay dearly for his protection. From his reign they led a chequered existence, hated by the people, oppressed by the sovereign, and persecuted by the clergy, until the reign of Henry II., who extorted considerable sums from them. The popular hatred was increased by dark tales of their atrocities, similar to those which were circulated on the Continent. This hostility broke out beyond all bounds at the coronation of the brave Richard the First. The whole nation crowded to the ceremony. Among the rest the Jews were eager to offer their allegiance, and to admire the splendor of the spectacle. They came in such apparel as suited the occasion, and were prepared with costly offerings to the new sovereign. But the jealous courtiers and the whole people demanded the exclusion of such dangerous guests from the royal presence, who were likely to blast all the prosperity of the reign by their ill-omened presence. It was dreaded that these notorious and wicked sorcerers would bewitch the king. Peremptory orders were issued that none should be admitted. A few strangers incautiously ventured, supposing themselves unknown, into the Abbey; they were detected, maltreated, and dragged forth, half dead, from the church. The news spread like wildfire. The populace of London rose at once, broke open the houses of the Jews, whom they suspected, and found to conceal, under a modest exterior, incalculable wealth; they pillaged and set fire on all sides. The king sent the chief justiciary, Sir Richard Glanville, to arrest the tumult. Proclamation was made that the Jews were under the king's protection; they had supplied him largely with con-

tributions for his Crusade. Avarice and hatred were too strong for authority, and during the whole night the work of plunder and havoc went on. So great was the popular excitement that the king dared not punish the assailants of the Jews.

The example of the people of London was followed elsewhere in the kingdom. All England was then swarming with fanatic friars preaching the Crusade, and fierce soldiers of all classes, who had taken up the cross. These burst like a whirlwind upon the Jews. At Norwich, at Edmondsbury, at Stamford, the Jews were plundered, maltreated, slain. At Lincoln they took timely warning, and, with the connivance of the governor, secured themselves and their more valuable effects in the castle. At York a terrible massacre took place. Neither age nor sex was spared. From 500 to 1500 men—the numbers vary—were put to death at York, in addition to the women and children. After Richard's return from captivity, he directed his attention to the affairs of the Jews. The whole community was placed under certain statutes. The Jews were formally recognized as belonging to the crown; and though the king contrived to wring some emolument out of every enactment, and though the laws were oppressive to the Jews, they gave them a protection which they had not enjoyed hitherto.

John had probably many dealings with the Jews, previous to his accession to the throne, and began his reign by granting them many privileges, and protecting them from the violence of the people, though he made them pay for it. The favor of John was not likely to conciliate that of his subjects. All classes looked on the Jews with darker jealousy. The perpetual defamatory tales were repeated of their crucifying children; and the citizens of London, probably envious of their opulence, treated them with many indignities, upon which the king sternly rebuked the mayor and barons of London.

The very next year (A. D. 1210), however, he passed to the extreme of cruelty against the miserable Jews. Every Israelite, without distinction of age or sex, was imprisoned, their wealth confiscated to the exchequer, and the most cruel torments extorted from the reluctant the confession of their secret treasures. The king gained 60,000 marks by this atrocious proceeding. A second time demands equally extravagant were made, and these unhappy wretches, who paid so dearly for the privilege of being the vassals of the crown, were still further plundered by the barons as belonging to the king. Their treasures in London were seized, and their houses demolished to repair the walls, by these stern assertors of the liberties of the land.

The first act of the Guardians of the Realm under Henry III. was to release the Jews who were in prison, and to appoint twenty-four burgesses of every town where they resided, to protect their persons and property, especially against the crusaders. Though their condition was generally improved, they were commanded to wear a distinctive mark on their dress, two stripes of white cloth or parchment. This fatal distinction may have been intended in mercy to protect them as the king's property; but it also exposed them to popular insult, or more than insult. All Jews landing in England were required to report themselves immediately and be enrolled by the justices of the Jews, and not to quit the kingdom without a passport.

The Church pursued them with implacable enmity. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Stephen Langton) and the Bishop of Lincoln (Hugh of Wells) even forbade Christians, on pain of ecclesiastical censure, from selling to them the necessities of life, and severe enactments were directed against them. The king, however, commanded all good subjects to pay no heed to the bishops' interdict. The clergy charged them with all manner of crimes, and at length the king withdrew his protection. On the occasion of the wars in France a sudden demand was made (A. D. 1230) of a third of their movables to be paid into the exchequer. It was followed in two years by another, of 18,000 marks; in 1236, by a third, of 10,000 marks. These enormous exactions were paid, and the king and people seemed to think that the Jews must have recourse to the black arts in raising the necessary funds. Other extortions followed from the king and the great nobles.

A few years later the nation beheld the singular spectacle of a Jewish Parliament, regularly summoned by writs to the sheriffs. When this body met they were not allowed the privilege of debate, but were informed that the king needed 20,000 marks, and must have the money, and were commanded to go home and raise it as speedily as possible. It was to be assessed and levied among themselves, and as this enormous charge was not immediately forthcoming, the collectors were seized, with their wives and children, their goods and chattels, and imprisoned. The next year a new demand of 8000 marks was made, and enforced under severe penalties, and during the next three years 60,000 marks more were levied.

How then was it possible for any traffic, however lucrative, to endure such perpetual exactions? The reason must be found in the enormous interest of money, which seems to have been considered by no means immoderate at fifty per cent. Certain Oxford scholars

thought themselves relieved by being constrained to pay only two pence weekly on a debt of twenty shillings. In fact, the rivalry of more successful usurers seems to have afflicted the Jews more deeply than the exorbitant demands of the king. These were Caorsini, Italian bankers, though named from the town of Cahors, employed by the Pope to collect his revenue. It was the practice of these persons, under the sanction of their principal, to lend money for three months without interest, but afterwards to receive five per cent. monthly, till the debt was discharged: the former device was to exempt them from the charge of usury. The king at one time attempted to expel this new swarm of locusts, but they asserted their authority from the Pope, and the monarch trembled.

The king continued his extortions. As his distresses increased, and, as his parliament resolutely refused to maintain his extravagant expenditure, nothing remained but to drain still further the veins of the Jews. The office was delegated to Richard Earl of Cornwall, his brother. The Jews protested that as the Caorsini had ruined their trade, they could not meet the demand upon them, let the punishment be what it might. Earl Richard treated them leniently, and accepted a small sum. The next year the king renewed his demands, and actually sold or mortgaged to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, all the Jews in the realm for 5000 marks, giving him full power over their property and persons.

About this time a new tale was spread over the country, of their having stolen a Christian child, named Hugh of Lincoln, and having crucified him after a mock trial, in which a Jew of Lincoln sat in judgment as Pilate, the whole being designed as a mockery of Christ's Passion. But the earth, the story went, could not endure to be an accomplice in the crime; it cast up the buried remains, and the affrighted criminals were obliged to throw the body into the well, where it was found by the mother. All the Jews in England were charged with having been present at Lincoln for this especial purpose. Parts of this story refute themselves, but it is possible that among the ignorant and fanatic Jews there might be some who, exasperated by the constant repetition of this charge, might brood over it so long as at length to be tempted to its perpetration. At all events, the Jew into whose house the child, it was said, had gone to play, tempted by promise of life and security from mutilation, made confession, and laid the blame upon his brethren. The king set aside the promise of mercy, and ordered him to be hanged. In his despair he accused all the Jews of the realm as accomplices in the act. Ninety-one of the

Jews of Lincoln were sent to London as accomplices, and thrown into dungeons. The boy's mother appealed to the king for vengeance. Eighteen of the richest and most eminent of the Lincoln Jews were hung on a new gallows; twenty more were imprisoned in the Tower, awaiting the same fate. Hugh of Lincoln was canonized, and became one of the most popular Saints of England, and a source of considerable profit to the church of Lincoln.

A. D.
1252-1264. The remainder of the reign of Henry III. was marked with severe oppressions of the Jews. The Barons' wars increased their burdens. The king was driven by the hopeless state of his finances to new extortions, and the barons plundered and even murdered them as wickedly and unconstitutionally belonging to the king. By some means they passed from the hands of the Earl of Cornwall back to the king, who, in 1261, again alienated them to Prince Edward, the king hoping by this gift to draw the prince from his alliance with the barons. The prince in his turn mortgaged them to certain of their dire enemies, the Caorsini, and the king ratified the assignment by his royal authority. The Jews were terribly persecuted—massacre and plunder being visited upon them in the principal cities—in these wars, but after the battle of Lewes their condition was improved, and they passed back to the property of the king. The wealth which he drew from the forfeited estates of the barons at the close of the war enabled the king to spare the Jews. Still their lot was hard. The last act of Henry III. disqualified them from holding lands or even tenements, except the houses of which they were actually possessed, particularly in the city of London, where they might only pull down and rebuild on the old foundations. All lands or manors were actually taken away; those which they held by mortgage were to be restored to the Christian owners, without any interest on such bonds. Henry almost died in the act of extortion; he had ordered the arrears of all charges to be paid, under pain of imprisonment. Such was the distress caused by this inexorable mandate, that even the rival bankers, the Caorsini, and the friars themselves, were moved to commiseration.

The accession of Edward I. brought no relief to the Israelites. Heavy exactions were made upon them by the king, and the penalty of non payment, even of arrears, was exile, not imprisonment. Parliament prohibited all usury, and cancelled all debts on payment of the principal. The Jews were subjected to other restrictions; and many of them, thus reduced, resorted to a more dangerous and unlawful occupation, clipping and adulterating the coin. In one day (No-

vember 17, 1279) all the Jews in the kingdom were arrested. In London alone, 280 were executed, after a full trial; many more in other parts of the kingdom. A vast quantity of clipped coin was found, and confiscated to the king's use. The estates of the guilty parties were granted by the king with a lavish hand. The people took the matter into their own hands, and maltreated the Jews to such an extent that the king was obliged to interfere in their behalf.

The clergy, urged on by the Pope, Honorius IV., pushed the poor wretches to the wall. They pulled down their synagogues, and otherwise oppressed them. Finally the king issued an edict expelling the whole race from England. Their whole property was seized at once, and just money enough left to discharge their expenses to foreign lands, perhaps equally inhospitable. The 10th of October, 1290, was the fatal day. The king benignantly allowed them till All Saints' Day; after which all who delayed were to be hanged without mercy. The number of exiles is variously estimated at 15,060 and 16,511; all their property, debts, obligations, mortgages, escheated to the king. They suffered greatly in their passage out of the kingdom; being sometimes plundered of what was left to them by the rapacious monarch, and frequently exposed to great physical suffering.

The Jews of Spain were of a far nobler rank than those of England, of Germany, and even of France. In the latter countries they were a caste,—in the former, as it were, an order in the State. Prosperous and wealthy, they had not been, generally, reduced to the sordid occupations and debasing means of extorting riches, to which, with some exceptions, they had sunk in other countries. They were likewise the most enlightened class in the kingdom; they were possessors and cultivators of the soil; they were still, not seldom, ministers of finance; their fame as physicians was generally acknowledged, and no doubt deserved. The heads of the communities, whether as Princes or Rabbins, exercised not only religious, but civil authority also; they formed a full judicial tribunal in criminal as well as ecclesiastical affairs; adjudged not only in cases of property, but life; passed sentences beyond that of excommunication, sentences of capital punishment. Such was their condition at the commencement of their Iron Age in Spain.

The darkness gathered more slowly upon them in this
A. D. kingdom than elsewhere, but it came not the less surely.
 1212–1252.

In the great Crusade of the Christian kings, of Castile, of Aragon, and of Navarre, which won the crowning victory of Navas de Tolosa (A. D. 1212), the wild cry which had rung through the

cities of France and on the Rhine against the Jews, was raised in Toledo. The king and the nobles interposed, but it is said not before 12,000 miserable Jews had been maltreated or fallen by the sword.

Under Alfonso the Wise, of Castile, who began his long reign in 1252, the condition of the Jews was bettered. He conceded to them certain lands; in Seville he gave them three mosques for synagogues. Their Jewry was enclosed by a wall which reached from the Alcazar to the Carmona gate. He bestowed other heritable possessions on opulent Jews. He encouraged the residence of learned and distinguished Jews in the city. Later in his reign, when he drew up the great code of statute laws of the realm (the *Siete Partidas*), he was obliged to make concessions to the sterner spirit of the times, and to place heavy restrictions upon the Jews. They were forbidden to preach their doctrines publicly, or to endeavor to make proselytes. They were commanded (perhaps in mercy) to keep within their houses on Friday, on pain of being exposed to insult and injury from the excited Christians. They were excluded from all public offices. Christians were interdicted from living in familiarity with them. Jews were forbidden to have Christian servants; and finally they were condemned to wear some mark on their dress distinguishing them from other vassals of the realm. The king was not really responsible for this last enactment, as the austere old Pope Gregory IX. had required of the kings of Spain the rigid enforcement of the decree of the Lateran Council respecting the dress of the Jews. On the other hand, there were more liberal clauses in this code concerning the Jews. They were protected in their religion, exempted from arrest on their Sabbath, except for murder or robbery, and every privilege open to a Christian was thrown open to converted Jews, the king being sincerely desirous of converting them to the faith of the Cross by fair means. On the whole, Alfonso was a good king to them. The usury laws were favorable to them in many respects. In Aragon, King James limited interest to 20 per cent., but in the kingdom of Navarré it was otherwise. Not only was usury altogether forbidden, but a bull was obtained from Pope Alexander IV. (A. D. 1254-1261) which empowered the king to seize all estates obtained by the Jews through what were called usurious practices, and restore them to the owners—in default of owners, to give them to the crown. In Navarre, too, the law of St. Louis prevailed, by which the Jew could recover only the capital, not the interest of his debt. At this period it is believed there were 3,000,000 of Jews in the

kingdom of Castile alone, besides those in Aragon and Navarre. In the frontier provinces of Navarre and Catalonia, they suffered from the Shepherds' Rising, which spread through those parts. They were also accused of poisoning the fountains and causing the dreadful plague of leprosy which ensued. Still, on the whole, they were protected by the wiser kings of Aragon and Castile from the growing jealousy of the nobles, and the implacable animosity of the clergy. Although the State was greatly embarrassed in its finances, from the reign of Alfonso the Wise to that of Alfonso XI. in Castile, and during the same period in Aragon, neither kingdom resorted to the French and English method of plundering the Jews for relief. The king does not seem even to have assumed or exercised the power of taxing them at will, as his men, his feudal serfs. Under Alfonso XI. of Castile, a Jew was the financial minister. He mismanaged the affairs, however, to such an extent that a great rise in provisions ensued, and this was followed by insurrection. The king, by timely measures alone, averted proscription and a general outbreak of popular fury against the whole race.

Alfonso's son, Pedro the Cruel, also had a Jew for his treasurer. This king alternately petted and plundered the Jews, but on the whole showed them such favor that he was accused of being a Jew at heart. Some even went so far as to charge him with being a Jewish changling, asserting that King Alfonso's wife had borne a daughter, and that a Jewish boy had been substituted. His treasurer laid heavy burdens on the people, and raised the royal revenue to an enormous amount. The hatred with which the people thus burdened regarded him included his whole race. During the war between Pedro and Henry of Transtamare, the Jews suffered greatly. When Henry attempted to seize Toledo, at the outbreak of the struggle, his first act was to put to the sword the opulent Jews of that city. Over 1000 fell in this massacre. In this contest the Jews are said to have borne arms in behalf of Pedro; and it is certain that wherever Henry appeared the defenceless Israelites were mercilessly plundered and slain. During the latter part of his reign, however, Henry, from motives of policy, protected the Jews.

After this time the Cortes seized every opportunity of invading the privileges of the Jews, and increasing their burdens. The nobles chafed under the mortgages by which their estates were encumbered, and endeavored in every way short of repudiating the debts to prevent the Jews from obtaining payment of the heavy sums due them. The popular hatred increased as the Jews were regarded as raising

the prices of the necessities of life. The clergy were their deadly and irreconcilable enemies, and lost no opportunity of urging the fanatical populace to violence upon them. The monks and the Preaching Friars were especially fatal to them; their fiery sermons kept the popular detestation at fever heat.

A. D. 1388. There was at Seville a fierce popular preacher, Ferdinand Martinez, Archdeacon of Ecija. During the reign of John I., his inflammatory harangues against the obstinacy and the usury and the wealth of the Jews, had excited the populace to some excesses. The Archbishop and the Chapter of Seville, to their honor, endeavored to allay the tumult, and the king commanded the archdeacon to desist, but the bigoted priest continued his appeals to the fanaticism of the mob, until he brought about a terrible riot. The city authorities exerted themselves with vigor to put down the disturbance, but were defeated by the mob. The Jewries were attacked, forced; and a general pillage, violation, and massacre took place of men and women, old and young. Fire and sword raged unresisted through these quarters of the city. The streets of noble Seville ran with blood, and the wild voice of the Archdeacon rose over all, and kept up the madness. Four thousand Jews perished in the massacre. The Jews appealed for justice to the Cortes, then in session at Madrid. That body acknowledged the justice of their appeal, and sent officers to Seville to arrest and punish the ringleaders in the massacre; but the popular feeling was so strong against the Jews, that these officers were either unable or unwilling to do anything. Even the archdeacon was unmolested. The Christians retained all their plunder, including two synagogues, which they converted into churches. The Jews, perhaps on account of their reduced numbers, reduced by the merciless massacre, were confined to one Aljama, that of St. Bartholomew.

The example of Seville was followed elsewhere. In one day (August 8, 1391) the populace rose in Cordova, in Valencia, in Toledo, in Burgos. Each of these cities, says a Spanish author, was another Troy. All the horrors of a town taken by storm were suffered by the Jewries; plunder, rape, massacre, conflagration. Many Jews escaped by submitting to baptism. No one was punished for these outrages. Redress was impossible, for the whole Christian population was guilty. To destroy a whole city on account of the destruction of the Jews' quarters would have been to heap disaster upon disaster.

In Aragon, fanaticism and a thirst for plunder roused the populace. The capital city of Barcelona was crowded with strangers to cele-

brate the Feast of St. Dominic (May 6, 1392); the day after, as if the worship of that stern Saint had hardened their hearts, the silent streets were roused with the wild cry of extermination against the Jews. The city was thronged, besides its own rabble, with sailors and galley slaves; they broke into the Jewry, and perpetrated the most dreadful cruelties. The houses were sacked, the streets heaped with dead bodies. Some of the desperate Jews demanded baptism; that Christian rite was hastily administered in the midst of pillage, violation, and murder. Late in the day, the city troops succeeded in putting down the outbreak, and a guard was placed over the Aljama. The next day the riot broke out again in a more terrible form. The Jews abandoned all their wealth, and fled to the *Castello Nuevo*. The castle was stormed; all who would not submit to baptism were put to the sword. John I., king of Aragon, dared to punish these wickednesses. Twenty-six of the ringleaders were beheaded; many were imprisoned, and only released on the supplication of the queen, and through the mercy of the sovereign.

The Jews of Navarre suffered no less than those of Aragon. In Pampeluno, and the other cities of that kingdom, their houses were burned; they were pillaged, massacred, compelled to baptism.

Spain had throughout her borders destroyed these secret enemies, which, according to the notions of the day, preyed upon the wealth of the country, and heaped up in their secret hoards the riches which they extorted from the revenue of the king, the luxuries or warlike expenditures of the nobles, and the more grinding necessities of the indigent. To her astonishment and utter perplexity, Spain found herself poorer than before. Having destroyed the industry of the Jews, and having deprived them of all means of employing it with profit, the Christians threw upon themselves the charges hitherto shared with them by the Jews. "What," says a writer of the times, "became, in fact, of all the trade and commerce of Toledo, and Seville? What became of those rich marts in which the Jews accumulated the products of the East and West, the silks of Persia and Damascus, the skins of Tafiote, and the Arabian jewelry? They burned the shops in the Aljamas at Valencia, Toledo, Burgos, Cordova, Seville, Barcelona, and the rents of the kings and of churches at once fell off. During the wars with the Saracens, the coffers of the Jews had been a ready resource to the kings—they were now empty. The utter ruin of the only industry and commerce in the kingdom by an idle populace, and a king and nobles who disdained all occupation but war, was not only a grievous offence against hu-

manity, against the Gospel, against the laws of Spain, but it was profoundly impolitic, a prelude to that problem so fatally solved nearly a century later by the kings of Spain."

The hatred of the clergy, emboldened by the escape of the persecutors of the Jews in the places already mentioned, pursued this unhappy people with unflagging energy. Missionaries were sent among them to convert them. The most successful of these, St. Vincent Ferrer, a man of the most earnest piety, succeeded, unintentionally it is believed, in stirring up the people of Valencia (July 1391) to such an extent that a riot ensued, in which the rabble forced and sacked the Jewish quarter, and slew 300 people. The synagogue was seized and converted into a Christian church. Many Jews in various parts of Spain submitted to baptism, to escape violence. Pope Benedict XIII. increased their burdens by a Bull of great severity. No Jew was to be physician, surgeon, shopkeeper, druggist, intendant, or marriage broker, nor to hold any public office which would mingle him up with Christians. He might not buy of or sell to Christians certain viands, nor be present at any banquet, nor bathe in any common bath. He was not to act as steward or agent of Christians, nor teach any science, art, or trade in a Christian school.

The civil laws had become as severe as the ecclesiastical; the Regent Queen Catharine had promulgated a famous ordinance secluding the Jews and Moors in their separate quarters in every city; each Ghetto or Jewry was to be surrounded with a high wall, with only one gate of entrance. It rigidly prescribed their dress—a long mantle, reaching to the feet, without fringe, feather, or border of gold. It limited the cost of the cloth they wore to a low price. The Jewess who indulged in forbidden finery might be stripped of the whole to her shift. The Jews might not change their place of residence; the magistrates might arrest any wanderers and send them back to their homes. They were neither to shave nor cut their hair. They were neither to practice the veterinary art, nor to be carpenters, tailors, dressers of cloth, shoemakers, stocking-weavers, pelterers, nor butchers,—these, it is presumed, not to Christians. No Christian woman might on any account, lawful or unlawful, enter the Jewish quarter. The woman of character, if married, was fined 100 maravedis; if unmarried, she forfeited the dress which she wore. The loose woman was to be scourged, and turned out of the city, town, or hamlet. The Council of Zamora enforced with augmented rigor the bull of Benedict XIII. It annulled all the privileges of the Jews; they were only to be tolerated at all because they were human beings.

John II. took the Jews under his protection, and shielded them from even the cruelty of the Church; and, during his long and dis-

astrous reign, it might seem that they were with their
A. D. 1443.

wonderful vitality, quietly rising again to wealth and importance. This state of affairs lasted through considerable part of the fifteenth century. The clergy, often seconded by the nobles, watched every opportunity of increasing the number of their willing, more often enforced, converts. The populace were ever ready to obey the tocsin of their spiritual leaders, and to indulge, under their holy sanction, their desire of plunder or revenge. During this period the old charges of sacrilege, crime, and sorcery were continually revived, and the unhappy victims put to death or tortured.

During all this while a portion of the Jews had become to a great degree intermingled with the Christians of Spain. The "new Christians," or converted Jews, had to a considerable extent intermarried, doubtless for their wealth, into the noblest families, which boasted the richest and purest Gothic blood. It was the bitterest reproach in later days to prove this indelible contamination, though there was scarcely a noble house in the land unimpeachably clear from this stain. The clergy strongly suspected, and it seems with good reason, that the new Christians were still Jews at heart; and that, while they attended the teaching of the Church with regularity, they also practised in secret the observances of the Jewish law.

This was the state of affairs when Ferdinand and Isa-
A. D. 1474-1492. bella united the crowns of Castile and Aragon, an event which was the crisis of their fate to the unconverted, to a great extent to the converted Jews. The clergy, taking advantage of the bigotry of these sovereigns, prevailed upon them to introduce the Inquisition into Spain. For awhile they hesitated, but in this evil hour a work was published by some misguided Jew, reflecting on the government of Ferdinand and Isabella, probably on the Christian religion. This decided the question. In September, 1480, two Dominicans, Michael Morillo and John de St. Martin, were named inquisitors. Even the Cortes beheld with reluctance—the very populace with terror—the establishment of this dreadful tribunal; and, as it were to enlist still worse passions in the cause, a third of the property of all condemned heretics was confiscated to the use of the holy office; another third was assigned for the expenses of the trial; the last third went to the crown. The tribunal established its headquarters at Seville, and assumed at once a lofty tone; denouncing vengeance against all, even the highest nobles, if they presumed to shelter offen-

ders from their justice. The dreadful work began. Victims crowded the prisons. Secret denunciations were encouraged; not to denounce was a crime. We cannot pause to speak of the dreadful sufferings inflicted upon Christians by this accursed tribunal, whose admission into Spain must forever darken the fame of Ferdinand and Isabella. Our narrative relates to the Jews alone. The Inquisitors published an edict of grace, inviting all who sincerely repented of their apostasy to manifest their repentance; in which case they might escape the confiscation of their property and receive absolution. If they allowed the time of grace to elapse, they incurred the severest penalties of the law. Many came in and surrendered, but a dreadful oath was extorted from them to inform against their more criminal brethren. In one year 280 were burned in Seville alone; 79 were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in loathsome cells; 17,000 suffered lighter punishments.

The heart sickens at the record of the terrible sufferings inflicted upon the Jews by the Inquisition and the "most Catholic" sovereigns of Spain. The Inquisitors published twenty-seven tests for detecting the backsliding of a New Christian into Judaism, which rendered him liable to the penalties of the holy office. Among these were the expectation of the Messiah; the hope of justification by the law of Moses; a reverence for the Sabbath, shown by wearing better clothes or not lighting a fire; by observing any usage of their forefathers relating to meats; honoring the national fasts or festivals; rejoicing on the Feast of Esther, or bewailing the fall of Jerusalem, on the 9th of August; singing the Psalms in Hebrew without the *Gloria Patri*; using any of the rites, not merely of circumcision, but those which accompanied it; those of marriage or of burial, even of interring the dead in the burying-place of their forefathers. Contrary to the practice of all tribunals, the criminal at the bar of the Inquisition was not informed of the name of his accuser, nor confronted with the witnesses. Death was the punishment for the offences mentioned. Informers were encouraged to lurk in every city or village, and listen to every careless conversation. In some places the Inquisitors were not satisfied with burning the living; their vengeance warred upon the dead. Sepulchres were broken open, and the bodies of suspected Jews, which had wickedly intruded themselves into consecrated ground, but had long slumbered in peace, and their souls gone to their account, were torn up and exposed to shame and insult.

The Holy Office spread over Spain. Many of the New Christians fled to other countries. Some condemned for contumacy, ventured to fly to Rome, and to appeal to the Pope against their judges. The

Pope himself trembled at his own act. He wrote to the sovereigns, complaining that the Inquisitors exceeded their powers. It was but a momentary burst of justice and mercy. Under the pretext of securing their impartiality, the number of Inquisitors was increased; the whole body was placed under certain regulations; and at length the Holy Office was declared permanent, and the merciless and heartless Thomas de Torquemada placed at its head. The nobles and people resisted, and there ensued between all classes of the Spanish people, except the clergy, a contest in which the Inquisition triumphed. The laws and privileges of Spain were trampled under foot by the bloodthirsty Dominicans, encouraged and aided by the bigoted sovereigns, and the darkest curse that ever blighted a nation was fastened upon the beautiful land.

The unconverted Jews, however they might commiserate these sufferings, still, no doubt, in their hours of sterner zeal, acknowledged the justice of the visitation which the God of their fathers had permitted against those who had thus stooped to dissemble the faith of their ancestors. They imagined that they themselves, who had defied their adversary to the utmost, now enjoyed the reward of their holy resolution in their comparative security. But their turn came. In 1492 appeared the fatal edict commanding all unbaptized Jews to quit the realm in four months; for Ferdinand and Isabella, having now subdued the kingdom of Grenada, had determined that the air of Spain should no longer be breathed by any one who did not profess the Catholic faith. For this edict, which must make desolate the fairest provinces of the kingdom, of its most industrious and thriving population, no act of recent conspiracy, no disloyal demeanor, no reluctance to contribute to the public burdens, was alleged. The whole race was condemned on charges, some a century old, all frivolous or wickedly false,—crucifixions of children at different periods, insults to the Host, and the frequent poisonings of their patients by Jewish physicians. One of these charges was that they perverted back to Judaism their brethren who had embraced Christianity. One of the crucifixions charged against them, was alleged to have taken place as far back as 1250—nearly two centuries and a half prior to the date of the edict, which was dated only nine days after the fall of Grenada. The Jews made every effort to avert their fate, even offering to replenish the Treasury, which had been exhausted by the wars of Grenada; but in vain. The Dominicans, with Torquemada at their head, steeled the hearts of the king and queen against them. The unhappy race were required to choose between baptism and exile.

For three centuries their fathers had dwelt in this delightful country, which they had fertilized with their industry, enriched with their commerce, adorned with their learning. There were few apostates among them. In a lofty spirit of self devotion, the whole race, variously estimated at from 166,000 to 800,000, resolved to sacrifice everything rather than abandon their ancient faith. They were given four months to prepare for this everlasting exile. The unbaptized Jew found in the kingdom after that period was condemned to death. The persecutor could not even trust the hostile feelings of his bigoted subjects to execute his purpose; a statute was thought necessary, prohibiting any Christian from harboring a Jew after that period. Many were sold for slaves; Christendom swarmed with them. The wealthier were permitted to carry away their movables, except gold and silver, for which they were to receive letters of change or any merchandise not prohibited. Their property they might sell; but the market was soon glutted, and the cold-hearted purchasers waited till the last instant, to wring from their distress the hardest terms.

Their sufferings, as they passed out of Spain into countries equally inhospitable, were dreadful. They died in great numbers of sickness caused by their hardships; they perished with famine; they were abandoned by captains of vessels in which they took passage, on desert shores, where they were torn by wild beasts; and even when set down on Christian shores, dying with thirst, starvation, or disease, the bigoted monks refused to allow them to be succored until they agreed to submit to baptism. They were admitted into Rome, but there their own brethren received them with such inhospitality (fearful that the increased numbers would bring trouble upon the community) that even the profligate Pope Alexander VI. was moved with indignation. "This is something new," he exclaimed; "I had always heard that a Jew had ever compassion on a Jew." The Pope commanded the resident Jews to leave the Roman territory; but they bought the revocation of the edict at a high price. Those who passed over to Morocco suffered horribly at the hands of the people and the government.

Many passed from Spain into Portugal, where some of their brethren were already settled. The new comers were allowed to pass through that country, in order to embark for Africa, but they were forced to pay a heavy price to King Joam II. for this privilege. Many were unable to quit the country, and lingered in it. All these were made slaves,—the youth were baptized by force, and drafted off to colonize the unwholesome island of St. Thomas. The new

king Emmanuel commenced his reign by protecting the resident Jews of the kingdom; but he married the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and naturally was led to follow their example of cruelty. He named a certain day for all Jews to quit the kingdom, and appointed certain ports for their embarkation. Before that time, he issued another secret order to seize all children under fourteen years of age, to tear them from the arms, the bosoms of their parents, and disperse them through the kingdom, to be baptized and brought up as Christians. The secret transpired, and, lest they should conceal their children, it was instantly put into execution. Frantic mothers threw their children into the wells and rivers,—they destroyed them with their own hands. The people, bigoted as they were, were horrified at the cruelty of the king, and assisted the Jews to conceal their children. By a new act of perfidy, Emmanuel suddenly revoked the order for their embarkation at two of the ports he had named. Many were thrown back upon Lisbon, and the delay made them liable to the law. The more steadfast in their faith were shipped off as slaves, but the spirits of many were broken: on condition that they might receive back their children, and that government would not scrutinize their conduct too closely for twenty years, they submitted to baptism. About ten years later, a New Christian detected a monk in an act of religious imposture. The monk was displaying a crucifix to the eyes of the wondering people, through a narrow aperture in which a light streamed—the light, he declared, of the manifest Deity. A converted Jew discovered a lamp ingeniously concealed behind the mysterious crucifix, and exposed the cheat. Enraged at this, the multitude, led on by the Dominicans, dragged the rash Jew to the market place and murdered him. This was followed by a furious assault on the houses of the Jewish converts, the Dominicans, with crucifixes in their hands, urging on the maddened mob. Men, women, and children were involved in a promiscuous massacre,—even those who fled into the churches, embraced the sacred relics, or clung to the crucifixes, were dragged forth and burned. The king was absent from Lisbon at the time; on his return he punished the ringleaders of the riot.

In spite of the vigilance of the king, the Jews managed to carry away secretly immense sums from Spain. The gold and silver disappeared with them. This was not the worst blow to that country. The loss of industry was irreparable in a country where pride and indolence proscribed all such pursuits as base and sordid, and where the richest body, the Church, contributed nothing, either directly or

by the improvement of the land, to the support of the State. With the Moors and with the Jews vanished all the rich cultivation of the soil, and all internal and external commerce. Sultan Bajazet is reported to have said of Ferdinand, "You call this a politic king, who impoverishes his own kingdom to enrich mine."

Still it is certain that in the Peninsula Judaism lurked in the depths of many hearts. Secret Jews are said to have gained high offices in the State, in the Church, and even to have sat on the tribunal of the Inquisition. Besides these, the lurid light of the Autos da Fé revealed the fact that undisguised Jews still lingered on the soil of Spain. At the burning of a young Jewish woman, Philip III. had the weakness to shudder. The Inquisitor declared that the king must atone for this crime by his blood. He was bled; the pale guilty blood burned by the executioner. The records of the times relate numerous instances of the horrible cruelties practised upon the Jews by the Inquisition. During the reign of Charles II., eighteen Jews, men and women, were burned in Madrid in a single day. All these atrocities were committed by a tribunal calling itself Christian, and professedly in the name of Him who taught only mercy and love.*

We have said little of the Jews of Italy. During the darker ages, if they attained not in Italy the same dangerous and distinctive opulence, neither were they exposed to the same cruel and sweeping calamities. The feudal system, so far as it was established in Italy, degraded them into the property of the lords. They were assigned over by one feudal sovereign to another, granted as gifts, made objects of bargain, sale, and merciless exactions. But the feudal system died out earlier and with more rapid dissolution in Italy than in the rest of Europe. The free cities assumed their independence, and in these the Jews seem generally to have lived in happy obscurity. The cities and the petty sovereigns were too perpetually occupied with wars within themselves, and wars with their neighbors, to take up any systematic policy concerning these scattered strangers; and the Jews cared little, so they were left in peace, for Guelph, Ghibelline, Pope, or Emperor. Neither was religious zeal in the peninsula so easily inflamed, so frantic, or so bloodthirsty, as beyond the Alps. The cry

* Thomas de Torquemada died in 1498, having been Chief Inquisitor about seventeen years. In that time he is said to have sent 8800 victims to the stake; to have caused 6500 to be burned in effigy; and to have condemned 90,000 to other penalties, infamy, perpetual banishment, and confiscation.

of "Hep! Hep!" was not raised, or, if raised, but feebly and rarely, in the Italian cities; their streets did not run with Jewish blood.

But the great cause of the comparative quiet and security of the Italian Jews was that they were not the sole, and, therefore, not the few envied and odious possessors of wealth. They did not monopolize commerce; and shared the usury trade with the Italians. The collection of the enormous revenues of the Papacy involved many complicated transactions, and the aid of the Jews was frequently sought in carrying them out. The Church dignitaries, especially the officers of the Papal Court, soon became such sagacious adepts in the financial practices of the Jews that they were debarred by their own acts from denouncing the Jew as the most rapacious of beings. On the expulsion of the race from France by Philip Augustus, many of the richest Jews took refuge in Northern Italy. They are said—though the fact is by no means certain—to have invented letters of change and credit, which their extensive correspondence and honorable fidelity to each other rendered a safe means for these incipient dealings with the money market of Europe. However this may be, if the Jews enjoyed not the monopoly of money-making in Italy, they escaped the monopoly of detestation, and that which followed detestation—persecution, pillage, sometimes massacre.

The Popes, with a few exceptions, were more humane and Christian in their treatment of the Jews than any other European sovereigns. It is true they had not the same temptations to rapacity that the temporal rulers had. Their revenues were drawn from all Christendom, and they had no need to plunder. In Rome the Jews were, some few of them probably, of a higher, others of a lower class than elsewhere. The higher were obliged to content themselves with more moderate gains, and therefore with more moderate wealth, moderate at least as compared with that of the higher clergy, the officials of the Papal Curia, and the religious foundations. The lower probably kept up the hereditary and traditionary offices of peddlers and dealers in small wares, which they held during the old empire. Contempt and poverty would secure them against violent persecution. History and legislation, even the legislation of the Church, are totally or almost totally silent about the Italian, and especially the Roman, Jews during the ninth and tenth centuries. In those wild times of the law of the strongest, even Jews would not venture, or would be unable, to become perilously wealthy. In the eleventh century occurs one persecution. Some poor Jews were executed on account of an earthquake. In the latter half of that century one family alone, but that

a renegade family, the Peter Leonis, having submitted to baptism, rose, during the strife between the popes and emperors, to great power, gave consuls, patricians to the city of Rome, and if not a pope, an anti-pope (Anacletus II.), who was crowned and for a time maintained his authority in the Vatican. The haughtiest and noblest families of Rome did not disdain to ally themselves to the Jew by intermarriages with his sons and daughters. In the twelfth century, Benjamin of Tudela found the Jewish congregation at Rome (they amounted to only 200) held in respect, and exempt from tribute. As in other countries, the pope's (Alexander III.'s) steward and minister of private property was a Jew. Benjamin found Jews in other cities of Italy. The proscriptive edicts of the popes bore heavier on the Jews of other countries than those of Italy, though these were not always exempt from great burdens.

During the pontificate of Alexander IV., there was a fierce persecution of the Jews in the kingdom of Naples. It is said to have been brought on by a quarrel between a monk and a Jew at Trani. The monk, worsted in the quarrel, hid a crucifix in a dungheap near the Jew's house, and pretending to have received a revelation from heaven, led the populace to the place, and found the sacred object. The Jews suffered severely; some escaped by becoming Christians. The pope interfered in their behalf, but without doing them much good. The fraud of the monk was afterwards discovered, and the king banished him to one of the islands.

Some of the popes tried to convert them by harsh measures; others protected them in the enjoyment of their religion. The Jews, on their part, made reprisals by making proselytes of Christians. Clement IV., in a bull, acknowledged converts of both sexes to Judaism, and commanded the Inquisition to search out and punish both the apostates and the Jews who abetted them in such apostasy. Nicolas IV. renewed this bull in 1288. During the captivity of the popes at Avignon their acts had more to do with the Jews of Provence and Languedoc than those of Rome. Pope Martin V. protected them from religious and civil persecution.

Proscribed in so many kingdoms of Europe, exiled from Spain, the Jews again found shelter under the protection of the Crescent. In the north of Africa the communities which had long existed were considerably increased. Jews of each sect, Karaites as well as Talmudists, are found in every part of that region. In many countries they derive, as might naturally be supposed, a tinge from the manners of the people with whom they dwell; and, among these hordes of fierce

pirates and savage Moors their characters and habits are impregnated with the ferocity of the land. In Egypt their race has never been exterminated; they once suffered a persecution under Hakim (A. D. 1020), which might remind them of the terrors of former days, but they seem afterwards to have dwelt in peace; Maimonides was the physician of Saladin. But the Ottoman Empire, particularly its European dominions, was the great final retreat of those who fled from Spain. 50,000 are estimated to have been admitted into that country, where the haughty Turk condescended to look down on them with far less contempt than on the trampled Greeks. The Greeks were Yeshir, slaves; they held their lives on sufferance; the Jews, Monsaphir, or visitors. They settled in Constantinople and in the commercial towns of the Levant, particularly Salonichi. Here the Rabbinical dominion was re-established in all its authority; schools were opened; the Semicha, or ordination, was re-enacted; and Rabbi Berab entertained some hopes of re-establishing the Patriarchate of Tiberias. The Osmanlis beheld with stately indifference this busy people, on one hand organizing their dispersed communities, strengthening their spiritual government, and laboring in the pursuit of that vain knowledge which, being beyond the circle of the Koran, is abomination and folly to the true believer, even establishing that mysterious engine, the printing press; on the other, appropriating to themselves, with diligent industry and successful enterprise, the whole trade of the Levant.

Their success in this important branch of commerce reacted upon the wealth and prosperity of their correspondents, their brethren in Italy. At a somewhat later period the famous Savonarola founded a Monte della Pietà in Florence, with the avowed purpose of rescuing the poor from the exactions of the Israelites, who were said to obtain thirty-two and a half per cent. on their loans with compound interest.

As early as 1400 the jealous republic of Venice had permitted a bank to be opened in their city by two Jews. In almost every town of Italy they pursued their steady course of traffic. Their chief trade was money-lending; in which, at least with the lower classes, they seem to have held a successful contest against their old rivals, the Lombard bankers. An amiable enthusiast, Bernardino di Feltre, moved to see the whole people groaning under their extortions, endeavored to preach a crusade, not against their religion, but against their usury. His language towards the Jews was full of wisdom and humanity; but, unhappily, the effect was, in many places, to raise the populace against them. In Piacenza the infuriated rabble wreaked their rapacity or vengeance; gibbets were loaded with Jews; some

were torn in pieces, their bodies cast to the dogs or wild animals. Bernardino di Feltre sought a better means of rescuing the poor from the hands of the Israelites. He established in various places banks on a more moderate rate of interest for the accommodation of the poor, called Mounts of Piety. He met with great success in many towns. In Padua he compelled the Jews to close their banks, from which they had drawn an enormous profit. But the people were either so deeply implicated with their usurious masters, so much the slaves of habit, or so much repressed by the honest shame of poverty, as to prefer secret, though more disadvantageous dealings with the Jews, to the publicity required in these new banks. The scheme languished, and in many places speedily expired.

The conduct of the popes varied, as of old, as bigotry, policy, or humanity predominated in the character of the pontiff. In 1442 Eugenius IV. issued severe regulations concerning the Jews, even going so far as to forbid them to eat or drink with Christians. Some of the popes, wiser than the most Catholic kings, began to discover that by casting forth the Jews, Christendom cast forth Jewish wealth from her kingdoms. They began to perceive and to be jealous of the Turks, whose stately indifference had permitted the Jews to settle and to trade in their dominions, and had thus secured a much larger share of the money market of Europe. They were unwilling to lose such profitable subjects. Leo X. rebuked the popular preachers who inveighed against the tables of the Jewish money-changers. Paul III. openly espoused the cause of the Jews expelled from Portugal, and the New Christians, against whom the Inquisition continued to work with all its stern and implacable vigilance. The pope forbade in his own dominions all such cruel investigations. He granted an amnesty for all former offences. His aim was to encourage the prosperity of his rising port, Ancona. In this city the pope permitted Turks, Jews, heretics, to trade with perfect freedom without any inquiry into their creed. Ancona grew rapidly in opulence and in commerce. Julius III. not only confirmed the wise edict of his predecessor, but, on the establishment of the Inquisition at Rome on account of the perilous progress of the reformed opinions, he specially exempted the Jews of Ancona from this jurisdiction. Their peace was seriously endangered during the reign of this pontiff by a Franciscan friar who had apostatized to Judaism. He began to preach in the streets of Rome against Christianity. The pope attributed his course to his study of the Talmud, and, mercifully sparing the Jews themselves, contented himself with burning their books in the principal cities of Italy.

But the reawakening zeal of the popes, startled from its serene and mild slumbers by Protestantism, soon returned to its ancient bigotry and ignorance. Paul IV. renewed the hostile edicts; he prohibited the Jews from holding real property; compelled them to sell within six months (at a ruinous rate) all they then held; and deprived them of the privilege of dealing in anything but old clothes. He shut them up in their Ghetto, a confined quarter of the city, out of which they were not to appear after sundown, and laid sundry other grievous burdens upon them. Pius IV. relaxed these severities. He enlarged the Ghetto, and permitted them to hold real property up to the value of 1500 ducats. Pius V. expelled them from every city in the papal territory, except Rome and Ancona, where, he avowed, he endured them only to preserve their commerce with the East. Gregory XIII. forbade the reading of the Talmud, and endeavored to force them into Christianity. Sixtus V. annulled the persecuting edicts of his predecessors, opened the gates of every city in his dominions to these enterprising traders, secured and enlarged their privileges, proclaimed toleration of their religion, subjected them to the ordinary tribunals, and enforced a general and equal taxation.

The great events of this period—the invention and rapid progress of printing and the Reformation—could not but have some effect on the condition of the Jews. This people were by no means slow to avail themselves of the advantages offered to learning by the general use of printing. From their presses at Venice, in Turkey, and in other quarters, splendid specimens of typography were sent forth, and the respect of the learned world was insensibly increased by the facilities thus afforded for the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original language, and the bold opening of all the mysteries of Rabbinical wisdom to those who had sufficient inquisitiveness and industry to enter on that wide and unknown field of study. A strong effort was made by struggling bigotry to suppress all these works which a pusillanimous faith knew to be hostile, and therefore considered dangerous to the Christian religion.

The Reformation found the Jews spread in great numbers in Germany and Poland. They were still, at least in theory, under imperial protection, if not as serfs, as a kind of vassals. The power of the emperor had greatly decreased, however, and, when he did not seek to plunder them, he was not always able to protect them; the free cities and the petty sovereigns alternately protected and plundered them. During the century preceding the Reformation their history is marked by persecutions in almost every city and province of Germany. These

records are sometimes told with frightful but significant brevity. We read of their frequent ejection, and worse than ejection, by the Landgrave of Thuringia; popular commotions in Nuremberg, Frankfort, Worms, almost everywhere; massacres in Gotha and Erfurt; their expulsion from the Mark of Brandenburg. Excluded from one city or state, they found refuge in another till the storm blew over. It is clear, however, that wherever they had an opportunity, though usually more addicted to money-lending, and the sale of gold trinkets and jewelry, they opened larger branches of traffic. In Poland they seem early to have entered into the great corn trade of that kingdom. Their most prosperous community, in spite of the terrible disasters which it suffered, was in Prague. In the Hussite wars, and later, in the days of Luther, the Jews of Prague were suspected by the Reformers of fidelity to the Catholic emperors; they were strangely accused of aiding the Turks, the common enemies of the emperor and the Reformers. During the Reformation period, about A. D. 1542, terrible conflagrations broke out in many cities of Germany which were laid to the account of the Jews, who suffered greatly from the ignorant fury of the people.

The Reformation brought peace to the Jews in many parts of Europe, partly by diverting the attention of the Church of Rome to other and more dangerous enemies, and partly by the wise maxims of toleration, which, though not the immediate, were not less the legitimate, fruits of this great revolution in the European world. The bitterness of religious hatred was gradually assuaged; active animosity settled down into quiet aversion; the popular feeling became contempt of the sordid meanness of the Jewish character, justified no doubt by the filthy habits, the base frauds, and the miserable chicanery of many of the lower orders who alone came in contact with the mass of the people, rather than revengeful antipathy towards the descendants of those who crucified the Redeemer, and who, by their obstinate unbelief, inherited the guilt of their forefathers.

During the Thirty Years' War the Jews, it has been said, assisted with great valor in the defence of Prague, and obtained the favor and protection of the grateful emperor. Before this the Reformation had been the remote cause of another important benefit—the opening of the free cities of Holland—where a great number of Portuguese Jews settled, and vied in regularity, enterprise, and wealth, with the commercial citizens of that flourishing republic. The Jews of Amsterdam and other cities bore a high rank for intelligence and punctuality in business.

From Holland they long looked for some favorable opportunity which might open the exchange, the marts, and the havens of England to their adventurous traffic. But the stern law of Edward I. was still in force, and though often eluded, the religious feeling of the country, as well as the interests of the trading part of the community, would have risen in arms at a proposition for its repeal. Yet it can hardly be doubted that Jews must have walked the streets of London, and though proscribed by the law, must, by tacit, perhaps unconscious, connivance, have taken some share in the expanding commerce of England during the reign of the Tudors. It was not, however, until the Protectorate of Cromwell that the Jews made an open attempt to obtain a legal reëstablishment in the realm. The strength of ancient prejudice, coöperating with the aversion of a large part of the nation towards the government, gave rise to the most absurd rumors of their secret proposals to the Protector. It was said that they had offered to buy St. Paul's for their synagogue for half a million of pounds; and that they had sent to inquire if Cromwell was not the Messiah. The truth is, that a Jewish physician of great learning and influence, presented a petition to the Protector for the readmission of his countrymen into the realm, enforcing his request by appeals to the interest and the vanity of Cromwell. The Protector summoned an assembly of two lawyers, seven citizens of London, and fourteen divines, to debate the question, first, whether it was lawful to admit the Jews; secondly, if lawful, on what terms it was expedient to admit them. The lawyers decided at once on the legality; the citizens were divided; but the contest among the divines was so long and so inconclusive, that Oliver at length grew weary, and the question was adjourned to a more favorable opportunity. It is a curious fact of the times, that so far were some of the Republican writers from hostility to the Jews, that Harrington, in his "*Oceana*," gravely proposes disburdening the kingdom of the weight of Irish affairs, by selling the island to the Jews. The necessities of Charles II. and his courtiers quietly accomplished that change on which Cromwell had not dared openly to venture. The convenient Jews stole insensibly into the kingdom, where they have ever since maintained their footing, and no doubt contributed their fair share to the national wealth.

During all this while the Jewish nation was thrown into constant excitement by adventurers who, from time to time, assumed the name of the Messiah. It is probable that the constant appearance of these successive impostors tended to keep alive the ardent belief of the

nation in this great and consolatory article of their creed. The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the pretender, but it kept the whole nation incessantly on the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and visions of the Jews: their prosperity seemed the harbinger of his coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force of stronger contrast, the mercy of their God and the glory of their Redeemer. In vain the Rabbinical interdict repressed the dangerous curiosity which, still baffled, would still penetrate the secrets of futurity. "Cursed is he who calculates the time of the Messiah's coming," was constantly repeated in the synagogue, and as constantly disregarded. That chord in the national feeling was never struck but it seemed to vibrate through the whole community. A long list of Messiahs might be produced in France, in Fez, in Persia, in Moravia; but our limits forbid. One of these, in A. D. 1666, even went so far (after throwing the Jews throughout the Eastern world into a fever-hope and exultation) as to confront the Sultan at Constantinople and demand his submission; but the stern monarch's eye overwhelmed the impostor with confusion, and he escaped death only by becoming a Mussulman.

It was during this period also that the Jewish race produced that remarkable man—Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677)—the influence of whose writings for good or for evil has been extensive, beyond that of most men, on the thoughts and opinions of modern Europe.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland, Galicia, and the adjacent provinces had long been the headquarters of the Jews. Into these regions they had spread at an early period, silently and obscurely, from Hungary, Moravia, Bohemia. Some had taken refuge from the atrocities perpetrated by the early Crusaders as they passed through these realms; some from the persecutions of the Flagellants, and those which rose out of the Black Plague. It is usual to date their flourishing state and protection by the paternal government from the reign of Casimir the Great, in the fourteenth century. Casimir, however, only confirmed a law of Duke Boleslaw, the regent of the realm during the minority of his nephew. This was the first enlightened edict which secured to the Jews with unusual precision their privileges, their rights, and their duties, as subjects. Boleslaw, and still more, Casimir avowed the policy that by encouraging the Jews, they encouraged the commerce of the kingdom. They had the premature wisdom to appreciate the value of trade and industry to the wealth and happiness of their country. Many cir-

cumstances concurred in advancing the comparative security, and with the security, the numbers, wealth, and influence of the Jews in this part of Europe. In the Slavonian kingdoms, the feudal system never prevailed to the same extent as in Germany and the West. Though under the royal protection, the Jews were not the liegemen, the vassals of the royal chamber, the property of the king. The Slavonian clergy never, even when the Papal power was recognized, attained the same authority; the nobility were in constant strife with the hierarchy; the Canon-law had far less power. In vain did the clergy make, as under the reign of Sigismund I., a desperate struggle to draw the rigid line of demarcation between the Jew and the Christian, to prohibit social and commercial intercourse, to demand their exclusion from the offices of State and public service, even to enforce the peculiar and distinctive dress upon the Jew. The Jews living on the estates, and under the protection of the independent nobles who would brook no interference with their authority, defied the edicts of synods and even of kings. Not that the kings were adverse to them; the greatest and best, as John Sobieski, looked on them with favor, and maintained them in their rights and in their industry. Nor indeed were the Slavonian Jews always secure against the calumnies, against the popular tumults, the plunders, and the massacres perpetrated so much more frequently, so much more cruelly, in Western Europe. Posen and Cracow, the chief seats of the most powerful Roman Catholic hierarchy, may claim distinctive infamy for these persecutions. The building of a synagogue in Posen was the signal for a rumor about an insult to the Host, an outbreak of the populace, and pillage and murder of the Jews. In Cracow, in 1407, a priest carefully spread the report of a murdered child. The authorities of the city would have protected the Jews; but the great bell tolled (it is said, through some mistake), the mob rose, the Jews' houses were fired, and a terrible conflagration wasted the city. In 1464, the Jews were plundered in Cracow, and thirty men killed. In 1500, the gates of the Jewish quarter, notwithstanding the king's protection, who had removed the Jews to a safer place, were forced, and a great slaughter perpetrated. Even as late as 1737, in Posen, as in 1753, in Kiew, the child-murder fable rose anew against the Jews. Wonderful as it may seem, such things have taken place in our own times, in the nineteenth century. It needed Russian Imperial Ukases to interpose. In the province of Witepek, in 1805, a child was found drowned in the Dwina; the Jews were accused of the murder. In 1811, a child eight weeks old disappeared out of its cradle; the Jews

were arraigned as having stolen it for their evil purposes. The process lasted till 1827. An Imperial Ukase appeared in 1817, prohibiting such charges, yet they continued to be made and heard till 1835, the date of the great Imperial edict concerning the Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews in Poland gradually grew up into a middle order between the nobles and the serfs. Almost every branch of traffic was in their hands. They were the corn merchants, shopkeepers, innkeepers. In some towns they formed the greatest part of the population; in some villages, almost the whole. If heavily, it does not appear that they were exorbitantly taxed, either by the nobles or the government. They suffered heavily during the wars with which Poland was afflicted, but in common with the rest of the inhabitants.

If Poland was hospitable, Russia Proper, from ancient times, was sternly inhospitable to the race of Israel. They were hated by the Russians, and were not allowed to dwell in the land in peace. This hatred was deepened towards the close of the fifteenth century (in 1490) by the discovery of the apostasy of a large number of the clergy and high officers of the State, including the Metropolitan of All the Russias, to Judaism. They endeavored to conceal their apostasy by continuing the outward practices of the Christian faith, but were at length discovered. The Czar removed the Metropolitan, and others were mildly punished. This Crypto-Judaism lurked long in the bosom of the Russian Church; when it was entirely extinguished, if extinguished, remains unknown.

Russia, in the following centuries, still adhered to her hostility to the Jews; but her ambition was too strong for her intolerance. As province after province was added to her vast empire, and as of almost all these provinces a large part of the population, at least the wealthiest and most industrious, were Jews, expulsion was impossible; Russia did not conquer to rule over a desert. Her policy became of necessity more wise and humane. The partition of Poland, or rather the two partitions, with the enormous share which fell into her iron grasp, gave her nearly half a million of Jewish subjects. Though, like other Poles, they were unwilling subjects (many Jews fought bravely in the army of Kosciusko), yet their numbers, their wealth, their importance, enforced only moderate oppression.

Of the millions of Jews upon the face of the earth, loosely and vaguely estimated at five, seven, or eight millions, two millions are subjects of the Russian Empire.

Poland was the seat of the Rabbinical Papacy. The Talmud reigned supreme in the public mind; the synagogues obeyed with

implicit deference the mandates of their spiritual superiors, and the whole system of education was rigidly conducted, so as to perpetuate the authority of tradition. Lublin and Cracow were the great seats of Jewish learning.

In the West of Europe events were hastening to that crisis which marked the close of the eighteenth century, and which was to exercise such a great effect upon the political condition of the Jew.

The legislation of Frederick the Great almost, as it were, throws us back to the Middle Ages. In 1750 appeared an edict for the general regulation of the Jews in the Prussian dominions. It limited the number of Jews in the kingdom, divided them into those who held an ordinary or an extraordinary protection from the Crown. The ordinary protection descended to one child, the extraordinary was limited to the life of the bearer. Foreign Jews were prohibited from settling in Prussia; exceptions were obtained only at an exorbitant price. Widows who married foreign Jews must leave the kingdom. The protected Jews were liable to enormous and special burdens. They paid, besides the common taxes of the kingdom, for their patent of protection, for every election of an elder in their communities, and every marriage. By a strange enactment, in which the king and the merchant were somewhat unroyally combined, every Jew on the marriage of a son was obliged to purchase porcelain, to the amount of 300 rix-dollars, from the king's manufactory, for foreign exportation. Thus heavily burdened, the Jews were excluded from all civil functions, and from many of the most profitable branches of trade—from agriculture, from breweries and distilleries, from manufactures, from innkeeping, from victualling, from physic and surgery.

In England, soon after their settlement in the kingdom under Charles II., a strong effort was made to force them out of the country. The king was urged to seize their property for the people's use, and drive them out of the land. Some of their wealthiest were threatened with the seizure of their whole property, as illegally trading, even as residents in the land, by some of the profligate courtiers. The Earl of Berkshire betrayed the secret of the zeal which moved these noble gentlemen; he pretended to have received a verbal order from the king to prosecute them and seize their estates, *unless they made agreement with him*. To do Charles II. justice, he received the appeal of the Jews graciously, utterly denied the verbal order, and gave them permission to enjoy the same favor as before, so long as they should live peaceably and in obedience to the laws.

The Jews obtained relief under James II. from an alien duty,

which restricted their traffic; the indulgence was revoked under William III. They offered the Lord Treasurer £500,000 for the town of Brentford as a place of residence and trade, but Godolphin dreaded the fanaticism of the clergy and the jealousy of the merchants, and declined the offer.

Under Queen Anne a regulation was made to facilitate conversions among the Jews; the Chancellor was empowered to enforce from the father of a convert to Christianity a fair and sufficient maintenance. In 1753, a Bill passed both Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent, to naturalize all Jews who had resided three years in the kingdom, without being absent more than three months at a time. It excluded them from civil offices, but in other respects bestowed all the privileges of British subjects. The measure raised such a furious storm of popular indignation that Parliament found it necessary to repeal the obnoxious statute. The number of Jews in England was then reckoned at 12,000.

In Italy, till the French Revolution, the Jews enjoyed their quiet freedom. In Rome they were confined to their Ghetto, and still constrained to listen to periodical sermons. In the maritime towns they continued to prosper. In the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, after the separation from the Spanish monarchy, the king, Charles, seemed determined to repudiate the Spanish policy. He invited the Jews to settle in the Two Sicilies, and granted them extensive and extraordinary privileges, his design being doubtless to restore the commerce of the kingdom. The Jews crowded at the royal summons to Naples, —perhaps not without ostentation of their newly acquired privileges, and of their wealth. But they ought to have known better the public mind at Naples. The hatred, which was here universal, broke out into fury. The clergy denounced them bitterly, threatening even the king with heaven's vengeance for his "impious act." There were brooding murmurs of a massacre. The Jews dared not open shops; they withdrew, except a few of the lowest. The premature scheme of toleration utterly failed.

In the year 1780, the imperial *avant-courier* of the revolution, Joseph the Second, ascended the throne of Germany. Among the first measures of this restless and universal reformer, was a measure for the amelioration of the Jews. Leopold I. had expelled them from Vienna, for their supposed complicity in the murder of his mistress (Esther), who was a Jewess. Maria Theresa had permitted them to return under certain stringent regulations, and since then they had been barely tolerated in the capital. In 1782, Joseph II. placed

them on a level with the Christians as regarded their rights and the duties required of them, and threw open to them the schools and the universities of the empire. Some years after, they were made liable to military conscription; but, according to the established Austrian code, not being nobles, they could not rise above the rank of non-commissioned officers.

Frederick William II. repealed to a great extent the barbarous edicts of Frederick the Great.

After the final expulsion of the Jews from Portugal, a few fugitives were permitted to take up their residence in Bordeaux and Bayonne, in France, under the name of New Christians. By degrees they crept into other parts of the kingdom, and finally the State came to recognize their existence as Jews. There were a certain number in the old Papal dominions in Avignon. The conquest of the city of Metz, and afterward of Alsace, included some considerable communities under the dominion of France. The clergy persecuted them in most places, and sometimes even stole their children in order to baptize them. Many of them, however, attained to great wealth, and indulged in great luxury. On the annexation of Alsace, Louis XIV. extended, for his own advantage, the privileges of free commerce, which had been granted to those of Bordeaux, Bayonne, Marseilles, to the Jews of Metz. They paid a head tax of forty francs a family, afterwards compounded for by 2000 francs annually. Under Louis XVI. the capitation tax was abolished (1784); and in 1788 a commission was appointed, with the wise and good Malesherbes at its head, to devise means for remodelling on principles of justice all laws relating to the Jews. But the revolution burst upon France before the measures could be drafted, and the tribunals of the republic were more rapid in their movements than the slow justice of the sovereign. In 1790, the Jews, who had watched their opportunity, sent in petitions from various quarters, claiming equal rights as citizens. The measure was not passed without considerable discussion; but Mirabeau and Rabaut St. Etienne declared themselves their advocates, and the Jews were recognized as free citizens of the great republic.

Napoleon I. confirmed their privileges. In 1806 the world heard with amazement that the great conqueror had summoned a grand Sanhedrin of the Jews to assemble at Paris. Upon the assembling of that body he submitted to them twelve questions, to which he asked explicit answers. The questions and answers were briefly as follows: I. Is polygamy allowed among the Jews? A. Polygamy is forbidden, according to a decree of the Synod of Worms, in 1030. II. Is divorce

recognized by the Jewish law? *A.* Divorce is allowed; but in this respect the Jews recognize the authority of the civil law of the land in which they live. III. Can Jews intermarry with Christians? *A.* Intermarriages with Christians are not forbidden, though difficulties arise from the different forms of marriage. IV. Will the French people be esteemed by the Jews as strangers or as brethren? *A.* The Jews of France recognize in the fullest sense the French people as their brethren. V. In what relation, according to the Jewish law, would the Jews stand towards the French? *A.* The relation of the Jew to the Frenchman is the same as of Jew to Jew. The only distinction is their religion. VI. Do Jews born in France consider it their native country? Are they bound to obey the laws and customs of the land? *A.* The Jews acknowledged France as their country when oppressed; how much more must they when admitted to civil rights. VII. Who elect the Rabbins? *A.* The election of the Rabbins is neither defined nor uniform. It usually rests with the heads of each family in the community. VIII. What are the legal powers of the Rabbins? *A.* The Rabbins have no judicial power; the Sanhedrin is the only legal tribunal, the Jews of France and Italy being subject to the equal laws of the land. Whatever power they might otherwise exercise is annulled. IX. Are the election and authority of the Rabbins grounded on law or custom? *A.* The election and powers of the Rabbins rest solely on usage. X. Is there any kind of business in which the Jews may not be engaged? *A.* All business is permitted to the Jews. The Talmud enjoins that every Jew be taught some trade. XI. Is usury to their brethren forbidden by the law? XII. Is it permitted or forbidden to practise usury with strangers? *A.* The Mosaic institute forbids unlawful interest; but this was the law of an agricultural people. The Talmud allows legal interest to be taken from brethren and strangers; it forbids usury.

Previous to the meeting of this body there was a preparatory assemblage of Jewish deputies selected from the different provinces in proportion to the Jewish population in each. In 1807 the Sanhedrin was formally assembled, according to a plan then proposed for the regular organization of the Jews throughout the empire. Every 2000 Jews were ordered to form a synagogue and a consistory of one head and two inferior Rabbins, with three householders of the town where the consistory was held. The consistory chose twenty-five Notables, above thirty years old, for their council. Bankrupts and usurers were excluded; the consistory was to watch over the conduct of the Rabbins; the central consistory of Paris was to be a supreme tribunal,

with the power of appointing or deposing the Rabbins; the Rabbins were to publish the decrees of the Sanhedrin, to preach obedience to the laws, to urge the people to enter into the military service; to pray in the synagogues for the imperial house. The Sanhedrin, assembled in this manner, generally ratified the scheme of the deputies. The imperial edict confirmed the whole system of organization, though the triumph of the Jews was in some degree damped by an ordinance, aimed chiefly at those of the Rhenish provinces. It interdicted the Jews from lending money to minors without the consent of their guardians, to wives without the consent of their husbands, to soldiers without the consent of their officers. It annulled all bills for which "value received" could not be proved. All Jews engaged in commerce were obliged to take out a patent; all strangers to invest some property in land and agriculture. The general effect of these measures was shown in a return made in 1808. It reported that there were 80,000 Jews in the dominion of France; 1232 landed proprietors, not reckoning the owners of houses; 797 military; 2360 artisans; 250 manufacturers.

The extension of the French kingdoms and the erection of tributary kingdoms were highly beneficial to the Jews. In Italy, in Holland, in the kingdom of Westphalia, the old barbarous restrictions fell away, and the Jew became a citizen, with all the rights and duties of the order.

The laws of France relating to the Jews have remained unaltered, excepting that the law of the Restoration, which enacted that the teachers of Christianity alone should be salaried by the State, was modified at the accession of Louis Philippe. Since that period the Rabbins have received a stipend from the State.

In Germany, the condition of the Jews, both political and intellectual, has been rapidly improving. Before the fall of Napoleon, besides many of the smaller States, the Grand Duke of Baden in 1809, the King of Prussia in 1812, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1812, the King of Bavaria in 1813, issued ordinances, admitting the Jews to civil rights, exempting them from particular imposts, and opening to them all trades and professions. The act for the federative Constitution of Germany, passed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, pledges the Diet to turn its attention to the amelioration of the civil state of the Jews throughout the Empire. The King of Prussia had, before this, given security that he would nobly redeem his pledge; he had long paid great attention to the encouragement of education among the Jews. Many Jews are stated to have fallen in the Prussian ranks at Waterloo. During the year 1828 while the States of Würtemberg were discussing a bill for the exten-

sion of civil rights to the Jews, the populace of Stuttgard surrounded the Hall of Assembly with fierce outcries, "Down with the Jews! Down with the friends of the Jews!" The States maintained their dignity, and, unmoved, proceeded to the ratification of the obnoxious edict.

Russia, it is said, contains two millions of Jews. In the earlier period of the empire, dating that empire from Peter the Great, before her wider southern conquests and the Polish annexations, she still maintained her stern inhospitality. In Muscovy Proper, by law, no Jew could reside within the frontiers. Under Peter the Great, a few stole in unobserved and unmolested. They were expelled by an Ukase of the Empress Elizabeth, A. D. 1795, for a crime unpardonable by a Russian autocrat. They had, by letters of change, secured the property of certain exiles to Siberia and foreign countries; and invested, out of Russia, the savings of foreigners employed in the Russian service. In later years, the policy of the Russian government seems to have been to endeavor to overthrow the Rabbinical authority, and to relieve the crowded Polish provinces by transferring the Jews to less densely peopled parts of their dominions, where it was hoped they might be induced or compelled to become an agricultural race. An Ukase of the Emperor Alexander, in 1803-4, prohibited the practice of small trades to the Jews of Poland, and proposed to transport numbers of them to agricultural settlements. He transferred, likewise, the management of the revenue of the communities from the Rabbins, who were accused of malversation, to the elders. A decree of the Emperor Nicholas appears to be aimed partly at the Rabbins, who are to be immediately excluded by the police from any town they may enter, and at the petty traffickers, who are entirely prohibited in the Russian dominions; though the higher order of merchants, such as bill-brokers and contractors, are admitted, on receiving an express permission from the government; artisans and handicraftsmen are encouraged, though they are subject to rigorous police regulations, and must be attached to some guild or fraternity. They cannot move without a passport. The important Ukase of 1835 is the charter, we must not say of their liberties, but limits the oppressions to which the Jews were formerly liable, and gives them a defined state and position in the Russian Empire. Still greater privileges were accorded to them in 1862, by the Emperor Alexander II.

In England, during the present century, they have enjoyed the largest privileges. In 1835, one of their leading men, Mr. David Salomons, was elected Sheriff of London. He was the first Jew that had ever held this high office, and an Act was passed by Parliament en-

abling him to serve. In 1836, an effort was made to secure a general emancipation of the English Jews from their political disabilities, but the bill failed in the House of Commons. Moses Montefiore, Esq., was elected Sheriff of London in 1837, and on the 9th of November of that year, was knighted by the Queen, being the first of his race on whom this honor was ever conferred. In 1855, Alderman Salomons was elected Lord Mayor of London, the first Jew ever chosen to that office, and in 1865, Alderman Benjamin Samuel Phillips became the second Jewish Lord Mayor. In 1849, Baron Lionel de Rothschild was elected to Parliament for the city of London, and in 1857, Alderman Salomons was returned for Greenwich. Baron de Rothschild was again returned for the capital in 1852, and at the two general elections in 1857. Neither of these gentlemen was able to take his seat, the oath required of a member of Parliament being such that only a Christian could subscribe to it. Repeated efforts were made to modify the official oaths of the kingdom, and, in 1846, a law was passed providing a special form of oath for Jews holding civil offices. In July, 1858, Parliament passed an Act, which received the royal assent, enabling Jews to sit in that body, and on the 26th of that month Baron de Rothschild took his seat as the representative of the city of London. In 1860, Parliament adopted an Act permitting Jewish members to omit the words "on the faith of a Christian" from the usual oath. This is at present the condition of the Jews in Great Britain, where they form a large and flourishing community, and are acknowledged to be amongst the best and most devoted citizens of the realm.

The Roman Catholic Church, however, has not ceased to persecute the Jews. In June, 1858, a youth named Edgar Mortara was forcibly taken from his parents by the Archbishop of Bologna, on the plea of having been baptized when an infant by a Roman Catholic maid-servant. His parents implored his release, but in vain. The Jews in England and France brought great influence to bear upon the Papal Court, and even the French government urged the restoration of the lad, but all without effect. The Papal Court was deaf to the voice of humanity, and blinded by bigotry, and the lad's family were obliged to submit to their cruel bereavement. Again, in 1864, the Jews were subjected to a cruel and bigoted persecution in the city of Rome.

The Jews emigrated to the United States at an early day, and have thriven in this country to a greater degree than elsewhere. They are to be found in every part of the Union, in almost every village. The

perfect equality of all men before the law, the civil and religious freedom guaranteed to all by our institutions, and the admirable opportunities here enjoyed for amassing wealth, attract them from all parts of the world. They are increasing rapidly in numbers and wealth. They are largely interested in the financial operations of the country; they own much real estate; they are engaged in every department of industry, and their thrift and business capacity have added largely to the wealth and commerce of the land. Their religious edifices are among the most imposing in the Union; their charitable, benevolent, and educational establishments among the noblest. In the city of New York alone their synagogues are valued at more than \$3,000,000. The census of 1860, gives the number of Jews in the Union as 200,000. It is doubtless very much larger at present.

It is usually calculated that there are about five or six millions of Jews in the world. From the best information at our command, we estimate their numbers as follows, in the various countries of the globe :

In Morocco	about	540,000 souls.
In Egypt.....	"	2,000 "
In Bokhara.....	"	2,000 families.
In Persia.....	"	2,974 "
In Mesopotamia and Assyria.....	"	5,270 "
In Arabia.....	"	18,000 souls.
In Syria and Palestine.....	"	16,059 "
In the Turkish dominions, not including the Barbary States.....	"	800,000 "
In the Russian Empire.....	"	2,000,000 "
In the Austrian ".....	"	1,049,871 "
In Denmark.....	"	6,000 "
In Sweden.....	"	450 "
In Prussia.....	"	134,000 "
In the German States (not given above).....	"	108,000 "
In Belgium.....	"	3,000 "
In Holland.....	"	70,000 "
In France.....	"	110,000 "
In Spain.....	"	4 500 "
In Italy.....	"	50,000 "
In Great Britain.....	"	36,000 "
In the United States.....	"	220,000 "

Thus scattered over the face of the earth, divided by the language and the customs of the various countries they inhabit, they constitute one and the same race—a race which is patiently awaiting the time when it shall be the good pleasure of Jehovah to gather them to Himself from the ends of the earth, under the kingdom of the triumphant Messiah—that Messiah whom they now despise, but whom they will then acknowledge as the true heir of his father David.

APPENDIX.

THE LEGISLATION OF MOSES.

THE PRINCIPLES AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE MOSAIC LAW.



LARGE portion of the *second* and *fourth* books of the Pentateuch (*Exodus* and *Numbers*), and nearly the whole of its *third* and *fifth* books (*Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy*), are occupied with the LAWS, which Moses was the instrument of giving to the Jewish people. He keeps ever before our eyes the fact that the Law was the LAW OF JEHOVAH. Its outline was given from Sinai by the voice of God himself. One whole section of it, containing the ordinances of divine worship, was communicated to Moses by a special revelation, in the secrecy of the mount. And even in the case of those precepts, which were enacted as the occasion for each arose, we find Moses invariably referring the question to the express decision of Jehovah.

We proceed to give an abstract of the Law under its several heads, following as nearly as possible the order of the Pentateuch itself, which has more system than is commonly supposed. The basis of the whole law is laid in the TEN COMMANDMENTS, as we call them, though they are nowhere so entitled in the Mosaic books; but the "TEN WORDS," the "COVENANT," or, very often, as the solemn attestation of the divine will, the TESTIMONY. The term "Commandments" had come into use in the time of Christ. Their division into *two tables* is not only expressly mentioned, but the stress laid upon the *two*, leaves no doubt that the distinction was important, and that it answered to that summary of the law, which was made both by Moses and by Christ into two precepts; so that the *First Table* contained *Duties to God*, and the *Second*, *Duties to our Neighbor*.

But here arises a difficulty, not only as to the arrangement of the commandments between the "Two Tables," but as to the division of the "Ten Words" themselves. The division is not clearly made in the Scripture itself; and that arrangement, with which we are familiar from childhood, is only one of three modes, handed down from the ancient Jewish and Christian Churches, to say nothing of modern theories; and others are used at this day by Jews and Roman Catholics.

(1.) The modern Jews, following the Talmuds, take the words which are often called the *Preface* as the *First* Commandment; and the prohibitions both against having other gods, and against idolatry, as the second; the rest being arranged as with us.

(2.) The Roman Catholic and Lutheran Churches, following St. August-

tine, regard the *First* Commandment as embracing all the above words, in one comprehensive law against false worship and idolatry. Thus our *Third* Commandment is their *Second*, and so on to our *Ninth*, which is their *Eighth*. They then make our *Tenth* against coveting their *Ninth* and *Tenth*. In the arrangement of the Two Tables, the first contains three commandments, closing with the Sabbath law, and the second the remaining seven.

(3.) The arrangement adopted by the Greek and English Churches, following Philo, Josephus, and Origen, and all the Latin fathers, makes the law against having other gods besides Jehovah the *First Commandment*, and that against idolatry the *Second*, though a slight difference of opinion remains, whether the first words belong to the First Commandment, or form a *Preface* to the whole.

There are then three principal divisions of the Two Tables: (i.) That of the Roman Catholic Church mentioned above, making the First Table contain three commandments, and the second the other seven. (ii.) The familiar division, referring the first four to our duty toward God, and the six remaining to our duty toward man. (iii.) The division recognized by the old Jewish writers, Josephus and Philo, and supported by Ewald, which places five commandments in each Table; and thus preserves the pentade and decade grouping which pervades the whole code. It has been maintained that the law of filial duty, being a close consequence of God's fatherly relation to us, may be referred to the First Table. But this is to place human parents on a level with God, and, by parity of reasoning, the Sixth Commandment might be added to the First Table, as murder is the destruction of God's image in man. Far more reasonable is the view which regards the authority of parents as heading the Second Table, as the earthly reflex of that authority of the Father of his people and of all men which heads the first, and as the first principle of the whole law of love to our neighbors, because we are all brethren; and the family is, for good and ill, the model of the State.

From the Two Tables, then, we deduce the great division into—i. Duties toward God, or *Laws concerning Religion and Worship*. ii. Duties toward man, or *Laws of Civil Right*.

They do not explicitly lay down the principles of the *judicial and political law*, which are to be deduced from the fundamental idea of Jehovah's sovereignty as laid down in the First Commandment. Nor do they speak of the *sanctions* of the law by *rewards and punishments*, except in the general statement of the principle of retribution appended to the Second Commandment, and the special promise annexed to the Fifth. The first of these two great branches of the law may be regarded as a deduction from the First Table; the latter as the enforcement of both by necessary coercion.

Hence we may classify the whole law as follows:

Laws Religious and Ceremonial.

Laws Constitutional and Political.

Laws Civil: human duties and rights.

Laws Criminal: the statement of which must be, to some extent, included under the former heads.

LAWS RELIGIOUS AND CEREMONIAL.

LAWS RELIGIOUS and CEREMONIAL, or those concerning God and his worship, and the relation of the people to him as their God. *The First Commandment* begins with the declaration, "I am JEHOVAH thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage." This clause, often called the *Preface*, determines all God's relations to the people, and theirs to him, involving as its consequences :

(1.) The *belief in Jehovah as God*, the acceptance of his covenant, and the observance of his ordinances.

(2.) The *Holiness of the People*, as Jehovah's peculiar possession, with their families, servants, lands, and flocks, and all that belonged to them.

The remainder of the commandment forbids them to "have any other Gods *before*" Jehovah, that is, not *in preference to*—such a height of impiety is not alluded to—but *in presence of* Jehovah, or, as it is afterward expressed, *with* him. For false worship began, not with the positive rejection of the true God, but by associating with his worship that of other gods and their images ; nay, even images which professed to represent Jehovah himself. This was the sin of Aaron in the matter of the golden calf ; we meet it again and again in the history of Israel, and it reached its climax in the idolatries of Solomon. Under this prohibition was included, not only the worship of false gods, but every pretence to supernatural power or commerce with supernatural beings, except with God himself in his own ordinances. Hence the severe laws against witchcraft and divination, of which we shall speak under the head of the Criminal Law.

The Second Commandment, which is the necessary consequence of the first, prohibits both the making and the worshipping of any likeness of any object in the heaven, the earth, and the water ; and adds the reason, often afterward repeated, that Jehovah is a God *jealous* of his own honor ; and the sanction of accumulated punishments on generation after generation of those that hate him, and mercies innumerable to "those that love him and keep his commandments." The peculiar form of the commandment is designed, not to forbid sculpture, which God enjoined in the case of the cherubim, but to guard against the sophistical distinction by which image-worship has ever since been defended, between bowing down *before* an image and bowing down to it, between worshipping God while adoring the image and worshipping the image itself.

The Third Commandment proceeds not only from outward acts to the reverence of the lips toward Jehovah and his holy NAME, in the act of worship ; but it implies the *sanctity of oaths and vows*, and it also embraces *common speech*. Thus it is interpreted by Christ and the Apostles, in the passages of the New Testament which refer to perjury and profane swearing. It implies also the guilt of *falsehood*, in its aspect toward God, whose own truth is blasphemed, when man uses the speech with which he has endowed him to deceive ; as the *Ninth Commandment* condemns falsehood between man and man. In all these points of view the emphatic warning of responsibility, annexed to the commandment, is a most needful guard against the commonest form of self-deception.

The Fourth Commandment, proceeding to the regulation of the life in refer-

ence to God, is based on the principle for which God had made provision from the creation, that our nature needs *seasons* for "remembering" our God and Maker. Of this more when we speak of the law of the Sabbath. Under it may be grouped all the ordinances for the observance of times and festivals.

The special laws based upon these commandments of the first table, besides their penalties in the criminal law, may be arranged as follows :

I. *God's presence among the people: the Tabernacle and its Furniture, and its Ministers.*

II. *The bond of the Covenant between Him and the People by Sacrifices and Offerings.*

III. *The Holiness of the people, in person, act, and property.*

IV. *The Sacred Seasons, appointed for special acts of service.*

THE TABERNACLE.

Appealing to the senses of a people whose spiritual discernment was undeveloped, "Jehovah, who brought them out of Egypt," represented himself as ever with them, to guide and guard them on their journeys, and to dwell with them when they rested, and when they should find a fixed abode. On the very night in which they began their march, the visible symbol of His presence went before them in the SHECHINAH, or pillar of fire by night and of cloud by day, the advance or halt of which was the signal for their march or rest. There is reason to suppose that there was also from the first some kind of *sacred tent*, over which would be the place of the Shechinah when at rest. *Sacrifice* was contemplated as the very object of their journey, and we read of its being offered by Jethro and Aaron before Sinai : but of its *place* we have no other notice than the command given in the first series of precepts, to make an elevated *altar* of earth or unhewn stone, which was to be approached with careful decency, *in all places where Jehovah would record His name*, and come and bless them.

It was soon intimated that He would fix one such place for His abode, where alone sacrifices might be offered. Meanwhile, the first ordinances given to Moses, after the proclamation of the outline of the law from Sinai, related to the ordering of the TABERNACLE, its furniture and its service, as the type which was to be followed when the people came to their own home and "found a place" for the abode of God. During the forty days of Moses's first retirement with God in Sinai, an exact pattern of the whole was shown him, and all was made according to it.

The description of this plan is preceded by an account of the free-will offerings which the children of Israel were to be asked to make for its execution. The materials were :—

(a) Metals : *gold, silver, and brass.*

(b) Textile fabrics : *blue, purple, scarlet, and fine (white) linen*, for the production of which Egypt was celebrated ; also a fabric of *goats' hair*, the produce of their own flocks.

(c) Skins : of the *ram*, dyed red, and of the *badger*.

(d) Wood : the *shittim*-wood, the timber of the wild acacia of the desert itself, the tree of the "burning bush."

(e) *Oil, spices, and incense*, for anointing the priests, and burning in the tabernacle.

(f) Gems: *onyx* stones, and the *precious stones* for the breastplate of the high-priest.

The people gave jewels, and plates of gold and silver, and brass; wood, skins, hair, and linen; the women wove; the rulers offered precious stones, oil, spices, and incense; and the artists soon had more than they needed. The superintendence of the work was intrusted to Bazaleel, of the tribe of Judah, and to Aholiab, of the tribe of Dan, who were skilled "in all manner of workmanship."

The TABERNACLE was the *tent of Jehovah*, called by the same name as the tents of the people, in the midst of which it stood. It was also called the *sanctuary*, and the *tabernacle of the congregation*. It was a portable building, designed to contain the sacred *ark*, the special symbol of God's presence, and was surrounded by an outer court.

(i.) The *Court of the Tabernacle*, in which the Tabernacle itself stood, was an oblong space, 100 cubits by 50 (*i. e.*, 150 feet by 75), having its longer axis east and west, with its front to the *east*. It was surrounded by canvas screens—in the East called *Kannauts*—5 cubits in height, and supported by pillars of brass 5 cubits apart, to which the curtains were attached by hooks and fillets of silver. This enclosure was only broken on the eastern side by the entrance, which was 20 cubits wide, and closed by curtains of fine twined linen, wrought with needle-work, and of the most gorgeous colors.

In the outer or eastern half of the court was placed the altar of burnt-offering, and between it and the Tabernacle itself, the laver at which the priests washed their hands and feet on entering the Temple.

(ii.) The *Tabernacle itself* was placed toward the western end of this enclosure. It was an oblong rectangular structure, 30 cubits in length by 10 in width (45 feet by 15), and 10 in height; the interior being divided into two chambers, the first or outer of 20 cubits in length, the inner of 10 cubits, and consequently an exact cube. The former was the *Holy Place*, or *First Tabernacle*, containing the golden candlestick on one side, the table of shew-bread opposite, and between them in the centre the altar of incense. The latter was the *Most Holy Place*, or the *Holy of Holies*, containing the ark, surmounted by the cherubim, with the two tables inside.

The two sides, and the further or western end, were enclosed by boards of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, twenty on the north and south side, six on the western side, and the corner-boards doubled. They stood upright, edge to edge, their lower ends being made with tenons, which dropped into sockets of silver, and the corner-boards being coupled at the top with rings. They were furnished with golden rings, through which passed bars of shittim wood, overlaid with gold, five to each side, and the middle bar passing from end to end, so as to brace the whole together. Four successive coverings of curtains looped together were placed over the open top, and fell down over the sides. The first, or inmost, was a splendid fabric of linen, embroidered with figures of cherubim, in blue, purple, and scarlet, and looped together by golden fastenings. It seems probable that the ends of this set of curtains hung down *within* the Tabernacle, forming a sumptuous tapestry. The next was a woollen covering of goats' hair; the third, of rams' skins dyed red; and the outermost, of badgers' skins. It has been usually supposed that these coverings were thrown over the walls, like a pall

is thrown over a coffin ; but this would have allowed every drop of rain that fell on the Tabernacle to fall through ; for, however tightly the curtains might be stretched, the water could never run over the edge, and the sheepskins would only make the matter worse, as, when wetted, the weight would depress the centre, and probably tear any curtain that could be made. There can be no reasonable doubt that the tent had a ridge, as all tents have had from the days of Moses down to the present day.

The front of the Sanctuary was closed by a hanging of fine linen, embroidered in blue, purple, and scarlet, and supported by golden hooks, on *five* pillars of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, and standing in brass sockets ; and the covering of goat's hair was so made as to fall down over this when required. A more sumptuous curtain of the same kind, embroidered with cherubim, hung on *four* such pillars, with silver sockets, divided the Holy from the Most Holy Place. It was called the VEIL, as it hid from the eyes of all but the high-priest the inmost sanctuary, where Jehovah dwelt on his mercy-seat, between the cherubim above the ark. Hence, "to enter within the veil" is to have the closest access to God. It was only passed by the high-priest once a year, on the Day of Atonement, in token of the mediation of Christ, who, with his own blood, hath entered for us within the veil which separates God's own abode from earth. In the temple, the solemn barrier was at length profaned by a Roman conqueror, to warn the Jews that the privileges they had forfeited were "ready to vanish away ;" and the veil was at last rent by the hand of God himself, at the same moment that the body of Christ was rent upon the cross, to indicate that the entrance into the holiest of all is now laid open to all believers "by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, His flesh." The *Holy Place* was only entered by the priests daily, to offer incense at the time of morning and evening prayer, and to renew the lights on the golden candlestick ; and on the Sabbath, to remove the old shew-bread, and to place the new upon the table.

(iii.) *The Sacred Furniture and Instruments of the Tabernacle.*

1. In the Outer Court—

(a) The *Altar of Burnt-offering* stood in the midst of the court, and formed the central point of the outer services, in which the people had a part. On it all sacrifices and oblations were presented, except the sin-offerings, which were burnt without the camp. It was a large hollow case or coffer, 5 cubits square by 3 in height, made of shittim-wood, overlaid with plates of brass, and with a grating of brass in the middle to place the wood upon, and rings to lift the grating. At the four corners were projections called "horns," the "laying hold" of which was the sign of throwing one's self upon the mercy of God, and a means of fleeing to take sanctuary from man's vengeance. Like the ark, the altar of incense, and the table of shew-bread, it was furnished with rings, through which were passed bars to carry it when the people were on the march. Its utensils of brass are enumerated in Exod. xxxviii. 3. The priests went up to it, not by steps, but by a sloping mound of earth.

(3) The *Brazen Laver*, a vessel, on a foot, to hold water for the ablutions of the priests, stood between the altar of burnt-offering and the entrance to

the holy place. It was made of the brass mirrors which were offered by the women. Its size and form are not mentioned ; it is commonly represented as round ; it need not have been very large, as the priests washed themselves *at*, not *in* it.

2. *In the Holy Place*.—The furniture of the court was connected with *sacrifice*, that of the sanctuary itself with the deeper mysteries of mediation and access to God. The *First Sanctuary* contained three objects : the *altar of incense* in the centre, so as to be directly in front of the ark of the covenant, the *table of shew-bread* on its right or north side, and the *golden candlestick* on the left or south side. These objects were all considered as being placed before the presence of Jehovah, who dwelt in the holiest of all, though with the veil between.

(a) The *Altar of Incense*, a double cube of 1 cubit square by 2 high, with horns, was of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold, whence it is often called the *Golden Altar*, to distinguish it from the altar of burnt-offering, which was called the *Brazen Altar*. It had a cornice of gold, and four golden rings to receive the staves of shittim-wood overlaid with gold, for carrying it. Neither burnt offering, nor meat-offering, nor drink-offering, was to be laid upon it ; but the blood of the sin-offering of atonement was sprinkled upon its horns once a year. The incense burnt upon it was a sacred composition of spices of divine prescription. It was offered every morning and evening, at first by Aaron and his sons, and afterward by the priests officiating in weekly course, and by the high-priest on great occasions. The priest took some of the sacred fire off the altar of burnt-offering in his censer, and threw the incense upon it : then, entering the holy place, he emptied the censer upon the altar, prayed, and performed the other duties of his office. Meanwhile the people prayed outside ; and thus was typified the intercession of Christ in heaven, making his people's prayers on earth acceptable. It was highly criminal to offer "strange" incense or "strange" fire upon the altar, or for any one to usurp the function of the priests, or to make, or apply to any other use, the sacred incense. Nadab and Abihu were slain for the second of these offences ; King Uzziah was smitten with leprosy for the third ; and the punishment of death was appointed for the fourth.

(β) The *Table of Shew-bread* was an oblong table, with legs, 2 cubits long, 1 broad, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ high. It was of shittim-wood, covered with gold, and finished, like the altar, with a golden rim, and four rings and staves. It was furnished with dishes, spoons, covers, and bowls, of pure gold. It stood on the north, or right side of the altar of incense. Upon this table were placed twelve cakes of fine flour, in two rows of six each, with frankincense upon each row. This "*Shew-bread*," as it was called from being exposed before Jehovah, was placed fresh upon the table every Sabbath by the priests, who ate the old loaves in the holy place. The letter of this law was transgressed on one occasion, which is rendered most memorable by Christ's appeal to it in one of his arguments with the Pharisees. When David fled from Saul, Abimelech the priest gave to him and his companions, in their necessity, the shew-bread which had just been removed from the table. David pleaded for it as being in a manner common, since fresh bread had been sanctified in the sacred vessels, and the priest laid more stress on the purity of the young men than on the sacredness of the bread. It would be difficult to say whether

the whole proceeding, including David's pretence of a mission from Saul, was morally justifiable. The point to which our Saviour's argument is directed is somewhat different. He appeals to the case in which the sanctity both of the holy place and of holy things had been profaned by David's entrance into the sanctuary and use of the shew-bread, as an example of those necessities which override the letter of the law, and he seems to leave the justification of the act to the reverence of the Jews for David. In the same spirit he appeals to the case of the priests, who profaned the strict letter of the Sabbatic law by performing the necessary work of the sacrifices. Both are used as illustrations of the great principle: "I will have *mercy* and not sacrifice."

Besides the shew-bread, there was a *drink-offering* of wine placed in the covered bowls upon the table. Some of it was used for libations, and what remained at the end of the week was poured out before Jehovah.

These types are too expressive for their general meaning to be misunderstood. They represented under the old covenant the same truths which are set forth by the sacrament of the Lord's Supper under the new. In both cases we have a *table*, not an *altar*; for in the Tabernacle the altar was distinct, and in the Christian Church it is superseded, as the one sacrifice of Christ has been offered once for all. In the Tabernacle, moreover, as in the Church, it was the *Lord's Table*; for the whole sanctuary was the house of Jehovah, and in its ante-chamber was the table of Jehovah, ever furnished with food for the use of those to whom He granted entrance into it; and so is the table of the Lord Jesus spread in his Church on earth. Both tables are supplied with the same simple elements of necessary food, bread and wine, with the same reference to the body and blood of Christ, though this was still a mystery under the old covenant. Nor does the parallel fail in the point that the shew-bread might only be eaten by the priests; for now the people of Christ are all priests to Him.

(γ) The *Golden Candlestick*, or rather *Candelabrum* (*lamp-stand*), was placed on the left or south side of the altar of incense. It was made of pure beaten gold, and weighed, with its instruments, a talent: its value has been estimated at \$25,380, besides workmanship. Its form, as described in the Book of Exodus, agrees with the figure of the candlestick of the second temple, as represented, together with the table of shew-bread and other Jewish trophies, on the arch of Titus. It had an upright stem, from which branched out three pairs of arms, each pair forming a semicircle, and their tops coming to the same level as the top of the stem, so as to form with it supports for seven lamps. It was relieved by ornamental knobs and flowers along the branches and at their junction with the stem. There were oil-vessels and lamp-tongs, or snuffers, for trimming the seven lamps, and dishes for carrying away the snuff; an office performed by the priest when he went into the sanctuary every morning to offer incense. All these utensils were of pure gold. The lamps were lighted at the time of the evening oblation. They are directed to be kept burning perpetually; but from their being lighted in the evening, this seems to mean only during the night. The Rabbis say that the central lamp only was alight in the day-time.

As in a house light is as necessary as food, and the lamp-stand, with its lighted lamp, was a piece of furniture as needful as the bread-vessel, so in

the house of Jehovah, the candlestick symbolized the spiritual *light of life*, which he gives to His servants with the *words* by which they live. In the vision of the heavenly temple in the Apocalypse, the seven lights of the sanctuary before the Holiest of all are identified with “the seven spirits that are before the throne of God,” the one perfect Spirit, whence come light, life, truth, and holiness; and the seven branches of the candlestick are made to symbolize the seven churches, the representatives of the whole Church on earth. The figure is the full development of the words of Christ, “Ye are the light of the world;” “So let your light shine before men;” and of St. Paul’s exhortation, “Shine ye, as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life.”

3. In the *Holy of Holies*, within the veil and shrouded in darkness, there was but one object, the most sacred of the whole. The *Ark of the Covenant*, or the *Testimony*, was a sacred chest, containing the two tables of stone, inscribed with the Ten Commandments. It was two cubits and a half in length, by a cubit and a half both in width and height. It was of shittim-wood, overlaid with pure gold, and had a golden mitre round the top. Through two pairs of golden rings on its sides passed two staves of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold, which were drawn forward so as to press against the veil, and thus to remind the priests in the holy place of the presence of the unseen ark. The cover of the ark was a plate of pure gold, overshadowed by two cherubim, with their faces bent down and their wings meeting. This was the very throne of Jehovah, who was therefore said to “dwell between the cherubim.” It was also called the *mercy-seat* or *propitiatory*, because Jehovah there revealed himself, especially on the great Day of Atonement, as “God pardoning iniquity, transgression, and sin.” Nor was it without the profoundest allusion to the coming dispensation of the Gospel, that God’s throne of *mercy* covered and hid the tables of the *law*. The attitude of the cherubim was significant of the desire of angels to learn the Gospel mysteries that were hidden in the law.

THE PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

“Now when these things were thus ordered, the priests went always into the first Tabernacle, accomplishing the service of God. But into the second went the high-priest alone once every year, not without blood, which he offered for himself and the errors of the people: the Holy Ghost this signifying, that the way into the holiest of all was not yet laid open, while the first Tabernacle was yet standing.” Such is the apostolic summary of the offices of the priesthood. The whole of the people were holy, and, in a spiritual sense, they were a nation of priests; but from among them the tribe of Levi were chosen, as the reward of their devotion in the matter of the golden calf, to be the immediate attendants on Jehovah, that they might “minister in His courts.” Out of that tribe again, the house of Amram was chosen (we know not whether according to primogeniture), to perform the functions of the priesthood, which devolved on Aaron, as the head of that house. He was appointed to the office of HIGH-PRIEST, at first simply THE PRIEST, as representing the whole order, the intercessor between Jehovah and the people; his sons became the *Priests*, who alone could offer sacrifices; and the rest of the tribe formed the class of *Levites*, who assisted in the services of

the Tabernacle. For this purpose the Levites are said to be "given" to Aaron and his sons, and hence they were called *Nethinim* (i. e., *given*); but afterward they were relieved of some of their enormous labor by a separate class of servants, such as the Gibeonites, who were made "hewers of wood and drawers of water;" and in the later history of the Jews such servants formed a distinct body, under the same name of *Nethinim*.

I. THE HIGH-PRIEST.—We find from the very first the following characteristic attributes of Aaron and the high-priests his successors, as distinguished from the other priests:—

(i.) In the consecration to the office Aaron alone was anointed, whence one of the distinctive epithets of the high-priest was "the anointed priest." This appears also from Exod. xxix. 29, 30. The anointing of the sons of Aaron, i. e., the common priests, seems to have been confined to sprinkling their garments with the anointing oil.

(ii.) The high-priest had a peculiar dress, which passed to his successor at his death. This dress consisted of eight parts, the *breastplate*, the *ephod* with its curious girdle, the *robe* of the ephod, the *mitre*, the *broidered coat* or *diapered tunic*, and the *girdle*, the materials being gold, blue, red, crimson, and fine (white) linen. To the above are added the *breeches* or *drawers* of linen; and to make up the number eight, some reckon the high-priest's mitre, or the plate separately from the bonnet; while others reckon the curious girdle of the ephod separately from the ephod. Of these eight articles of attire, four—viz., the coat or tunic, the girdle, the breeches, and the bonnet or turban instead of the mitre, belonged to the common priests. Taking the articles of the high-priest's dress in the order in which they are enumerated above, we have—(a.) The *Breastplate*, or, as it is further named, the breastplate of judgment. It was, like the inner curtains of the Tabernacle, the veil, and the ephod, of "cunning work." The breastplate was originally two spans long, and one span broad, but when doubled it was square, the shape in which it was worn. It was fastened at the top by rings and chains of wreathen gold to the two onyx stones on the shoulders, and beneath with two other rings and a lace of blue to two corresponding rings in the ephod, to keep it fixed in its place above the curious girdle. But the most remarkable and most important parts of this breastplate were the twelve precious stones, set in four rows, three in a row, thus corresponding to the twelve tribes, and divided in the same manner as their camps were; each stone having the name of one of the children of Israel engraved upon it. It was these stones which probably constituted the *Urim* and *Thummim*. The addition of precious stones and costly ornaments expresses glory beyond simple justification.—(b.) The *Ephod*. This consisted of two parts, of which one covered the back, and the other the front, i. e., the breast and upper part of the body. These were clasped together on the shoulder with two large onyx stones, each having engraved on it six of the names of the tribes of Israel. It was further united by a "curious girdle" of gold, blue, purple, scarlet, and fine twined linen round the waist.—(c.) The *Robe of the Ephod*. This was of inferior material to the ephod itself, being all of blue, which implied its being only of "woven work." It was worn immediately under the ephod, and was longer than it. The blue robe had no sleeves, but only slits in the sides for the arms to come through. It had a hole for

the head to pass through, with a border round it of woven work, to prevent its being rent. The skirt of this robe had a remarkable trimming of pomegranates in blue, red, and crimson, with a bell of gold between each pomegranate alternately. The bells were to give a sound when the high-priest went in and came out of the holy place.—(d.) The *mitre* or upper turban, with its gold plate, engraved with HOLINESS TO THE LORD, fastened to it by a ribbon of blue.—(e.) The *broidered coat* was a tunic or long skirt of linen with a tessellated or diaper pattern, like the setting of a stone. The *girdle*, also of linen, was wound round the body several times from the breast downward, and the ends hung down to the ankles. The *breeches* or drawers, of linen, covered the loins and thighs; and the *bonnet* was a turban of linen, partially covering the head, but not in the form of a cone like that of the high-priest, when the mitre was added to it. These four last were common to all priests.

(iii.) Aaron had peculiar functions. To him alone it appertained, and he alone was permitted to enter the Holy of Holies, which he did once a year, on the great Day of Atonement, when he sprinkled the blood of the sin-offering on the mercy-seat, and burnt incense within the veil. He is said by the Talmudists not to have worn his full pontifical robes on this occasion, but to have been clad entirely in white linen.

The high-priest had a peculiar place in the law of the manslayer, and his taking sanctuary in the cities of refuge. The manslayer might not leave the city of refuge during the life-time of the existing high-priest, who was anointed with the holy oil. It was also forbidden to the high-priest to follow a funeral, or rend his clothes for the dead, according to the precedent in Lev. x. 6. The other respects in which the high-priest exercised superior functions to the other priests arose rather from his position and opportunities, than were distinctly attached to his office, and they consequently varied with the personal character and abilities of the high-priest.

It does not appear by whose authority the high-priests were appointed to their office before there were kings of Israel. But as we find it invariably done by the civil power in later times, it is probable that, in the times preceding the monarchy, it was by the elders, or Sanhedrim.

The usual age for entering upon the functions of the priesthood is considered to have been twenty years, though a priest or high-priest was not actually incapacitated if he had attained to puberty. Again, no one that had a blemish could officiate at the altar, and illegitimate birth was also a bar to the high-priesthood. The high-priest held his office for life; and it was the universal opinion of the Jews that the deposition of a high-priest, which in later times became so common, was unlawful.

The Rabbins speak very frequently of one second in dignity to the high-priest, whom they call the *sagan*, and who often acted in the high-priest's room. He is the same who in the Old Testament is called "the second priest." Thus it is explained of Annas and Caiaphas, that Annas was *sagan*. Ananias is also thought by some to have been *sagan*—acting for the high-priest.

The Epistle to the Hebrews sets forth the mystic meaning of his office, as a type of Christ, our great High-priest, who has passed into the heaven of heavens with his own blood, to appear in the presence of God for us; and

this is typified in the minutest particulars of his dress, his functions, and his privileges. In the Book of Revelation, the clothing of the son of man "with a garment down to the foot," and "with a golden girdle about the paps," are distinctly the robe and the curious girdle of the ephod, characteristic of the high-priest.

II. THE PRIESTS.—All the sons of Aaron formed the order of the PRIESTS. They stood between the high-priest on the one hand and the Levites on the other. The ceremony of their consecration is described in Ex. xxix., Lev. viii. The dress which they wore during their ministrations consisted of linen drawers, with a close-fitting cassock, also of linen, white, but with a diamond or chessboard pattern on it. This came nearly to the feet, and was to be worn in its garment shape (comp. John xix. 23). The white cassock was gathered round the body with a girdle of needlework, into which, as in the more gorgeous belt of the high-priest, blue, purple, and scarlet, were intermingled with white, and worked in the form of flowers. Upon their heads they were to wear caps or bonnets in the form of a cup-shaped flower, also of fine linen. In all their acts of ministration they were to be barefooted.

Before they entered the Tabernacle they were to wash their hands and their feet. During the time of their ministration they were to drink no wine or strong drink. Except in the case of the nearest relationships, they were to make no mourning for the dead. They were not to shave their heads. They were to go through their ministrations with the serenity of a reverential awe, not with the orgiastic wildness which led the priests of Baal in their despair to make cuttings in their flesh. They were forbidden to marry an unchaste woman, or one who had been divorced, or the widow of any but a priest.

Their chief duties were to watch over the fire on the altar of burnt-offerings, and to keep it burning evermore both by day and night, to feed the golden lamp outside the veil with oil, to offer the morning and evening sacrifices, each accompanied with a meat-offering and a drink-offering, at the door of the Tabernacle. They were also to teach the children of Israel the statutes of the Lord. During the journeys in the wilderness it belonged to them to cover the ark and all the vessels of the sanctuary with a purple or scarlet cloth before the Levites might approach them. As the people started on each day's march they were to blow "an alarm" with long silver trumpets. Other instruments of music might be used by the more highly-trained Levites and the schools of the prophets, but the trumpets belonged only to the priests.

Functions such as these were clearly incompatible with the common activities of men. On these grounds therefore a distinct provision was made for them. This consisted—(1.) of one-tenth of the tithes which the people paid to the Levites, *i. e.*, one per cent. on the whole produce of the country. (2.) Of a special tithe every third year. (3.) Of the redemption-money, paid at the fixed rate of five shekels a head, for the first-born of man or beast. (4.) Of the redemption-money, paid in like manner for men or things specially dedicated to the Lord. (5.) Of spoil, captives, cattle, and the like taken in war. (6.) Of the shew-bread, the flesh of the burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, trespass-offerings, and, in particular, the heave-shoulder and the wave-

breast. (7.) Of an undefined amount of the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil. Of some of these, as "most holy," none but the priests were to partake. It was lawful for their sons and daughters, and even in some cases for their home-born slaves, to eat of others. The stranger and the hired servant were in all cases excluded. (8.) On their settlement in Canaan the priestly families had thirteen cities assigned them, with "suburbs" or pasture-grounds for their flocks. These provisions were obviously intended to secure the religion of Israel against the dangers of a caste of pauper-priests, needy and dependent, and unable to bear their witness to the true faith. They were, on the other hand, as far as possible removed from the condition of a wealthy order. The standard of a priest's income, even in the earliest days after the settlement in Canaan, was miserably low.

The earliest historical trace of any division of the priesthood, and corresponding cycle of services, belongs to the time of David. The priesthood was then divided into the four-and-twenty "courses" or orders, each of which was to serve in rotation for one week, while the further assignment of special services during the week was determined by lot. Each course appears to have commenced its work on the Sabbath, the outgoing priests taking the morning sacrifice, and leaving that of the evening to their successors. In this division, however, the two great priestly houses did not stand on an equality. The descendants of Ithamar were found to have fewer representatives than those of Eleazar, and sixteen courses accordingly were assigned to the latter, eight only to the former. The division thus instituted was confirmed by Solomon, and continued to be recognized as the typical number of the priesthood. On the return from the Captivity there were found but four courses out of the twenty-four, each containing, in round numbers, about a thousand. Out of these, however, to revive at least the idea of the old organization, the four-and-twenty courses were reconstituted, bearing the same names as before, and so continued till the destruction of Jerusalem.

III. THE LEVITES were the assistants of the priests, and included all the males of the tribe of Levi who were not of the family of Aaron, and who were of the prescribed age, namely, from thirty to fifty. Their duties required a man's full strength; after the age of fifty they were relieved from all service, except that of superintendence. They had to assist the priests, to carry the Tabernacle and its vessels, to keep watch about the sanctuary, to prepare the supplies of corn, wine, oil, and so forth, and to take charge of the sacred treasures and revenues.

The Levites were divided into three families, which bore the names of the three sons of Levi, the GERSHONITES, the KOHATHITES, and the MERARITES; and each had their appointed functions in the service of the Tabernacle.

(i.) The KOHATHITES had the precedence, as the house of Amram belonged to this family. They were to bear all the vessels of the sanctuary, the Ark itself included, after the priests had covered them with the dark-blue cloth which was to hide them from all profane gaze.

(ii.) The GERSHONITES had to carry the tent-hangings and curtains.

(iii.) The MERARITES had the heavier burden of the boards, bars, and pillars of the Tabernacle. But the Gershonites and Merarites were allowed to

use the oxen and the wagons which were offered by the congregation. The more sacred vessels of the Kohathites were to be borne by them on their own shoulders.

The whole tribe of Levi encamped close round the Tabernacle, the priests in front, on the east ; the Kohathites on the south ; the Gershonites on the west ; and the Merarites on the north.

The Levites had no territorial possessions. In place of them, they received from the other tribes the tithes of the produce of the land, from which they, in their turn, offered a tithe to the priests. On their settlement in the promised land, the most laborious parts of their duty were over, and they were relieved from others by the submission of the Gibeonites and the conquest of the Hivites, who became "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Hence their concentration about the Tabernacle was no longer necessary, and it was the more important for them to live among their brethren as teachers and religious guides. Forty-eight cities were assigned to the whole tribe, that is, on an average, four in the territory of each tribe ; thirteen being given to the priests, and the rest to the Levites. The following was their distribution throughout the tribes :

I. KOHATHITES.	
A. Priests.....	{ Judah and Simeon..... 9
	{ Benjamin 4
	{ Ephraim..... 4
B. Not Priests.....	{ Dan..... 4
	{ Half-Manasseh (West)..... 2
II. GERSHONITES.	
Half-Manasseh (East).....	2
Issachar.....	4
Asher.....	4
Naphtali.....	3
III. MERARITES.	
Zebulun.....	4
Reuben.....	4
Gad.....	4
	<hr/> 48

Six of these cities, three on each side of Jordan, were *cities of refuge* for the manslayer ; an institution which invested the Levites with the sacred character of protectors from danger. The suburbs of these cities gave pasture to their flocks.

After their settlement in their cities they took the place of the household priests (subject, of course, to the special rights of the Aaronic priesthood), sharing in all festivals and rejoicings. They preserved, transcribed, and interpreted the law, which they solemnly read every seventh year at the Feast of Tabernacles. They pronounced the curses from Mount Ebal.

At a still later time they became the learned class in the community, the chroniclers of the time in which they lived. One of the first to bear the title of "Scribe" is a Levite, and this is mentioned as one of their special offices under Josiah. They are described as "officers and judges" under David, and as such are employed "in all the business of Jehovah, and in the service of the king." They are the agents of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah in their work of reformation, and are sent forth to proclaim and enforce the law. Under Josiah the function has passed into a title, and they are "the Levites that taught all Israel." The two books of Chronicles bear unmistakable marks of having been written by men whose interests were all

gathered round the services of the Temple, and who were familiar with its records.

The former subdivisions of the tribe were recognized in the assignment of the new duties connected with the temple, and the Kohathites retained their old pre-eminence. They have four "princes," while Merari and Gershon have but one each. They supplied, from the families of the Izharites and Hebronites, the "officers and judges." To them belonged the sons of Korah, with Heman at their head, playing upon psalteries and harps. They were "over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the Tabernacle." It was their work to prepare the shew-bread every Sabbath. The Gershonites were represented in like manner in the temple-choir by the sons of Asaph; Merari by the sons of Ethan or Jeduthun. Now that the heavier work of conveying the Tabernacle and its equipments from place to place was no longer required of them, and that psalmody had become the most prominent of their duties, they were to enter on their work at the earlier age of twenty.

SACRIFICES AND OBLATIONS.

The Law of Sacrifices and Oblations included a perpetual memorial of Jehovah's covenant with the people, an acknowledgment of His mercies and an expiation for sin.

Sacrifices had been offered ever since the fall. We read of the whole burnt-offerings, such as those of Abel and Noah, the *thank-offering*, as that of Jethro, and the sacrifices by which *covenants* were ratified. To these the law of Moses added the *special sacrifices for sins and trespasses*, and for particular classes of persons (as the priests) the *meat-offerings* and the *drink-offerings*. It established the distinction between *sacrifices* and *oblations*: in the former, the thing offered was wholly or partially destroyed, as being Jehovah's only; in the latter it was acknowledged to be His gift, and then enjoyed by the offerer.

There is also the distinction between *bloody* and *unbloody* sacrifices; between slain victims, and offerings of meal, corn, cakes, or wafers, and libations of wine. The latter were sometimes mere oblations, but sometimes proper sacrifices, being offered either with the burnt-offerings, or, in the case of the poor, in substitution for them. The sacrifices of blood again are divided into those which were offered in expiation of sin, and those in which the offerer acknowledged God's mercies to him by the voluntary surrender of a costly thing, an act of piety, which is especially contemplated in the ordinary use of the word sacrifice. This idea involves the duty of bringing *our best* to God in proportion to our means, and stamps the offering of the maimed, or what costs us nothing, as an impious insult to Jehovah.

In those of the sacrifices, in which the victim was not entirely burnt, a portion of it was used as food, both by the priests, who were "to live of the altar," and also by the offerers themselves. This is a usage of the greatest antiquity among all nations; as we see, for example, in Homer. It seems natural that worshippers should rejoice and feast in the presence of the God with whom they were reconciled, or whose goodness they came to confess by sacrifice. But in the Mosaic dispensation, there seems to be a deeper significance in the partaking of the sacred things offered to God, a type of the

spiritual sustenance which is received from Christ, who connects his death with our life, by saying, "Take, *eat*; this is my body, which is *broken for you*." "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you."

This custom had also, like many of the laws of Moses, an indirect but most important influence on the common life of the people. Natives of warm climates use but little animal food; nor are a pastoral people, like the Israelites, an exception to the rule. They live on the milk of their flocks and herds, but use their flesh very sparingly; they do not eat up their capital. Sacrifices, therefore, were their feasts when they partook of meat; but under restrictions, which, being established first on the ground of ceremonial cleanliness, in relation to God, ministered to their personal purity and health. This will be presently seen, both with reference to the animals that might and might not be sacrificed, and to those parts of them which were burnt and those which were used for food.

The sacrifices are divided into *burnt-offerings*, with the accompanying *meat-offerings*, *peace-offerings*, *sin-offerings*, for sins of ignorance, and *trespass-offerings* for sins committed knowingly. The three former were of the nature of *gifts*, the two latter of *propitiatory* sacrifices; but even in the gift, as coming from a sinful man, there was present the idea of propitiation by the blood of the victim; and it was always preceded by a sin-offering.

I. THE BURNT-OFFERING, or whole burnt-offering, or *perfect* sacrifice, was so called because the victim was wholly consumed by fire upon the altar of burnt-offering, and so, as it were, sent up to God on the wings of fire. This idea, which is expressed in the account of Noah's sacrifice, and which constantly recurs, both in the Scriptures and in profane authors, is implied in the Hebrew word which signifies to ascend. The sacrifice was a memorial of God's covenant, and signified that the offerer belonged wholly to God, and that he dedicated himself soul and body to Him, and placed his life at His disposal. And every such sacrifice was a type of the perfect offering made by Christ, on behalf of the race of man, of his human nature and will to the will of the Father.

Burnt-offerings were either made on behalf of the whole people, or by one or more individuals, who must bring them of their own free will. Only three kinds of animals might be offered, and they must be free from disease or blemish. To offer the unclean, maimed, or diseased in sacrifice was an abomination to Jehovah. (1.) Of the *herd*, a young bullock, of not less than one nor more than three years, generally of the third year. (2.) Of the *flock*, a lamb or kid, a male of the like age, but generally of the first year. (3.) Of *birds*, turtle-doves or young pigeons, without distinction of sex. The victim was brought to the north side of the altar in the court of the Tabernacle, where the offerer laid his hand upon its head, in token of its being a substitute for his own life, and slew it himself by cutting its throat, or, if a bird, wringing off its head and pressing out the blood. In public sacrifices, these acts were done by the priest. The Levites assisted, and in later times they slew all the victims. The blood, "*which is the life*," was received in a basin, and sprinkled by the priest round the altar. The victim was then flayed, the skin being the perquisite of the priest. It was cut in pieces, signifying the laying open to the eye of God of the inmost being of the offerer;

and the pieces were laid upon the wood on the altar and consumed, but the birds were not divided. Each day's sacrifices burnt on through the night, the sacred fire never being suffered to go out; and in the morning the ashes were carried by the priest into a clean place without the camp.

Burnt-offerings were made on the following occasions:—(1.) The *Daily Sacrifice*, of a yearling lamb or kid, was offered at the times of morning and evening prayer, the third and ninth hours from sunrise, before the priest went into the Tabernacle to burn incense. This sacrifice especially typified the offering of Christ, who was pointed out by John the Baptist (about the third hour, it is supposed) as “the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world,” and who died upon the cross at the very time of the evening sacrifice.

(2.) The *Sabbath burnt-offering* was the daily sacrifice doubled.

(3.) The *burnt-offerings at the Festivals* of the *New Moon*, the *three great feasts*, the *Day of Atonement*, and the *Feast of Trumpets*, generally two bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs.

(4.) *Private burnt-offerings prescribed by the law*, at the consecration of priests, the purification of women, the removal of leprosy or other ceremonial uncleanness, the performance or the accidental breach of the vow of a Nazarite.

(5.) *Free-will burnt-offerings* were made either in general acknowledgment of God's mercies (a *thank-offering*) or in performance of a vow. They were chiefly brought on occasions of great solemnity, as at the dedication of the Tabernacle and of the Temple.

II. THE MEAT-OFFERING and the DRINK-OFFERING always accompanied the burnt-offering, for which indeed the meat-offering might be substituted by the poor. As the burnt-offering signified the consecration of *life* to God, both that of the offerer himself and of his living property, so in the meat-offering the produce of the land was presented before Jehovah, as being His gift; in both cases with the devout acknowledgment: “Of *thine* own have we given thee.” The name of the meat-offering, *Minchah*, signified in old Hebrew a *gift* in general, and especially one from an inferior to a superior. It is applied alike to the offerings of Cain and Abel, as a general name for a sacrifice.

In the law of Moses it signifies an offering of corn, usually in the form of flour, with oil and frankincense, the quantities varying for a lamb, a ram, or a bullock. It was sometimes made with the oil into cakes or wafers, which must be free from leaven and honey. A special form of meat-offering was that of the first-fruits of corn in the ear, parched and bruised. All meat-offerings were to be seasoned with “the salt of the covenant,” as a sign of incorruptness, and of the savor of earnest piety. A portion of the meat-offering and of the oil was burnt by the priest upon the altar of burnt-offering, with all the frankincense; and the rest belonged to the priests, who must eat it without leaven beside the altar, as “a thing most holy of the offerings of Jehovah made by fire.” The meat-offerings of the priests themselves were to be wholly burnt. The drink-offerings of the daily and special sacrifices were poured out before Jehovah in the holy place; and it does not appear that the priests were ever permitted to partake of them. Indeed, to have done so would have been a breach of the prohibition of wine during their service.

III. THE PEACE-OFFERING was not an atoning sacrifice to make peace with God, but a joyful celebration of *peace made* through the covenant. In this part of the ritual, more than in any other, we see Jehovah present in His *house*, inviting the worshipper to *feast with Him*. Peace-offerings were presented either as a *thanksgiving*, or in fulfilment of a *vow*, or as a *free-will offering* of love and joy. They were of the flock or the herd, like the burnt-offerings, but they might be male or female. They were slain with the same ceremonies as the burnt-offering ; but only a part was burnt upon the altar, namely, all the fat, the kidneys, the caul or midriff, and, in the case of a lamb, the rump. These parts formed, according to Oriental tastes, the delicacies of the feast, and therefore they were offered to Jehovah ; and they are emphatically called His *bread*. The breast and the shoulder were the portion of the priests, who might eat them in any clean place with their sons and daughters. They were called the *wave-breast* and the *heave-shoulder*, from the motions made in offering them before Jehovah. The priest also took one of the unleavened cakes or leavened loaves, which were offered as a meat-offering with the peace-offering, having first heaved it before God. These motions seem to indicate the joy of a feast ; and with joy the worshipper was to eat the rest of the flesh of the sacrifice and the bread of the meat-offering, under certain restrictions, to insure ceremonial purity.

Peace-offerings might be brought at any time ; but they were prescribed on the following occasions : at the consecration of priests ; the dedication of the Tabernacle ; the purification of a leper ; and the expiration of a Nazarete's vow.

IV. THE SIN-OFFERING was an expiatory sacrifice for sins of ignorance, committed either by a *priest*, unconsciously contracting sins from the people in his office ; or by the *congregation*, incurring the displeasure of Jehovah for a reason not discovered ; or by a *ruler*, ignorantly transgressing any of God's laws ; or by one of the *people*, finding that he had unintentionally been guilty of any sin ; and also as a purification from possible sin and uncleanness in general. For each of these cases special victims were to be offered with special ceremonies. The most important of these were, in the two former cases, the sprinkling of the blood seven times before the veil, and placing it on the horns of the altar and burning the flesh of the victim without the camp—a type of Christ's suffering without the gate for the people's sin. The flesh of the other sin-offerings belonged to the priests : in all cases the fat was burnt on the altar. Sin-offerings formed a part of all great solemnities, especially on the day of atonement. They were also offered at the purification of a leper, or of a woman after child-birth. In the latter case the offering was a lamb, or, for the poor, a pair of turtle-doves or pigeons ; one for the burnt-offering, and one for the sin-offering.

V. TRESPASS-OFFERINGS, for sins committed knowingly, as well as for acts of ceremonial uncleanness, are not very clearly distinguished from sin-offerings. The chief difference of form, besides some points in the ceremonial, was that they were offered only for individuals. As to spirit and motive, the distinction seems to be that sins committed in rashness, as by an oath, or in ignorance of a law that ought to have been known, came under the head of *trespass* : "Though he wish it not, yet he is guilty, and shall bear his iniquity." The chief offences which required trespass-offerings were,

keeping back evidence, touching unclean things, swearing rash oaths, sins in holy things, violation of trust, and some others. In every case of injury to property the offering must be accompanied with restitution to the whole value, and one-fifth in addition.

VI. OBLATIONS are not clearly distinguished from those sacrifices which were in the nature of *gifts*; but some of them require to be mentioned separately:—

(1.) The *Shew-bread* and *Incense*, which were perpetually offered in the Holy Place. (See above.)

(2.) *Free Oblations*, the fruits of vows and promises.

(3.) *Prescribed Oblations*, namely—(a.) The *First-fruits* of corn, which were offered on the Day of Pentecost, and of wine, oil, and wool. These were the perquisites of the priests. (β.) The *First-born* of man and beast, which were redeemed, at first by exchange against the Levites, and afterward by a payment of five shekels per head; but the firstlings of clean animals, the cow, sheep, or goat, were unredeemable, and were offered in sacrifice in the same manner as a peace-offering. (γ.) *Tithes of the produce of the land*: the *first* annually, the *second* every three years for the Levites, and the *third* for the poor.

THE HOLINESS OF THE PEOPLE.

The holiness of the people, as the children of God, His “saints who had made a covenant with Him by sacrifice,” was a principle as sacred as the consecration of the priests. They, like the children of the New Covenant, were “a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, *an holy nation*, a peculiar people,” the purchased possession of Jehovah; and for both there was the same simple law: “BE YE HOLY, FOR I AM HOLY.” This principle, from which Paul so often deduces the spiritual law of the complete devotion of the whole nature to God’s service, was enforced upon the Jews by ceremonies and restrictions reaching to every detail of their daily lives. It is the central subject of the Book of Leviticus, which gradually rises from the laws of sacrifice to the assertion and development of the holiness and purity of the people, in person, act, speech, and property.

The following institutions were founded on this principle:—

Circumcision is only enjoined in one passage of the law of Moses. It had already been fully established, and Moses alludes to its spiritual sense, the circumcision of the heart, in language similar to that of Paul. The words of Christ, “Moses gave you circumcision, not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers,” refer to the full account of the institution in the book of Genesis, which rendered its repetition in the later books unnecessary.

The *Dedication of the First-born* of men and beasts, and the offering of the *First-fruits* of all produce.

The *Preservation of Personal Purity*, especially by the strict laws against all unnatural marriages and lusts, and against fornication and prostitution. The law of Moses, like that of Christ, takes cognizance of sins against *a man’s own self*, and that not so much in the light of self-interest, or even of self-respect, but from that principle of holiness to God which is so emphatically laid down by the Apostle Paul.

Provisions for Purification:—(1.) As a religious ceremonial, observed both

by priests and people in divine worship. (2.) From personal uncleanness. (3.) From leprosy, in persons, clothes, or houses. The means of purification were washing, the sprinkling of blood, anointing with oil, and the lustration by the ashes of the *red heifer*. In some cases, as in leprosy, unclean persons were shut out from the camp.

The distinction between *Clean* and *Unclean Animals* for food as well as sacrifice. Unclean animals were those strangled, or which had died a natural death, or had been killed by beasts or birds of prey; whatever beast did not both part the hoof and chew the cud; and certain other smaller animals rated as "creeping things;" certain classes of birds mentioned in Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv., twenty or twenty-one in all; whatever in the waters had not both fins and scales; whatever winged insect had not, besides four legs, the two hind-legs for leaping; besides things offered in sacrifice to idols; and all blood, or whatever contained it; as also all fat, at any rate that disposed in masses among the intestines, and probably wherever discernible and separable among the flesh. The eating of blood was prohibited even to "the stranger that sojourneth among you." The fat was claimed as a burnt-offering, and the blood enjoyed the highest sacrificial esteem. In the two combined the entire victim was by representation offered, and to transfer either to human use was to deal presumptuously with the most holy things. But besides this, the blood was esteemed as "the life" of the creature, and a mysterious sanctity beyond the sacrificial relation thereby attached to it. Hence we read, "Whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people." Whereas the offender in other dietary respects was merely "unclean until even." Sanitary reasons have been sought for these laws; and there may be something in this view, though their first signification was religious. Under the New Covenant, the first lesson that was taught Peter, as a preparation of preaching the Gospel to Gentile proselytes, was "not to call any thing common or unclean." On the other hand, the apostles and the primitive Church extended to Gentile converts the restriction from eating blood and things strangled, apparently as a precaution against their taking part in heathen festivals, just as they were recommended by Paul to abstain from things offered to idols. To make these restrictions a part of the permanent law of Christianity is opposed to the whole spirit of the Gospel.

The *Laws against Personal Disfigurement*, by shaving the head and cutting the flesh, especially as an act of mourning, have also reference to the customs of the heathen. The humane restriction on the number of stripes that might be inflicted was designed to prevent a man's degradation in the eyes of his brethren.

The *Provisions for the Poor*, regarded as brethren in the common bond of the covenant of God. *Gleanings* in the field and vineyard were their legal right: *slight trespass* was allowed, such as plucking corn while passing through a field, provided that it was eaten on the spot; the *second tithe* was to be bestowed partly in charity; *wages* were to be paid day by day; *loans* might not be refused, nor usury taken from an Israelite; *pledges* must not be insolently or ruinously exacted; no favor must be shown between rich and poor in dispensing *justice*; and besides all this, there are the most urgent injunctions to kindness to the poor, the widow and the orphan, and the strongest denunciations of all oppression.

The care taken to enforce *humanity* in general may be regarded as an extension of the same principle ; for the truest motive to humanity is the constant sense of man's relation to his Heavenly Maker, Father, and Master. For example, the state of *slavery* was mitigated by the law that death under chastisement was punishable, and that maiming at once gave liberty. *Fugitive slaves* from foreign nations were not to be given up ; and *stealing and selling a man* was punished with death. The law even "cared for oxen," declaring, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." It went further, and provided against that abominable law of our corrupt nature, which finds pleasure in wanton cruelty, adding such precepts as those which forbade the parent bird to be captured with its young, or the kid to be boiled in its mother's milk.

The institutions of the *Sabbatic Year* and the *Year of Jubilee* were a great public homage to the principle, that both the people and their property were sacred to Jehovah ; but they may be most fitly described under the next head of Sacred Seasons. Indeed, if we were to carry out the principle to all its consequences, it might include the whole civil and criminal law.

But what strictly belongs to this head must not be dismissed without noticing the constant perversion of the idea of personal and national sanctity by the Jews in all their after history. They forgot the duty of purity toward God in the pride of superiority over other men, and became exclusive instead of truly holy. And just as their holiness was the type of Christian dedication to God, so is there the danger of our following their great mistake, especially by looking at the Old Testament otherwise than in the light of the New.

THE SACRED SEASONS.

The religious times ordained in the law fall under three heads :

I. Those connected with the institution of the Sabbath—namely,

1. The weekly Sabbath itself.
2. The Feast of the New Moon.
3. The Sabbatical Month and the Feast of Trumpets.
4. The Sabbatical Year.
5. The Year of Jubilee.

II. The Three Great Historical Festivals—namely,

1. The Passover.
2. The Feast of Pentecost.
3. The Feast of Tabernacles.

III. The Day of Atonement.

To these must be added IV., the festivals established after the Captivity—namely.

1. The Feast of Purim of Lots.
2. The Feast of Dedication.

I.—FESTIVALS CONNECTED WITH THE SABBATH.

(1.) The SABBATH is so named from a word signifying *rest*. The consecration of the Sabbath was coeval with the Creation ; for on no principle of sound criticism can the narrative of the Creation be severed from its concluding words : "And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it ; be-

cause that in it he had rested from all His work, which God created and made." The opinion, that these words are an anticipatory reference to the Fourth Commandment, can only have arisen from the error of regarding the law of Sinai as altogether new. The only argument in support of that opinion is the absence of any record of the observance of the Sabbath between the Creation and the Exodus. It might just as well be said that the Fourth Commandment was not of immediate application, since the Sabbath is not mentioned from Moses to David. But this is just in accordance with the plan of the Scripture narrative, in which regular and ordinary events are unnoticed. The same is true of circumcision, which is not mentioned after its first institution, not even in the case of Isaac, till the time of Moses ; but its observance by the patriarchs is implied by their imposing it on the Shechemites. So likewise the celebration of sacrifice is only mentioned on a few special occasions. And so with the Sabbath : there are not wanting indirect evidences of its observance, as the intervals between Noah's sending forth the birds out of the ark, an act naturally associated with the weekly service, and in the *week* of a wedding celebration ; but, when a special occasion arises, in connection with the prohibition against gathering manna on the Sabbath, the institution is mentioned as one already known. And that this was especially one of the institutions adopted by Moses from the ancient patriarchal usage, is implied in the very words of the law, "*Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.*" But even if such evidence were wanting, the *reason* of the institution would be a sufficient proof. It was to be a joyful celebration of God's completion of His creation : and, "when the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy" at only witnessing the work, is it to be supposed that the new-made man himself postponed his joy and worship for twenty-five centuries ? It has indeed been said that Moses gives quite a different reason for the institution of the Sabbath, as a memorial of the deliverance from Egyptian bondage. As if Moses, in his repetition of the law, had forgotten the reason given by God himself from Sinai. The words added in Deuteronomy are a *special motive* for the joy with which the Sabbath should be celebrated, and for the kindness which extended its blessings to the slave and beast of burden as well as the master : "that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest *as well as thou.*" These attempts to limit the ordinance proceed from an entire misconception of its spirit, as if it were a season of stern privation rather than of special privilege. But, in truth, the prohibition of work is only subsidiary to the positive idea of joyful rest and *recreation*, in communion with Jehovah, who himself "*rested and was refreshed.*" It was to be a sacred pause in the ordinary labor by which man earns his bread ; the curse of the fall was to be suspended for one day ; and, having spent that day in joyful remembrance of God's mercies, man had a *fresh start* in his course of labor. When God *sanctified* the day He *blessed* it ; made it *happy* when He made it *holy* ; and the practical difficulty in realizing this union arises on the one hand, from seeking happiness in gain, and on the other from confounding recreation with sinful pleasure. A great snare, too, has always been hidden in the word *work*, as if the commandment forbade occupation and imposed idleness. A consideration of the spirit of the law and of Christ's comments on it will show that it is *work for worldly gain* that was to be suspended ; and hence

the restrictive clause is prefaced with the positive command : “Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work ;” for so only could the Sabbath rest be fairly earned. Hence, too, the stress constantly laid on permitting the servant and beast of burden to share the rest, which selfishness would grudge to them. Thus the spirit of the Sabbath was *joy, refreshment, and mercy*, arising from remembrance of God’s goodness as the Creator, and as the deliverer from bondage.

These views are practically illustrated by the manner in which the Israelites were to spend, and in which the prophets afterward reprovèd them for not spending, the Sabbath and the other festivals. The Sabbath was a perpetual *sign and covenant*, and the holiness of the day is connected with the holiness of the people : “That ye may know that I am Jehovah that doth sanctify you.” *Joy* was the key-note of their service. Moses declared that a place of sacrifice should be given them ; “And there shall ye eat before Jehovah your God, and ye shall rejoice, ye and your households.” The Psalmists echo back the same spirit : “This is the day which Jehovah hath made ; we will rejoice, and be glad in it.” Isaiah reprovès the fasts which were kept with mere outward observance, in place of acts of charity, by promising that those who called the Sabbath a *delight*, and honored God by doing His works in it, should *delight* themselves in Jehovah. Nehemiah commanded the people, on a day holy to Jehovah, “Mourn not, nor weep : eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions to them for whom nothing is prepared.”

The Sabbath is named as a day of special worship in the sanctuary. It was proclaimed as a *holy convocation*. The public religious services consisted in the doubling of the morning and evening sacrifice, and the renewal of the shew-bread in the holy place. In later times the worship of the sanctuary was enlivened by sacred music. On this day the people were accustomed to consult their prophets, and to give to their children that instruction in the truths recalled to memory by the day, which is so repeatedly enjoined as the duty of parents ; it was “the Sabbath of Jehovah,” not only in the sanctuary, but “in all their dwellings.” It is quite true that we have but little information on this part of the subject in the Scriptures themselves, but the inferences drawn from what is told us, and from the character of the day, are confirmed by the testimony of later writers, and by the system of public worship in the synagogues, which we find in full operation at the time of Christ.

The prohibitory part of the law is general ; and the only special cases mentioned relate to the preparation of food. The manna was not given on the Sabbath, but a double supply was to be gathered on the day before, just as the rest of the *Sabbatic year* was compensated by the extraordinary fertility of the year before. No fire was to be kindled on the Sabbath, under the penalty of death, which was inflicted on a man who went out to gather sticks on the Sabbath. Its observance is enjoined in the time of earing and harvest, when there was a special temptation to find an excuse for work. The habitual transgression of these laws, by priests as well as people, was denounced by the prophets, and excited the reforming zeal of Nehemiah after the Babylonish Captivity. The later Rabbis treated the law as a matter of subtle casuistry ; proceeding from the general rule of abstaining from

manual acts to the minute enumeration of the prohibited actions ; and it was in reply to objections based on such rules, that Christ maintained the true spirit of the law.

(2.) The completion of the month was observed by the **FEAST OF THE NEW MOON**. In every nation which uses a strictly lunar calendar, it is necessary to have a distinct public announcement of the beginning of each month, whether it be determined by an exact astronomical computation of the time of the moon's change, or by the first sight of her new crescent. This announcement was made to Israel by the sounding of the two sacred silver trumpets. The day was not kept as a Sabbath, but, besides the daily sacrifice, a burnt-offering was made of two bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs, with a meat and drink-offering, and a goat for a sin-offering. In later times, the kings offered sacrifices and feasted on the new moon, and pious disciples chose this as a stated period for visiting the prophets. The feast seems to have been gradually corrupted by the heathen worship of the moon itself. It is one of the feasts left by the Apostle to Christian liberty.

(3.) **THE SABBATICAL MONTH** and the **FEAST OF TRUMPETS**.—The month of Tisri, being the seventh of the ecclesiastical, and the first of the civil year, had a kind of Sabbatic character. The calendar was so arranged that its first day fell on a Sabbath (that, no doubt, next after the new moon), and this, the civil *New Year's Day*, was ushered in by the blowing of trumpets, and was called the *Feast of Trumpets*. It was a holy convocation ; and it had its special sacrifices, in addition to those of other new moons, namely, for the burnt-offering, a young bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, with a meat and drink-offering, and a young goat for a sin-offering. This month also was marked by the great Day of Atonement on the tenth, and the Feast of Tabernacles, the greatest of the whole year, which lasted from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of the month. Thus it completed the Sabbatic cycle of seven months, in which all the great festivals were kept.

(4.) **THE SABBATICAL YEAR**.—As each seventh day and each seventh month were holy, so was each seventh year. It was based on the principle of Jehovah's property in the land, which was therefore to keep its Sabbath to him ; and it was to be a season of rest for all, and of especial kindness to the poor. The land was not to be sown, nor the vineyards and olive-yards dressed ; and neither the spontanecus fruits of the soil, nor the produce of the vine and olive, were to be gathered ; but all was to be left for the poor, the slave, the stranger, and the cattle. The law was accompanied by a promise of treble fertility in the sixth year, the fruit of which was to be eaten till the harvest sown in the eighth year was reaped in the ninth. But the people were not debarred from other sources of subsistence, nor was the year to be spent in idleness. They could fish and hunt, take care of their bees and flocks, repair their buildings and furniture, and manufacture their clothing. Still, as an agricultural people, they would have much leisure ; they would observe the Sabbatic spirit of the year by using its leisure for the instruction of their families in the law, and for acts of devotion ; and in accordance with this there was a solemn reading of the law to the people assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles. The Sabbatic year is also called the "year of release," because in it creditors were bound to release poor debtors from their obligations ; with a special injunction not to withhold a loan

because the year of release was near. The release of a Hebrew slave took place likewise, not only in the Sabbatic year, but in the seventh year of his captivity.

The constant neglect of this law from the very first was one of the national sins that were punished by the Babylonian Captivity. Moses warned Israel of the retribution, that their land should be desolate till it had enjoyed its Sabbaths ; and the warning was fulfilled in the seventy years' duration of the Captivity.

(5.) THE YEAR OF JUBILEE was every fiftieth year, coming therefore after a Sabbatic series of Sabbatic years. The notion that it was in the forty-ninth and not the fiftieth year, is an assumption from the improbability of the land being left untilled for two successive years ; but it is opposed to the plain statement of the law, which directs seven Sabbaths of years to be counted, even forty-nine years, and then that the Jubilee should be proclaimed by the sounding of the trumpet. Thus the Year of Jubilee completed each half-century ; and formed a Pentecost of years.

Its beginning is fixed for the tenth of the seventh month (Tisri), the great Day of Atonement. It was doubtless after the sacrifices of that solemn day were ended, that the trumpet of jubilee pealed forth its joyful notes, proclaiming "liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison door to them that were bound." The land was left uncultivated, as in the Sabbatic year. The possessions which poverty had compelled their owners to alienate returned to the families to whom they had been allotted in the first division of the Holy Land. This applied to fields and houses in the country, and to the houses of Levites in the walled cities ; but other houses in such cities, if not redeemed within a year from their sale, remained the perpetual property of the buyer. In all transfers of property, the value was to be computed by the number of "years of fruits" (that is, apparently, exclusive of Sabbatic years) till the next Jubilee : so that what was sold was the possession of the land for that term. A property might be redeemed at any intervening period, either by its owner, or by his nearest kinsman (the Goël), at a price fixed on the same principle. Land sanctified to Jehovah by the owner might be redeemed, at any time before the next Jubilee, by payment of one-fifth in addition to the estimated value of the crops ; but if not redeemed before the Jubilee, it then became devoted forever. Land sanctified by its owner after he had sold it could not be redeemed ; and land devoted by the purchaser returned at the Jubilee to the owner. The whole institution was based on the principle that the land was God's, who granted to each family its own portion. It was a practical solution of the most perplexing questions concerning the right of property in the land, and a safeguard against its accumulation in the hands of great proprietors.

All Hebrew slaves, whether to their brethren or to resident foreigners, were set free in the Year of Jubilee. This applied alike to those who had fallen into servitude since the last Sabbatic year, and to those who had chosen to remain in servitude by the ceremony of boring the ear. Provision was made for the redemption of the slave meanwhile in a manner similar to that of the redemption of the land. Thus, as in the restitution of the land, the principle was asserted, that the people were Jehovah's only, his servants redeemed from Egypt, and incapable therefore of becoming bondmen to any one but him.

It has been asserted that debts were remitted in the Year of Jubilee, and some go so far as to maintain that the remission in the Sabbatic year was merely a suspension of their exaction. But the Mosaic law plainly states that debts were remitted in the Sabbatic year, and says nothing of their remission at the Jubilee.

The Jubilee completed the great Sabbatic cycle, at the close of which, in a certain sense, "all things were made new." The trumpet which announced it, immediately after the reconciliation of the people to Jehovah by the atonement, was His voice proclaiming the restoration of the social order which He had at first established in the state, on the basis of liberty and the means of livelihood held from Himself. But it had a higher spiritual meaning, often alluded to by the prophets, and at length fulfilled by Christ, when he recited the words of Isaiah, proclaiming "*the acceptable year of the Lord,*" good tidings to the poor, healing to the broken-hearted, deliverance to the captive, sight to the blind, and liberty to the oppressed; and added, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears." But its full completion is reserved for the end of time, when, at the appearance of the new heavens and earth, and of the Tabernacle of God with men, He shall forever do away with pain and sorrow, and shall declare, "Behold I make all things new."

II.—THE THREE GREAT HISTORICAL FESTIVALS.

In these the whole people were united to seek the face of God, and to celebrate His mercies. Thrice in the year, at these feasts, all males were required to appear before Jehovah, that is, at the Tabernacle or the Temple, not empty-handed, but to make an offering with a joyful heart. No age is prescribed: we find Jesus going up with his parents to the Passover at the age of twelve, and Samuel still younger. From the examples of Hannah and Mary, it appears that devout women went up to one of the annual festivals. There is no such requirement with reference to the Day of Atonement; but, viewing it as a public reconciliation of the people with Jehovah, preparatory to their most joyful feast, it seems natural to suppose that most of those who went up to the Feast of Tabernacles would go early enough to be present on the Day of Atonement. These periodical assemblages of the people, including in later times even those who lived in foreign countries, were a powerful means of preserving the unity of the nation.

These festivals not only commemorated great events in the history of Israel, but they had each its significance in reference to God's gifts at the seasons of the year. The Passover marked the beginning of the harvest, the Pentecost its completion, and the Feast of Tabernacles the vintage and the ingathering of all the fruits of the year. We have here a striking example of the foresight of the Mosaic law in providing for a pastoral people festivals suited to their settled condition as agriculturists; and they were wisely arranged, so as not to interfere with the labors of the field. They are connected with one another, so as to form one great cycle. The Passover is in the first month of the sacred year, followed by Pentecost at an interval of seven complete weeks; and the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month. The days of holy convocation, including the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement, were seven: two at the Passover, one

at the Pentecost, and two at the Feast of Tabernacles. There is also a cycle in their significance. At the Passover the Israelites commemorated the beginning of their history as a nation, and at the Feast of Tabernacles they marked the joyful contrast between their settlement in a fruitful land and their wanderings in the wilderness. So, in their spiritual sense, the Passover was signalized by the sacrifice of the Lamb of God, the beginning of the Christian's life, and by Christ's resurrection, as the first-fruits of the spiritual harvest of eternal life; Pentecost by the outpouring of the Spirit and the conversion of multitudes, the earnest of the full spiritual harvest of the world; while the Feast of Tabernacles is left as an unfulfilled symbol of the full fruition of eternal life in "the rest that remaineth for the people of God."

(1.) THE PASSOVER, which was the most solemn of the three festivals, as the memorial of the nation's birth and the type of Christ's death, was kept for *seven days*, from the evening which closed the fourteenth to the end of the twenty-first of the first month of the sacred year, Abib or Nisan (*April*). The Paschal Lamb was eaten on the first evening, and unleavened bread throughout the week, and the first and last days (the fifteenth and twenty-first) were holy convocations. We have already noticed its first institution in Egypt, and its second celebration before Sinai. It was slain in each house, and its blood was sprinkled on the door-posts; the supper was eaten by all members of the family, clean and unclean, standing and in haste, and without singing; and there were no days of holy convocation, from the nature of the case, though their future observance was named in the original law. But in the "Perpetual Passover," as arranged by the law and by later usage, the Paschal Lamb was selected any time up to the day of the supper; it was sacrificed at the altar of burnt-offering; its fat was burnt, and its blood was sprinkled on the altar; the supper was eaten only by men, and they must be ceremonially clean; they sat or reclined at the feast, which they ate without haste, with various interesting ceremonies, and with the accompaniment of the *Hallel*, or singing of Psalms cxiii.—cxviii.

In the twelfth and thirteen chapters of Exodus there are not only distinct references to the observance of the festival in future ages, but there are several injunctions which were evidently not intended for the first Passover, and which indeed could not possibly have been observed. In the later notices of the festival in the books of the law, there are particulars added which appear as modifications of the original institution. Hence it is not without reason that the Jewish writers have laid great stress on the distinction between "the Egyptian Passover" and "the Perpetual Passover." The peculiarities of the Egyptian Passover, which are pointed out by the Jewish writers, are, the selection of the lamb on the tenth day of the month, the sprinkling of the blood on the lintels and door-posts, the use of hyssop in sprinkling, the haste in which the meal was to be eaten, and the restriction of the abstinence from unleavened bread to a single day. There was no command to burn the fat on the altar, the pure and impure all partook of the paschal meal contrary to the law afterward given; both men and women were then required to partake, but subsequently the command was given only to men. Neither the *Hallel* nor any other hymn was sung, as was required in later times in accordance with *Is. xxx. 29*; there were no

days of holy convocation, and the lambs were not slain in the consecrated place.

The following was the general order of the observances of the Passover in later times :—On the fourteenth of Nisan every trace of leaven was put away from the houses, and on the same day every male Israelite, not laboring under any bodily infirmity or ceremonial impurity, was commanded to appear before the Lord at the national sanctuary with an offering of money in proportion to his means. Devout women sometimes attended, as is proved by the instances of Hannah and Mary. As the sun was setting, the lambs were slain, and the fat and blood given to the priests. The lamb was then roasted whole, and eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs ; no portion of it was to be left until the morning. The same night, after the fifteenth of Nisan had commenced, the fat was burned by the priest, and the blood sprinkled on the altar. On the fifteenth, the night being passed, there was a holy convocation, and during that day no work might be done, except the preparation of necessary food. On this and the six following days, an offering in addition to the daily sacrifice was made of two young bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with meat-offerings, for a burnt-offering, and a goat for a sin-offering. On the sixteenth of the month, “the morrow after the Sabbath” (*i. e.*, after the day of holy convocation), the first sheaf of harvest was offered and waved by the priest before the Lord, and a male lamb was offered as a burnt-sacrifice with a meat and drink-offering. Nothing necessarily distinguished the four following days of the festival, except the additional burnt and sin-offerings, and the restraint from some kinds of labor. On the seventh day, the twenty-first of Nisan, there was a holy convocation, and the day appears to have been one of peculiar solemnity. As at all the festivals, cheerfulness was to prevail during the whole week, and all care was to be laid aside.

Such was the general order of this observance ; but further details require notice. (*a.*) *The Paschal Lamb*.—After the first Passover in Egypt there is no trace of the lamb having been selected before it was wanted. In later times, we are certain that it was sometimes not provided before the fourteenth of the month. The law formally allowed the alternative of a kid, but a lamb was preferred, and was probably nearly always chosen. It was to be faultless and a male, in accordance with the established estimate of animal perfection. Either the head of the family, or any other person who was not ceremonially unclean, took it into the court of the Temple on his shoulders. As the paschal lamb could be legally slain, and the blood and fat offered only in the national sanctuary, it of course ceased to be offered by the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem. The spring festival of the modern Jews strictly consists only of the feast of unleavened bread.

(*b.*) *The Unleavened Bread*.—There is no reason to doubt that the unleavened bread eaten in the Passover, and that used on other religious occasions, were of the same nature. It might be made of wheat, spelt, barley, oats or rye, but not of rice or millet. It appears to have been usually made of the finest wheat flour. It was probably formed into dry, thin biscuits, not unlike those used by the modern Jews.

(*c.*) *The Bitter Herbs and the Sauce*.—According to the Mishna, the bitter herbs might be endive, chicory, wild lettuce, or nettles. These plants were

important articles of food to the ancient Egyptians. The sauce, into which the herbs, the bread, and the meat were dipped as they were eaten, is not mentioned in the Pentateuch.

(d.) *The Four Cups of Wine*.—There is no mention of wine in connection with the Passover in the Pentateuch; but the Mishna strictly enjoins that there should never be less than four cups of it provided at the paschal meal even of the poorest Israelite. Two of them appear to be distinctly mentioned in Luke xxii. 17, 20. "The cup of blessing" was probably the latter one of these, and is generally considered to have been the third of the series, after which a grace was said; though from the designation, "*cup of the Hallel*," it may have been the fourth and last cup.

(e.) *The Hallel*.—The service of praise sung at the Passover is not mentioned in the law. The name is contracted from *Hallelujah*. It consisted of the series of Psalms from cxiii. to cxviii. The first portion, comprising Ps. cxiii. and cxiv., was sung in the early part of the meal, and the second part after the fourth cup of wine. This is supposed to have been the "hymn" sung by our Lord and His Apostles.

(f.) *Mode and Order of the Paschal Meal*.—Adopting as much from Jewish tradition as is not inconsistent or improbable, the following appears to have been the usual custom:—All work, except that belonging to a few trades connected with daily life, was suspended for some hours before the evening of the fourteenth Nisan. It was not lawful to eat any ordinary food after midday. No male was admitted to the table unless he was circumcised, even if he was the seed of Israel. Neither, according to the letter of the law, was any one of either sex admitted who was ceremonially unclean; but this rule was on special occasions liberally applied. The Rabbins expressly state that women were permitted, though not commanded, to partake; but the Karaites, in more recent times, excluded all but full-grown men. It was customary for the number of a party to be not less than ten. When the meal was prepared, the family was placed round the table, the paterfamilias taking a place of honor, probably somewhat raised above the rest. There is no reason to doubt that the ancient Hebrews sat as they were accustomed to do at their ordinary meals. Our Lord and his Apostles conformed to the usual custom of their time, and reclined. When the party was arranged, the first cup of wine was filled, and a blessing was asked by the head of the family on the feast, as well as a special one on the cup. The bitter herbs were then placed on the table, and a portion of them eaten, either with or without the sauce. The unleavened bread was handed round next, and afterward the lamb was placed on the table in front of the head of the family. Before the lamb was eaten the second cup of wine was filled, and the son, in accordance with Ex. xii. 26, asked his father the meaning of the feast. In reply, an account was given of the sufferings of the Israelites in Egypt, and of their deliverance, with a particular explanation of Deut. xxvi. 5, and the first part of the Hallel was sung. This being gone through, the lamb was carved and eaten. The third cup of wine was poured out and drunk, and soon afterward the fourth. The second part of the Hallel was then sung. A fifth wine-cup appears to have been occasionally produced, but, perhaps, only in later times. What was termed the greater Hallel was sung on such occasions. The Israelites who lived in the

country appear to have been accommodated at the feast by the inhabitants of Jerusalem in their houses, so far as there was room for them. Those who could not be received into the city encamped without the walls in tents, as the pilgrims now do at Mecca.

(g.) *The first Sheaf of Harvest.*—The offering of the Omer, or sheaf, is mentioned nowhere in the law except Lev. xxiii. 10-14. It is there commanded that when the Israelites reached the land of promise, they should bring, on the sixteenth of the month, "the morrow after the Sabbath" (i. e., the day of holy convocation), the first sheaf of the harvest to the priest, to be waved by him before the Lord. The sheaf was of barley, as being the grain which was first ripe.

(h.) *The Chagigah.*—The daily sacrifices are enumerated in the Pentateuch only in Num. xxviii. 19-23, but reference is made to them Lev. xxiii. 8. Besides these public offerings, there was another sort of sacrifice connected with the Passover, as well as with the other great festivals, called in the Talmud *Chagigah*, i. e., "festivity." It was a voluntary peace-offering made by private individuals. The victim might be taken either from the flock or the herd. It might be either male or female, but it must be without blemish. The offerer laid his hand upon its head, and slew it at the door of the sanctuary. The blood was sprinkled on the altar, and the fat of the inside, with the kidneys, was burned by the priest. The breast was given to the priest as a wave-offering, and the right shoulder as a heave-offering. What remained of the victim might be eaten by the offerer and his guests on the day on which it was slain, and on the day following; but if any portion was left till the third day it was burned. The eating of the Chagigah was an occasion of social festivity connected with the festivals, and especially with the Passover.

(i.) *Release of Prisoners.*—It is a question whether the release of a prisoner at the Passover was a custom of Roman origin resembling what took place at the lectisternium, and, in later times, on the birthday of an emperor; or whether it was an old Hebrew usage belonging to the festival, which Pilate allowed the Jews to retain.

(k.) *The Second, or Little Passover.*—When the Passover was celebrated the second year in the wilderness, certain men were prevented from keeping it, owing to their being defiled by contact with a dead body. Being thus prevented from obeying the Divine command, they came anxiously to Moses to inquire what they should do. He was accordingly instructed to institute a second Passover, to be observed on the fourteenth of the following month, for the benefit of any who had been hindered from keeping the regular one in Nisan. The Talmudists called this the Little Passover.

(2.) THE PENTECOST, or HARVEST FEAST, or FEAST OF WEEKS, may be regarded as a supplement to the Passover; and accordingly its common Jewish name is *Asartha*, the concluding assembly. It lasted only for one day; but the modern Jews extend it over two. The people, having at the Passover presented before God the first sheaf of the harvest, departed to their homes to gather it in, and then returned to keep the harvest feast before Jehovah. From the sixteenth of Nisan seven weeks were reckoned inclusively, and the next or fiftieth day was the Day of Pentecost, which fell on the sixth of Sivan (about the end of May). The intervening period

included the whole of the grain harvest, of which the wheat was the latest crop. Its commencement is also marked as from the time when "thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn."

The Pentecost was the Jewish harvest home, and the people were especially exhorted to rejoice before Jehovah with their families, their servants, the Levite within their gates, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, in the place chosen by God for His name, as they brought a freewill-offering of their hand to Jehovah their God. That offering of course included the *Chagigah*; but the great feature of the celebration was the presentation of the *two loaves*, made from the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest, and *leavened*, that is, in the state fit for ordinary food. In this point, as contrasted with the unleavened bread of the Passover, we see the more homely and social nature of the feast; while its bounty to the poor is connected with the law which secured them plenty of gleanings. With the loaves two lambs were offered as a peace-offering; and all were waved before Jehovah, and given to the priests: the loaves, being leavened, could not be offered on the altar. The other sacrifices were, a burnt-offering of a young bullock, two rams, and seven lambs, with a meat and drink-offering, and a kid for a sin-offering. Till the pentecostal loaves were offered, the produce of the harvest might not be eaten, nor could any other first-fruits be offered. The whole ceremony was the completion of that dedication of the harvest to God, as its giver, and to whom both the land and the people were holy, which was begun by the offering of the wave-sheaf at the Passover. The interval is still regarded as a religious season.

The Pentecost is the only one of the three great feasts which is not mentioned as the memorial of events in the history of the Jews. But such a significance has been found in the fact, that the Law was given from Sinai on the fiftieth day after the deliverance from Egypt. In the Exodus, the people were offered to God, as living first-fruits; at Sinai their consecration to him as a nation was completed. The point is noticed by several of the Christian fathers, and the modern Jews connect with the Pentecost special thanks for the giving of the Law.

The typical significance of the Pentecost is made clear from the events of the day recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. The preceding Passover had been marked by the sacrifice upon the cross of the true Paschal Lamb, and by his offering to his Father as "the first-fruits of them that slept." The Day of Pentecost found his disciples assembled at Jerusalem, like the Israelites before Sinai, waiting for "the promise of the Father." Again did God descend from heaven in fire, to pour forth that Holy Spirit which gives the spiritual discernment of his law; and the converts to Peter's preaching were the first-fruits of the spiritual harvest, of which Christ had long before assured his disciples. Just as the appearance of God on Sinai was the birthday of the Jewish nation, so was that Pentecost the birthday of the Christian Church. "As the possession of the Law had completed the deliverance of the Hebrew race, wrought by the hand of Moses, so the gift of the Spirit perfected the work of Christ in the establishment of his kingdom upon earth." It has been observed that the Pentecost was the last Jewish feast that Paul was anxious to keep, and that Whitsuntide, its successor, was the first annual festival adopted in the Christian Church.

(3.) THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, or FEAST OF INGATHERING, completed the cycle of the festivals of the year, and was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was at once a thanksgiving for the harvest, and a commemoration of the time when the Israelites dwelt in tents during their passage through the wilderness. It fell in the autumn, when the whole of the chief fruits of the ground, the corn, the wine, and the oil, were gathered in. Its duration was strictly only seven days. But it was followed by a day of holy convocation, distinguished by sacrifices of its own, which was sometimes spoken of as an eighth day. It lasted from the fifteenth till the twenty-second of the month of Tisri.

During the seven days the Israelites were commanded to dwell in booths or huts (*tabernacles*) formed of the boughs of trees, etc. The boughs were of the olive, pine, myrtle, and other trees with thick foliage. The command in Lev. xxiii. 40 is said to have been so understood, that the Israelites, from the first day of the feast to the seventh, carried in their hands "the fruit" (as in the margin of the A.V., not *branches*, as in the text) "of goodly trees, with branches of palm-trees, boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook."

The burnt-offerings of the Feast of Tabernacles were by far more numerous than those of any other festival. There were offered on each day two rams, fourteen lambs, and a kid for a sin-offering. But what was most peculiar was the arrangement of the sacrifices of bullocks, in all amounting to seventy. Thirteen were offered on the first day, twelve on the second, eleven on the third, and so on, reducing the number by one each day till the seventh, when seven bullocks only were offered. When the Feast of Tabernacles fell on a Sabbatical year, portions of the law were read each day in public to men, women, children, and strangers.

There are two particulars in the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles which appear to be referred to in the New Testament, but are not noticed in the Old. These were, the ceremony of pouring out some water of the Pool of Siloam, and the display of some great lights in the court of the women.

We are told that each Israelite, in holiday attire, repaired to the Temple with a palm branch in one hand and the citron in the other, at the time of the ordinary morning sacrifice. One of the priests fetched some water in a golden ewer from the Pool of Siloam. At the top of the brazen altar were fixed two silver basins with small openings at the bottom. Wine was poured into that on the eastern side, and the water into that on the western side, whence it was conducted by pipes into the Cedron. The Hallel was then sung. In the evening, both men and women assembled in the court of the women, expressly to hold a rejoicing for the drawing of the water of Siloam. In this court were set up two lofty stands, each supporting four great lamps. These were lighted on each night of the festival. Many in the assembly carried flambeaux. A body of Levites, stationed on the fifteen steps leading up to the women's court, played instruments of music, and chanted the fifteen psalms, called in the Authorized Version Songs of Degrees. Singing and dancing were afterward continued for some time. The same ceremonies in the day, and the same joyous meeting in the evening, were renewed on each of the seven days.

It appears to be generally admitted that the words of our Saviour—"If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water"—were suggested by the pouring out of the water of Siloam. The Jews seem to have regarded the rite as symbolical of the water miraculously supplied to their fathers from the rock at Meribah. But they also gave to it a more strictly spiritual signification, in accordance with the use to which our Lord appears to turn it. Maimonides applies to it the very passage which appears to be referred to it by our Lord—"Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the well of salvation." The two meanings are of course perfectly harmonious, as is shown by the use which St. Paul makes of the historical fact—"they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them: and that rock was Christ." It is also probable that our Lord's words—"I am the light of the world"—refer to the great lamps of the festival.

III.—THE DAY OF ATONEMENT.

THE DAY OF ATONEMENT is the one single fast, or day of humiliation prescribed by the Mosaic law; whence it is called the *Fast*, and by the Talmudists the *Day*. It was observed on the tenth of Tisri, the seventh sacred and first civil month, five days before the Feast of Tabernacles. Thus it was interposed between the Feast of Trumpets, which ushered in the Sabbatic month, and the most joyous festival of the year.

It was kept as a most solemn Sabbath, when all must abstain from work, and "afflict their souls" on pain of being "cut off from among the people." Its ceremonies signified the public humiliation of the people for all the sins of the past year, and the remission of those sins by the atonement which the high-priest made within the veil, whither he entered on this day only. All the sacrifices of the day were performed by the high-priest himself. He first washed his body in the Holy Place, and put on his white linen garments, not the robes of state. Coming out of the Tabernacle, he first brought forward the sacrifices for himself and his family, which were provided at his own cost; a young bullock for a sin-offering, and a ram for a burnt-offering. This part of the ceremony set forth the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood, even in its highest representative. Sanctified by God himself, washed with pure water, and clad in spotless garments, the high-priest was the type of the true Intercessor and eternal Priest; but still, as himself a sinner, he was infinitely below the "high-priest needed by us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, who needeth not, *as those high-priests*, to offer up sacrifice, *first for his own sins*, and then for the people's."

The high-priest then led forward the victims for the people's sins, which were provided at the public cost. These were a ram for a burnt-offering, and two young goats for a sin-offering. Presenting the two goats before Jehovah, at the door of the Tabernacle, he cast lots upon them, the one lot being inscribed FOR JEHOVAH, the other FOR AZAZEL. The latter was called the *Scape-goat*.

The victims being thus prepared, the high-priest proceeded to offer the young bullock as the sin-offering for himself and his family. Having slain it at the altar, he took some of its blood, with a censer filled with live coals

from the altar, and a handful of incense : and entering into the *Most Holy Place*, he threw the incense on the coals, thus enveloping the ark in a fragrant cloud, and partially shrouding it from his own eyes lest he should die for a profanely-curious gaze, and then sprinkled the blood seven times before the mercy-seat, on the east side of the ark.

The goat "of Jehovah" was then slain as a sin-offering for the people, and the high-priest again went into the *Most Holy Place* and performed the same ceremonies with its blood. As he returned through the *Holy Place*, in which no one else was present, he purified it by sprinkling some of the blood of both victims on the altar of incense. This completed the purification of the sanctuary, the second stage of the atonement.

Then followed the remission of the people's sins by the striking ceremony of devoting the *Scape-goat*, the one on which the lot had fallen "*for Azazel.*" The high-priest having laid his hands upon its head, and confessed over it the sins of the people, the victim, loaded as it were with those sins, was led out, by a man chosen for the purpose, to the wilderness, into "a land not inhabited," and there let loose. Unwise curiosity has attempted to follow its fate. Scandalized apparently by the idea of its being free to mix with other creatures, the Rabbis say that the man who had charge of the goat threw him backward from the top of a precipice, and so dashed him to pieces, in palpable contradiction of the law. Nor is there any ground for the beautiful conception of the great painter, who shows us the *Scape-goat* on the shore of the Dead Sea, expressing the load of its devotion in every lineament. The simple meaning of the rite is the *full remission* of sins ; and the animal who bore them away was thenceforth as free as the pardoned sinner. To trace it, or to endeavor to identify it, would be a profanation ; just as the idea of remission is expressed by *not inquiring for sins*, *not finding them*, *casting them* behind the back. "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us." The "escaped goat" must be viewed in connection with the one which gave up its life "for Jehovah ;" the death of the one being the price of the liberty of the other ; and both together formed a type of Christ, who, by his death and resurrection, "took away the sin of the world." This idea of remission seems to be involved in the name to which the *Scape-goat* was devoted ; "*for Azazel*" signifying "*for complete removal.*"

The great ceremony of the remission of sins being thus completed, the high-priest, after again washing his body in the *Holy Place*, and resuming his robes of state, completed the offering of the slain victims. The two rams were burnt upon the altar, with the fat of the two sin-offerings ; but the flesh of the latter was carried away and burnt without the camp. Those who performed this office, and the man who had led away the *Scape-goat*, washed their bodies and their clothes before returning to camp.

The significance of these types of the true atonement, not by the blood of bulls and goats, but by the precious blood of Christ himself, our high-priest, is set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

IV.—FESTIVALS AFTER THE CAPTIVITY.

(1.) THE FEAST OF PURIM, or of LOTS, was an annual festival instituted to commemorate the preservation of the Jews in Persia from

the massacre with which they were threatened through the machinations of Haman.

The festival lasted two days, and was regularly observed on the fourteenth and fifteenth of Adar. It is not easy to conjecture what may have been the ancient mode of observance, so as to have given the occasion something of the dignity of a national religious festival. According to modern custom, as soon as the stars begin to appear, when the fourteenth of the month has commenced, candles are lighted up in token of rejoicing, and the people assemble in the synagogue. After a short prayer and thanksgiving, the reading of the Book of Esther commences. When the reader comes to the name of Haman the whole congregation cry out, "May his name be blotted out," or "Let the name of the ungodly perish." When the names of the sons of Haman are read, the reader utters them with a continuous enunciation, so as to make them into one word, to signify that they were hanged all at once. When the Megillah is read through, the whole congregation exclaim, "Cursed be Haman; blessed be Mordecai; cursed be Zorash (the wife of Haman); blessed be Esther; cursed be all idolaters; blessed be all Israelites, and blessed be Harbonah, who hanged Haman." In the morning service in the synagogue, on the fourteenth, after the prayers, the passage is read from the law which relates the destruction of the Amalekites, the people of Agag, the supposed ancestors of Haman. The Book of Esther is then read again in the same manner, and with the same responses from the congregation as on the preceding evening.

The fourteenth of Adar, as the very day of the deliverance of the Jews, is more solemnly kept than the thirteenth. But when the service in the synagogue is over, all give themselves up to merry-making.

(2.) THE FEAST OF DEDICATION was the festival instituted to commemorate the purging of the Temple and the rebuilding of the altar after Judas Maccabæus had driven out the Syrians, B. C. 164. It is named only once in the Canonical Scriptures, John x. 22. Its institution is recorded in 1 Macc. iv. 52-59. It commenced on the twenty-fifth of Chisleu, the anniversary of the pollution of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, B. C. 167. Like the great Mosaic feasts, it lasted eight days, but it did not require attendance at Jerusalem. It was an occasion of much festivity. The writer of 2 Macc. tells us that it was celebrated in nearly the same manner as the Feast of Tabernacles, with the carrying of branches of trees, and with much singing (x. 6, 7). Josephus states that the festival was called "Lights." In the Temple at Jerusalem the "Hallel" was sung every day of the feast.

THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

The Jewish year being strictly lunar, and the day of the new moon common to the preceding and succeeding month, the correspondences with our month vary in different years according to the intercalation. Generally speaking, the months appended on next page to the Jewish are to be taken with ten days (or less) of the preceding month; but sometimes the overrunning is the other way. For example, according to the present calendar of the Jews, the 1st of Nisan fell on March 21st, April 7th, and March 28th, in 1863, 1864, and 1865, respectively.

THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

CORRESPONDING DATES FOR THREE YEARS.			JEWISH CALENDAR. (In the Sacred Order of the Months.)
A. M. 5623. A. D. 1863.	A. M. 5624. A. D. 1864.	A. M. 5625. A. D. 1865.	
Mar. 21.....	Apr. 7.....	Mar. 28.....	I. ABIB or NISAN. April.
Apr. 4, 5, 10, 11.....	Apr. 21, 22, 27, 28..	Apr. 11, 12, 17, 18..	1. New Moon.
Apr. 19.....			15, 16, 21, 22. PASSOVER DAYS, 1, 2, 7, last.
			30. New Moon.
Apr. 20.....	May 7.....	Apr. 27.....	II. JYAR (Yiab). May.
Apr. 29.....	May 24.....	May 14.....	1. New Moon.
May 1.....			10. Death of Elijah (Lag B' Omer). <i>Fast</i> .
May 17.....			12.
May 19.....			28. Death of Samuel. <i>Fast</i> .
			30. New Moon.
May 19.....	June 5.....	May 26.....	III. SIVAN. June.
May 24, 25.....	June 10, 11.....	May 31, June 1.....	1. New Moon.
June 17.....			6, 7. PENTECOST or Sebuoth.
			30. New Moon.
June 18.....	July 5.....	June 25.....	IV. THAMMUZ. July.
July 5.....	July 21.....	July 11.....	1. New Moon.
			17. Taking of Jerusalem by Titus. <i>Fast</i> .
July 17.....	Aug. 3.....	July 24.....	V. AB. August.
July 26.....	Aug. 11.....	Aug. 1.....	1. New Moon.
July 31.....			9. Destruction of Temple. <i>Fast</i> .
Aug. 15.....			15. Tubeah. <i>Little Festival</i> .
			30. New Moon.
Aug. 16.....	Sept. 2.....	Aug. 23.....	VI. ELUL. September.
Aug. 22.....			1. New Moon.
Sept. 1.....			7. Dedication of Walls by Nehemiah. <i>Feast</i> .
			17. Expulsion of the Greeks.

CORRESPONDING DATES FOR THREE YEARS.			JEWISH CALENDAR. (Beginning of Civil Year.)
A. M. 5624. A. D. 1863-4.	A. M. 5625. A. D. 1864-5.	A. M. 5626. A. D. 1865-6.	
Sept. 14, 15.....	Oct. 1, 2.....	Sept. 21, 22.....	VII. TISRI. October.
Sept. 16.....	Oct. 3.....	Sept. 24.....	1, 2. NEW YEAR and New Moon.
Sept. 23.....	Oct. 10.....	Sept. 30.....	3. Death of Gedaliah. <i>Fast</i> .
Sept. 28, 29.....	Oct. 15, 16.....	Oct. 5, 6.....	10. Kipur. DAY OF ATONEMENT. <i>Fast</i> .
Oct. 1.....			15, 16. FEAST OF TABERNACLES.
Oct. 4.....	Oct. 21.....	Oct. 11.....	18. Hosanna Rabba.
Oct. 5.....	Oct. 22.....	Oct. 12.....	21. Feast of Branches or of Palms.
Oct. 6.....	Oct. 23.....	Oct. 13.....	22. End of Feast of Tabernacles.
			23. Feast of the Law.
Oct. 14.....	Oct. 31.....	Oct. 21.....	VIII. CHESVAN (Marchesvan). November.
			1. New Moon.
Nov. 12.....	Nov. 30.....	Nov. 19.....	IX. CHISLEU. December.
Dec. 6.....	Dec. 24.....	Dec. 13.....	1. New Moon.
			25. Hanuca. Dedication of Temple.
Dec. 11.....	Dec. 30.....	Dec. 19.....	X. THEBET. January.
	1865.		1. New Moon.
Dec. 20.....	Jan. 8.....	Dec. 28.....	10. Siege of Jerusalem. <i>Fast</i> .
1864.		1866.	XI. SEBAT. February.
Jan. 9.....	Jan. 28.....	Jan. 17.....	1. New Moon.
			XII. ADAR. March.
Feb. 8.....	Feb. 27.....		1. New Moon.
Feb. 21.....			14. Little Purim.
			XII.* VEADAR (Intercalary). Latter part of
Mar. 9.....			March and beginning of April.
Mar. 21.....	Mar. 9.....		1. New Moon.
Mar. 22, 23.....	Mar. 12, 13.....		13. Feast of Esther.
Apr. 6.....			14, 15. Feast of Purim and Shushan Purim.
			Last Day of the Year.

* The Jewish year contains 354 days, or 12 lunations of the moon; but in a cycle of 19 years an intercalary month (*Veadar*) is seven times introduced to render the average length of the year nearly correct.

LAWS CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL.

The Political Constitution of the Jewish Commonwealth, as we have seen, is founded entirely upon a religious basis. In its form it is THEOCRATIC—a *monarchy*, with JEHOVAH for the only king, all magistrates and judges being his ministers: in its *substance* and *spirit*, it is a *commonwealth*, in the strict sense, its object being the highest welfare of the whole people, who enjoy equal rights as being all the children of God, and united by the bond of holiness. The formal constitution grew out of the wants of the people. When the people left Egypt, they could not be called a nation, in the political sense; but a body of tribes, united by the bonds of grace and religion, and especially by “the promise given to the fathers.”

Each of these tribes had its own patriarchal government by the “princes” of the tribe, and the “heads” of the respective families, and we find their authority subsisting through the whole history of the nation. But no central government was as yet provided. God preserved it in his own hands, and committed its administration to Moses as His servant. The people were all collected in one encampment around the tabernacle of Jehovah, their ever present king. They were commanded by his voice, whether directly or through Moses, and their movements were guided by his visible signs. If any doubtful case arose of law or policy, there was his oracle to be consulted. If any opposition was made to the authority of his minister, Jehovah summoned the rebels to his presence at the door of the tabernacle, smote them with leprosy, consumed them with pestilence, devoured them with fire, or sent them down alive into the pit. Such was the simple constitution of this period; God governing by his will, while embodying that will in the Law.

In the second stage of their history, their first settlement in Canaan, the constitution was essentially the same. Jehovah was still their king, present in his tabernacle to exercise the supreme government, and to give oracles for all doubtful cases, and committing the executive power to Joshua, who is distinctly recognized as the successor of Moses, only he was a military leader instead of a lawgiver. He ends his course, like Moses, by gathering the people together at Gilgal, around the sanctuary of Jehovah, and binding them once more to the covenant of their God and King.

All this time, no distinct provision had been made in the Law for any successor to the authority of Moses and Joshua, except the prospective law of the kingdom, which does not yet come into force. Nor is it easy to determine the form which the Theocracy would have assumed, had the people remained faithful to its principles; whether a *hierarchy*, or a *senate* of the princes, or the government of a chief magistrate, not as a king in his own right, but as the vicegerent of Jehovah. By omitting to refer the case to the oracle of Jehovah, the nation settled down into a disorderly compound of the first and second forms, so far as they had any central government at all. But, in truth, the several tribes were so occupied in securing their new possessions, that it required a common danger to bring them together at all. Meanwhile they neglected the sanctuary, and began to worship the gods of the country; and so their oppressions by the neighboring nations were at

once the fruit of their disunion, and a judicial punishment for their disloyalty to Jehovah.

The *judges* were temporary and special deliverers, sent by God to meet these several emergencies, not supreme magistrates, succeeding to the authority of Moses and Joshua. Their power only extended over portions of the country, and some of them were contemporaneous. Still they supplied, to some extent, the want of a chief magistrate; and the house of Gideon founded a brief dynasty in the centre of the country. But the only recognized central authority was still the oracle at Shiloh, which sunk into a system of priestly weakness and disorder under Eli and his sons. Even while the administration of Samuel gave something like a settled government to the south, there was scope for the irregular exploits of Samson on the borders of the Philistines; and Samuel at last established his authority as judge and prophet, but still as the servant of Jehovah, only to see it so abused by his sons as to exhaust the patience of the people, who now at length demanded a KING, after the pattern of the surrounding nations.

This demand was treated as an act of treason to Jehovah, who punished it by granting such a king as they desired. The government of Saul was an experiment, in which the self-will of the king was ever attempting to set him free from his true position as the minister of the theocracy; and Jehovah's supreme authority was as constantly asserted by the intervention of his prophet Samuel, and finally by Saul's disastrous end and the extinction of his family.

The monarchy of the people's own choice being thus cast down, "God found David, the son of Jesse, a man after God's own heart" (that is, of his own choice); and his elevation marks the establishment of the true *Hebrew monarchy*, in which the king, though externally on an equal footing with other monarchs, acknowledged himself the servant of Jehovah, and the guardian of his law, and submitted to guidance and rebuke by the prophets. This constitution was designed to reconcile, in condescension to the wants of the people, the government of man with the authority of God, and so to be a type of Christ's kingdom. How hard it was for human nature to conform to this model was proved by Solomon, whose character exhibits both the good and bad sides of royal power; and the same conflict was worked out in the separate kingdoms of Israel and Judah; the former developing the consequences of open rebellion against Jehovah, though checked by the prophets, especially Elijah and Elisha, the latter preserving the profession of godliness, and having its true spirit from time to time revived by such kings as Hezekiah and Josiah, and privileged to continue the line of Messiah's kingdom, but surely though slowly tending to the retribution of the people's original disloyalty, in the captivity at Babylon. The lesson was so far effective, that the *principle* of the theocracy was never again violated till Herod's usurpation, which only formed a contrast to the kingdom of Christ now "at hand."

The state of things thus exemplified was provided for in the law of Moses; and there can be no better example of the prospective adaptation of the law to the people's wants. Even while forbidding them to desire a king, because Jehovah was their king already, Moses traced out the constitution of the future kingdom. The king was to be chosen by God himself.

The manner in which he was elected and anointed is seen in the cases of Saul and David, Solomon, and several of the later kings. The principle of a *covenant or mutual contract* between the king and the people is distinctly recognized.

The positive law of the kingdom was summed up in the one great duty of governing according to the law of God, of which the king was to write out a copy in a book, and read therein all the days of his life, that by his obedience his kingdom and life might be prolonged. He was warned against assuming despotic authority over his brethren; and we find the princes and the congregation not only using remonstrance, but exercising control over him. He was forbidden to maintain a cavalry force—a check on aggressive warfare, designed especially to guard against any attempt to return to Egypt. Neither was he to have many wives or great treasures; and the case of Solomon is an example of the fatal effect of transgressing this prohibition. To these laws of Moses the first king added the prerogative of compulsory service, of making war, and of exacting a tithe. From the first, the king assumed judicial power, and exercised summary jurisdiction, even to the extent of deposing the high-priest. In religious matters, he might guide the nation, as in building and dedicating the Temple, but the attempt to enter the sanctuary was punished as impiety, as in Uzziah's case.

The Princes of the Congregation, or heads of tribes, seem to have always retained a certain power in the State. In the desert they appear as representatives of their several tribes. They unite with Joshua in making the treaty with the Gibeonites. Under David they are named next to the captains of the host. In later times, as already stated, they are found controlling the king.

The Judges.—There can be no doubt that, in the old patriarchal constitution, justice was administered, as among the Arabs to the present day, by the heads of houses or “patriarchal seniors.” In Egypt these must have been the only judges among the people; and from the important place afterward assigned to them, it may be inferred that they never quite forfeited this privilege. Their authority was superseded by the mission of Moses, for justice was regarded as proceeding from God himself. But when, finding the burden of justice too great for him, he appointed judges over tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands, with an appeal to himself, these *official judges* seem to have been chosen out of the former class. Under Joshua we find a similar order of judges, forming a supreme court of judicature. These seem to be the judges to whom, in conjunction with the priests, there was an appeal from the inferior magistrates; but in what manner they were chosen we are not informed, except in the case of the reformation of government by Jehoshaphat. They were required to be able, godly, truthful, and incorrupt; their persons and characters were sacred from attack or slander, and they are dignified with the title of “gods.” The Levites were associated with them, as local judges, from the settlement in Canaan. The supreme judicial authority was vested in the high-priest, as the organ for “inquiring of Jehovah,” and under the monarchy in the king. There seems to have been no material distinction between civil and criminal procedure, as both fell under the same principle of obedience to God's law.

The Seventy Elders associated with Moses were a special council, not only for the administration of justice, but to assist in the government. They must not be confounded with the *Sanhedrim*, or great ecclesiastical council of Seventy (so often mentioned in the New Testament), which was only founded after the Captivity.

LAWS CIVIL.

It has already been observed that the *principles* of the civil law of Moses are based on the religious position of the people, as the holy children of God and brethren to one another. Its details doubtless embodied much of the old patriarchal law, and in some instances the circumstances are recorded out of which new laws arose. Our limits will permit us to give only a brief analysis of these laws, as well as of the criminal laws. Their chief provisions may be classified as follows :—

I. THE LAW OF PERSONS.

(a.) OF FATHER AND SON.—*The power of a Father* to be held sacred ; cursing, or smiting (Ex. xxi. 15, 17 ; Lev. xx. 9), or stubborn and wilful disobedience, to be considered capital crimes. But uncontrolled power of life and death was apparently refused to the father, and vested only in the congregation (Deut. xxi. 18–21).

Right of the First-born to a double portion of the inheritance not to be set aside by partiality (Deut. xxi. 15–17).

Inheritance by Daughters to be allowed in default of sons, provided that heiresses married in their own tribe (Num. xxvii. 6–8 ; comp. xxxvi.).

Daughters unmarried to be entirely dependent on their father (Num. xxx. 3–5).

(b) HUSBAND AND WIFE.—*The power of a Husband* to be so great that a wife could never be *sui juris*, or enter independently into any engagement even before God (Num. xxx. 6–15). A widow or divorced wife became independent, and did not again fall under her father's power (ver. 9).

Divorce (for uncleanness) allowed, but to be formal and irrevocable (Deut. xxiv. 1–4).

Marriage within certain degrees forbidden (Lev. xviii. etc.).

A Slave Wife, whether bought or captive, not to be actual property, nor to be sold ; if ill-treated, to be, *ipso facto*, free (Ex. xxi. 7–9 ; Deut. xxi. 10–14).

Slander against a wife's virginity to be punished by fine, and by deprivation of power of divorce ; on the other hand, ante-connubial uncleanness in her to be punished by death (Deut. xxii. 13–21).

The raising up of seed (Levirate law), a formal right to be claimed by the widow, under pain of infamy, with a view to preservation of families (Deut. xxv. 5–10).

(c) MASTER AND SLAVE.—*Power of master so far limited*, that death under actual chastisement was punishable (Ex. xxi. 20) ; and maiming was to give liberty *ipso facto* (ver. 26, 27).

The Hebrew Slave to be freed at the Sabbatical year, and provided with necessaries (his wife and children to go with him only if they came to his master with him), unless by his own formal act he consented to be a per-

petual slave (Ex. xxi. 1-6; Deut. xv. 12-18). In any case (it would seem), to be freed at the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 10), with his children. If sold to a resident alien, to be always redeemable, at a price proportional to the distance of the Jubilee (Lev. xxv. 47-54).

Foreign Slaves to be held and inherited as property forever (Lev. xxv. 45, 46); and fugitive slaves from foreign nations not to be given up (Deut. xxiii. 15).

(d) STRANGERS.—They seem never to have been *sui juris*, or able to protect themselves, and accordingly protection and kindness toward them are enjoined as a sacred duty (Ex. xxii. 21; Lev. xix. 33, 34). These strangers correspond to the class afterward called *Proselytes*.

II. LAW OF THINGS.

(a) LAWS OF LAND (AND PROPERTY).—(1.) *All Land to be the property of God alone*, and its holders to be deemed His tenants (Lev. xxv. 23).

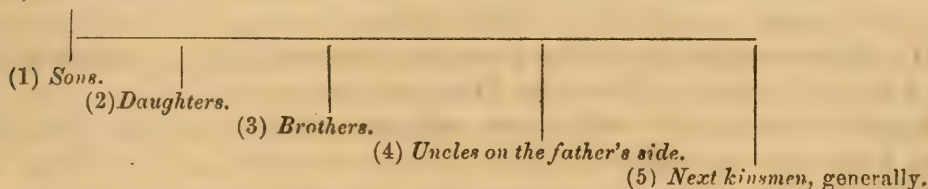
(2.) *All sold Land* therefore to return to its original owners at the Jubilee, and the price of sale to be calculated accordingly; and redemption on equitable terms to be allowed at all times (xxv. 25-27).

A House sold, to be redeemable within a year; and, if not redeemed, to pass away altogether (xxv. 29, 30).

But the Houses of the Levites, or those in unwalled villages, to be redeemable at all times, in the same way as land; and the Levitical suburbs to be inalienable (xxv. 31-34).

(3.) *Land or Houses sanctified*, or tithes or unclean firstlings, to be capable of being redeemed, at the addition of one-fifth their value (calculated according to the distance from the Jubilee-year by the priest); if devoted by the owner and unredeemed, to be hallowed at the Jubilee forever, and given to the priests; if only by a possessor, to return to the owner at the Jubilee (xxvii. 14-34).

(4.) *Inheritance.*



(b) LAWS OF DEBT.—(1.) *All Debts* (to an Israelite) to be released at the 7th (Sabbatical) year; a blessing promised to obedience, and a curse on refusal to lend (Deut. xv. 1-11).

(2.) *Usury* (from Israelites) not to be taken (Ex. xxii. 25-27; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20).

(3.) *Pledges* not to be insolently or ruinously exacted (Deut. xxiv. 6, 10-13, 17, 18).

(c) TAXATION.—(1.) *Census-money*, a poll-tax (of a half-shekel) to be paid for the service of the tabernacle (Ex. xxx. 12-16).

All spoil in war to be halved; of the combatant's half. $\frac{1}{50}$ th, of the people's $\frac{1}{50}$ th, to be paid for a "heave-offering" to Jehovah.

(2.) *Tithes.*

(a) *Tithes of all produce* to be given for maintenance of the Levites (Num. xviii. 20-24).

(Of this, $\frac{1}{10}$ th to be paid as a heave-offering for maintenance of the priests, Exod. xxx. 24-32.)

(β) *Second Tithe* to be bestowed in religious feasting and charity, either at the Holy Place, or every 3d year at home (?) (Deut. xiv. 22-28).

(γ) *First-fruits* of corn, wine, and oil (at least $\frac{1}{60}$ th, generally $\frac{1}{40}$ th, for the priests) to be offered at Jerusalem, with a solemn declaration of dependence on God the King of Israel (Deut. xxvi. 1-15; Num. xviii. 12, 13).

Firstlings of clean beasts; the redemption-money (5 shekels) of man, and (half-shekel, or one shekel) of unclean beasts, to be given to the priests after sacrifice (Num. xviii. 15-18).

(3.) *Poor Laws.*

(α) *Gleanings* (in field or vineyard) to be a legal right of the poor (Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19-22).

(β) *Slight Trespass* (eating on the spot) to be allowed as legal (Deut. xxiii. 24, 25).

(γ) *Second Tithe* (see 2 β) to be given in charity.

(δ) *Wages to be paid day by day* (Deut. xxiv. 15).

(4.) *Maintenance of Priests* (Num. xviii. 8-32).

(α) *Tenth of Levites' Tithe.* (See 2 α.)

(β) *The heave and wave offerings* (breast and right shoulder of all peace-offerings).

(γ) *The meat and sin-offerings* to be eaten solemnly, and only in the Holy Place.

(δ) *First-fruits and redemption-money.* (See 2 γ.)

(ε) *Price of all devoted things*, unless specially given for a sacred service. A man's service, or that of his household, to be redeemed at 50 shekels for man, 30 for woman, 20 for boy, and 10 for girl.

LAWS CRIMINAL.

(α) *OFFENCES AGAINST GOD* (of the nature of treason).—*First Commandment.*—Acknowledgment of false gods (Ex. xxii. 20), as *e. g.*, Moloch (Lev. xx. 1-5), and generally all *idolatry* (Deut. xiii., xvii. 2-5).

Second Commandment.—*Witchcraft and false prophecy* (Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 9-22; Lev. xix. 31).

Third Commandment.—*Blasphemy* (Lev. xxiv. 15, 16).

Fourth Commandment.—*Sabbath-breaking* (Num. xv. 32-36).—*Punishment, in all cases, death by stoning.* Idolatrous cities to be utterly destroyed.

(b) *OFFENCES AGAINST MAN.*—*Fifth Commandment.*—*Disobedience to, or cursing or smiting of parents* (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxi. 18-21), to be punished by death by stoning, publicly adjudged and inflicted; so also of disobedience to the priests (as judges) or Supreme Judge.—Comp. 1 K. xxi. 10-14 (Naboth); 2 Chr. xxiv. 21 (Zechariah).

Sixth Commandment.—(1.) *Murder*, to be punished by death without sanctuary or reprieve, or satisfaction (Ex. xxi. 12, 14; Deut. xix. 11-13). Death of a slave actually under the rod to be punished (Ex. xxi. 20, 21). (2.) *Death by Negligence* to be punished by death (Ex. xxi. 28-30). (3.) *Accidental Homicide*, the avenger of blood to be escaped by flight to the cities of refuge till the death of the high-priest (Num. xxxv. 9-28; Deut. iv. 41-43, xix.

4-10). (4.) *Uncertain Murder*, to be expiated by formal disavowal and sacrifice by the elders of the nearest city (Deut. xxi. 1-9). (5.) *Assault* to be punished by *lex talionis*, or damages (Ex. xxi. 18, 19, 22-25; Lev. xxiv. 19, 20).

Seventh Commandment.—(1.) *Adultery* to be punished by death of both offenders; the rape of a married or betrothed woman, by death of the offender (Deut. xxii. 13-27). (2.) *Rape or Seduction* of an unbetrothed virgin, to be compensated by marriage, with dowry (50 shekels), and without power of divorce; or, if she be refused, by payment of full dowry (Ex. xxii. 16, 17; Deut. xxii. 28, 29). (3.) *Unlawful Marriages* (incestuous, etc.) to be punished, some by death, some by childlessness (Lev. xx.).


Eighth Commandment.—(1.) *Theft* to be punished by fourfold or double restitution; a nocturnal robber might be slain as an outlaw (Ex. xxii. 1-4). (2.) *Trespass* and injury of things lent to be compensated (Ex. xxii. 5-15). (3.) *Perversion of Justice* (by bribes, threats, etc.), and especially oppression of strangers, strictly forbidden (Ex. xxiii. 9, etc.). (4.) *Kidnapping* to be punished by death (Deut. xxiv. 7).

Ninth Commandment.—*False Witness* to be punished by *lex talionis* (Ex. xxiii. 1-3; Deut. xix. 16-21). Slander of a wife's chastity by fine, and loss of power of divorce (Deut. xxii. 18, 19).


Tenth Commandment.—The sin of coveting could not be brought under the scope of a definite criminal law. But the numerous acts of meanness, injustice, oppression, and unkindness, which are its consequences, are repeatedly forbidden, and their punishment is referred to the curse which God would bring on the disobedient. Indeed the final and highest system of rewards and punishments is to be found in the "Blessing and the Curse" which Moses set before the people.

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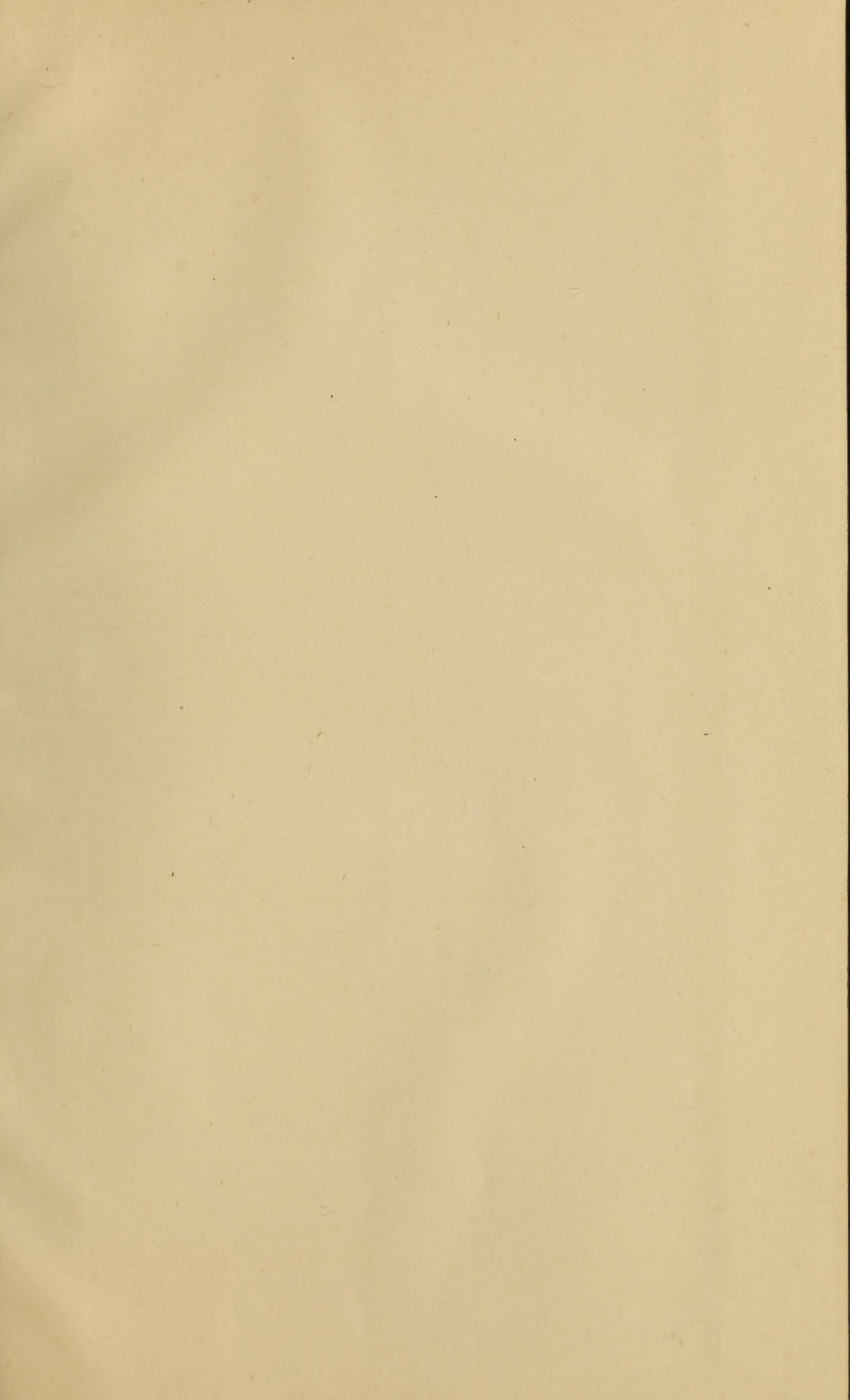
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